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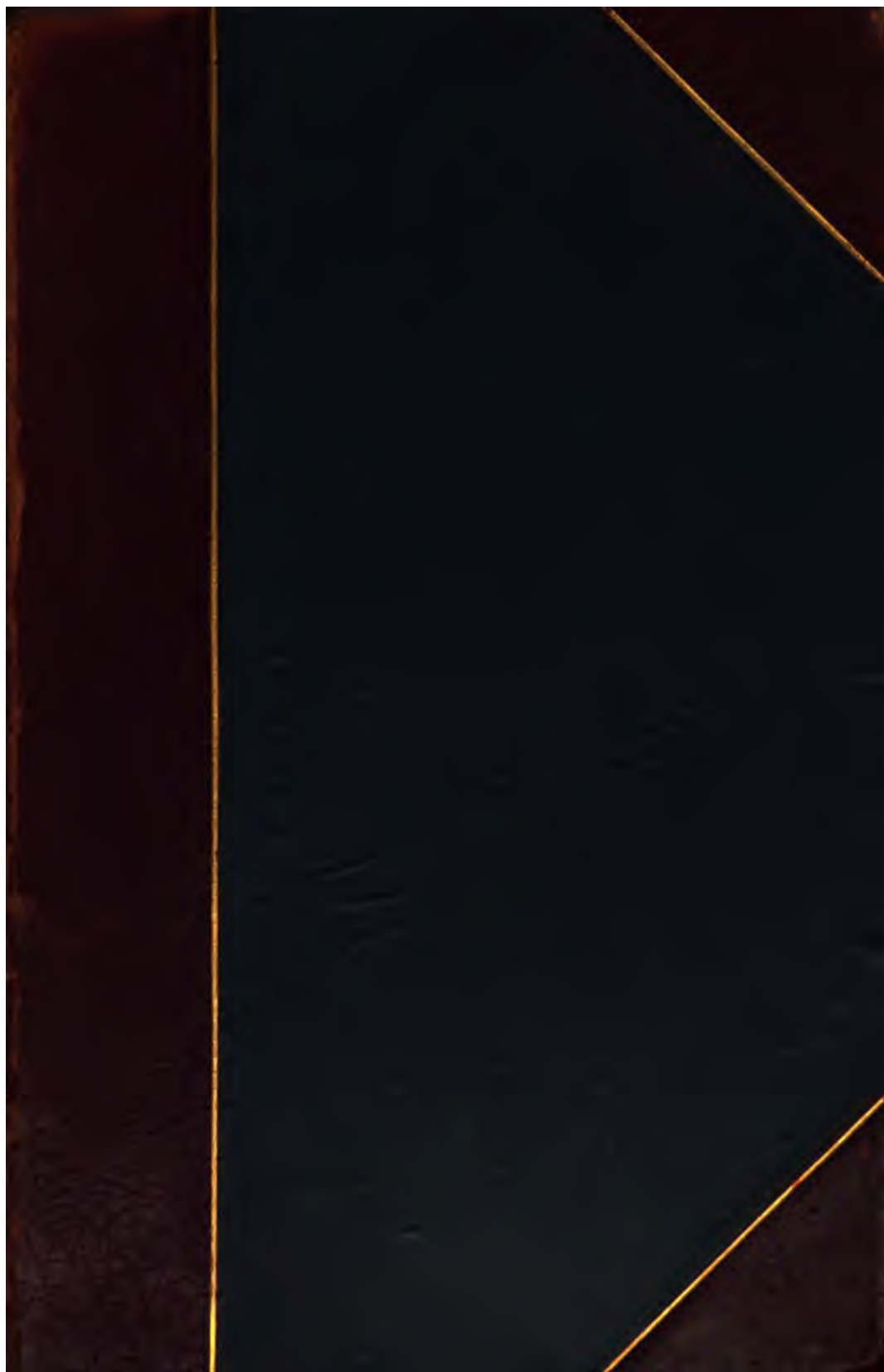
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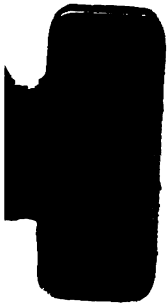
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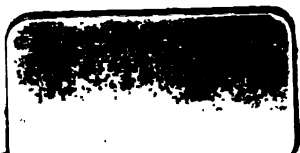
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3. *Our Work in Palestine: being an Account of the different Expeditions sent out to the Holy Land by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund since 1865.* London: 1873.

TO roll back the cloud of obscurity that has veiled, for eighteen centuries, the site of one of the most famous cities in the world, is a task not unworthy of the age. The labours of the men of the present time have given voice to the long silent hieroglyphics of Egypt; to the arrow-headed characters, cut in stone or impressed on clay tablets, by Persian and Assyrian scribes; and to the inscriptions of Phœnician kings. Chapters of ancient history, long regarded as hopelessly lost, are in process of at least partial recovery. Few investigations are calculated to shed more light on the course and the causes of past events than the exploration of the deep-piled ruins of a city, of which the sages and rulers have influenced the course of human events more than the philosophers of Greece or the Emperors of Rome. It is, therefore, a fact in which Englishmen may take some degree of honest pride that, apart from any hope of gain or commercial impulse, funds have been raised by private subscription, adequate at least to commence, in a competent manner, the survey and exploration of Palestine.

The difficulties attendant on such an enterprise are neither
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few nor small, and great credit is due to Mr. Grove with whom the scheme originated. It was no easy task to enlist a sufficient number of supporters to enable the projectors of the exploration to carry it thus far towards success. Five and twenty years ago Mr. Fergusson complained in bitter terms that it was impossible to excite for the topography and antiquities of the Holy Land a fraction of the interest and learning which were lavished on classical remains. At a much later period it would have been thought, and probably would have been, impossible to obtain permission from the Caliph for Franks to examine, or even to visit, the sacred sites most highly revered by the Moslem. It needed a royal pioneer to overthrow so formidable a barrier, and for much of our actual knowledge of the 'Noble Sanctuary,' we are indebted to the pilgrimage of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. Even when, at the request of the British Embassy, a firman was issued to authorise the researches of Captain Warren, the 'permission to dig and inspect places, after satisfying the owners,' was clogged with the almost fatal condition, 'with the exception of the Noble Sanctuary, and the various Moslem and Christian shrines.' To overcome local prejudices, official disinclination, the fanaticism of sect, and the greediness of private individuals, has required a combination of courage, tact, and patience of no ordinary kind. The hostility shown by the Jew and by the Moslem to the active curiosity of the Christian, has been shared by some bearing the latter designation; and persons who have associated themselves to augment what they call the evidences of Christianity, look askance at those more practical inquirers, who put tradition to the rude test of the spade.

The proper course for an explorer to follow in the case of Jerusalem, admits of no doubt. The first requisite was to determine the actual site and area of the city, at the time of its greatest magnitude and splendour, from the indications afforded by the foundations of its ancient walls. Much of the history, and approximate topography, of these walls is preserved in Jewish literature. Before the invention of gunpowder, it was not within the power of a conqueror to obliterate the foundations of megalithic masonry, or the rock-cut seats and scarps on which the ancient walls of Jerusalem were based. They might be buried, but not uprooted. Above all things, the commencement of the work was rendered easy by the existence of that unique mountain, which was girdled by Solomon with masonry elsewhere without a parallel; the existence of a portion of which *in situ* was known to the most superficial observers. To trace the continuity of the

Temple enclosure, sinking, when necessary, to the rock foundation ; then to follow the ancient course of the wall repaired by Nehemiah, and assaulted, and partly demolished, by Titus ; of the northern wall of Agrippa, which was altogether levelled in the Roman siege, and of the inner, and older, as well as less important wall, which was turned by Titus when he obtained possession of the courts of the Temple, should have been the first objects. Then should have followed the recovery of the plan of the Temple and its courts, based on a definite and intelligent search for the interior galleries with which the site is known to have been honey-combed. The identification of the sites of the palaces of Herod, of Monobazus, and of the Council ; of the Xystus, of the towers of Antonia, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne ; of the tombs of the dynasty of David, and perhaps of other monuments, would have followed. Thus the map would have been traced step by step ; and each new discovery would have paved the way for those which were to follow.

In the absence of any such systematic plan, or of any attempt to arrange, co-ordinate, and bring clearly before the world the very important discoveries which have been actually made, the recovery of Jerusalem has not hitherto excited that general interest which is rightfully due to the subject. The facts successively ascertained, and published in a series of reports, bear chiefly on the question of the original structural unity of the great work of the Haram, as to which Captain Warren has not recognised the full importance of his very valuable discoveries ; on the rock levels in different places ; and on the course of certain aqueducts. But the result of a very laborious exploration is not brought within the grasp of the reader.

'The Recovery of Jerusalem' is a collection of papers by nine different authors. Only about three-fifths of the volume have any direct reference to the city. The remainder treats of the cartography and archæology of Palestine, and of the Peninsula of Sinai. The earlier pages consist of reprints of the reports of Captain Warren on the excavations carried on by him at Jerusalem. As reports, sent in to a superior officer to describe the progress of the works, these papers are exactly what is desirable. Some of the discoveries hit upon are of primary importance, nor is their actual value diminished by the fact that their relations and real significance have escaped the appreciation of the explorers. But when the result of the work has to be ascertained and brought before the public, something of a more judicial character is

required. Information that has been collected piece-meal, and of which the first idea is often materially modified by further investigation, requires digestion and systematic arrangement. Shots in the dark should be forgotten. Above all, the light of literary knowledge should be brought to bear on the results of engineering toil. It is evident that nothing of this kind can be attempted in a report. Captain Warren entered on the scene of his labours with certain views of the topography of ancient Jerusalem which were, one after another, modified and reversed by the results of the exploration. He has stated as much with perfect candour. But the reader must have a good general knowledge of the entire subject in order to understand this. He will feel perplexed by the opposite conclusions suggested by different portions of the reports. The public are not much interested in the process by which opinions are formed. They look for results, disposed in a definite, consistent, and attractive form. The material collected by Captain Warren is, we repeat, of primary value. But it comes before us, in this volume, as rough as when first extracted from the quarry. A more coherent account of the labours of the Exploration Fund has recently been given to the public in a very cheap and unpretending volume, entitled 'Our Work in Palestine.' This work is evidently intended to diffuse in a popular form a knowledge of the discoveries which have been made, and to stimulate further contributions. It is highly meritorious as far as it goes; but it has no pretensions to resolve the question which these inquiries are calculated to raise.

It is thus evident that a more scientific examination of the numerous details now positively known, is a step which it is necessary to take. Among the points which we may fairly expect now to decide are the following: The unity, the design, and thus the original date, of the great wall of the 'Noble Sanctuary': the situation, level, and orientation of the Holy House and of the Great Altar: the size and form of the enclosing courts, known to the Jews by the name of the Sanctuary; and their relation to the existing scarp and arched platform surrounding the Dome of the Rock: the position and form of the Castle of Antonia: the identification of the sites of the three groups of gates, mentioned in the native literature, viz. the Gates of the City, those of the Mountain of the House, and those of the Sanctuary: the course of the three city walls, erected at three great building eras, 300 and 700 years apart, and the relation of the existing city wall to each of these, its predecessors: the import of

the crypts or subterranean galleries under the Mosque platform, and other parts of the Haram. Special subjects of individual interest will claim explanation in the course of the general inquiry. Such are the Phœnician letters which exist on the foundation courses of the great wall. Such are the varied modes in which the megalithic blocks are faced, in different courses. Such are the cubical projections, and corresponding hollows, on the faces of some of these colossal stones. Such are the super-imposed pavements, and successive strata of rubbish, that have been pierced, one below the other, by the mines. Such are the steps upon, and the cave with, in the Sakrah, and the relation of that venerated relic to the history of the site.

To render possible the full solution of these questions, as a matter of engineering investigation, an adequate knowledge of the literature of the subject is indispensable. Glaring and demonstrable errors exist in the most venerated authorities. Not one can be trusted second-hand. It is only by knowing what those who had means of information actually say—not what some one else represents them as saying—that we can arrive even at the threshold of a serious investigation. We do not refer, in speaking of the literature illustrative of ancient Jerusalem, to the series of modern writers who, from Mr. Catherwood in 1833, to Count Melchior de Vogué in 1864, have occupied themselves with the topography of the Holy City. Beautiful drawings like those of M. de Vogué, possess a lasting value. But the actual information now at our command is so far in advance of that possessed by any former writers, as to render it unnecessary to revert to conflicts of partially enlightened opinion. With the surveys, plans, and mining sketches now existing, with the results of an exploration that is daily accumulating new facts, and with the published progress reports, in our hands, it is to the statements of writers who knew the locality, not to the guesses of those who did not, that we must look for guidance and explanation. Dr. Lightfoot's work on the Temple will always remain a monument of erudition. But Dr. Lightfoot was not a draughtsman. In his earliest edition he wisely made no attempt to project a plan; for which, indeed, he never had the materials. And the very extent of his reading, and accuracy of his learning, make him a dangerous guide in those places where, in the absence of a map, he has either departed from, or striven to go beyond, his authorities; or has quoted from Maimonides instead of from the Talmud.

Two great divisions of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Prophets

and the Hagiographa, contain much latent information as to the topography of Jerusalem. It may well deserve this term; for out of more than seventy passages giving distinct information relating to the gates alone, only nineteen will be discovered by the student who relies on a 'Concordance.' The 'Antiquities,' and 'Wars' of the Jews, by Josephus, are of course the most patent sources of knowledge on the subject. But the largest amount of instructive detail is hidden under the unlifted veil of the Talmud. Of this almost unexplored treasury of information, the tract most directly concerning the subject of these pages is the tenth of the fifth order, Kodashim, called the 'Middoth,' or Measurements. Important details are also given in the tract Succah, or Tabernacles, the sixth of the second order. Perhaps the most instructive of all is the tract Yoma, the fifth of the second order, which treats of the Day of Expiation. But from the entirely unexpected manner in which any subject is introduced in the Ghemara, it is impossible to claim an exhaustive knowledge of all the references contained in the Talmud, without a lifelong study of its twelve folio Hebrew volumes.

The footsteps of the visitor to Jerusalem, at the present day, will in the first instance most naturally follow the course taken by the Governor Nehemiah, rather more than 2,300 years ago. The book which bears his name (more especially in the third chapter) is to this day the best guide to the ancient topography of the city. The desolation is even more complete than that witnessed in his nightly round. The first impression produced, on leaving the Jaffa Gate, and following the valley to the south, is that of the utter stoniness of the spot. All that is not bare rock is loose stone. As the eye begins to take cognisance of the enormous mounds of rubbish, the sense of desolation is not diminished. The ancient strength of the place, the profound depths, and steep sides of the ravines, add to the force of the impression. On passing the lower pool of Gihon—an enormous dry reservoir, built of ancient, although not megalithic, masonry—the tombs of the Valley of Hinnom come in view. The imagination is seized by the wonderful colours of the rocks—greys with streaks of russet. The great wall of the Haram next appears; almost dwarfed by the enormous pile of rubbish which has been poured at its feet. It is distinguished by a rich tawny hue, peculiar to itself. Anon, over a foreground of grey shade, comes out the southern peak of Olivet, red in the glowing sunlight. Passing the unexplored tombs of Siloam, the eastern wall of the Haram is seen; and the attention is riveted by the large number of columns, of all sizes and

materials, that are built in, at right angles to the face. They are of every description of rich marble—porphyry and syenite, white, and green, and red. On one, which projects a long distance from the wall, you are told that Mohammed will sit on the Day of Judgment. On reaching the north-east angle of the city wall, its scarped rock foundation commands attention. Megalithic masonry, and the great rock-cut ditch, mentioned by Strabo and by Josephus as protecting the north wall of the city, may be traced at intervals, until the marks of the ancient defences are lost beneath vast piles of rubbish west of the Damascus Gate.

The area now occupied by the city of Jerusalem and its environs may be said to have been the site of seven successive cities. Eighteen great building epochs have been divided from one another by seventeen separate captures or hostile occupations. We cannot attempt now even to glance at these varied phases of the history of the place. The desolate and sordid aspect of the city testifies to the condition into which it has sunk under the Turkish rule. The most interesting of the existing edifices were raised by the Saracen caliphs. Remains of the work of Godfrey and the Angevin kings are to be recognised; but they are dwarfed by the colossal relics of the earlier builders. The Persian came only to destroy. The Roman thrice ruined or transformed Jerusalem. Justinian, and before him Constantine, filled it with convents, and shrines, and churches. Julian and Hadrian reared temples to Venus and to Jupiter; and the latter endeavoured to suppress its very name, in favour of that of *Ælia Capitolina*. Under the Idumean kings, and the preceding Asamonean dynasty, occurred fierce struggles with the Roman and with the Parthian—with the kings of Syria and of Egypt. During the period of 1,113 years, which elapsed between the capture of the city of Jebus by David, and the great catastrophe effected by Titus, magnificent monarchs exhausted the arts of their day in adorning the sacred mount. In the whole history of Jerusalem, from the days of Melchizedec to our own, the most memorable epochs of destruction were the capture effected, in the 488th year of the Hebrew monarchy, by the Chaldeans, and the yet more complete overthrow, 646 years later, by the Romans. The marks of these master calamities, and of the workmanship of the three chief founders and restorers of the city—Solomon, Nehemiah, and Herod—are preserved beneath mounds of accumulated *débris*, with something of the fidelity of the geological record of the globe.

The topographical questions which arise may be divided, in

the first instance, into three groups; referring to the history, or to the traditions, of the Jew, the Christian, or the Moslem. The last, where they are not also Jewish, are the most shadowy of the local associations. The second, which refer to the verification of the holy places venerated by the different Christian communions, are those which have hitherto excited the greatest interest in Europe. But to form any idea of the probable authenticity of the monkish sites, we must understand the topography of Jerusalem under the Idumean kings. Nor can we halt in the investigation until we have traced the marks of the devastations wrought by the Romans and by the Chaldeans; and have thus attained some idea of the successive states of the city under its three native or naturalised dynasties.

The city of Jerusalem attained its utmost extent under the third, or Idumean, dynasty of the kings of Judea. In splendour and architectural beauty, if not in colossal grandeur, the buildings of Herod the Great rivalled those of Solomon, his most famous predecessor. The polished ashlar work of the Roman and Grecian temples was introduced by Herod, as is shown by the remains of his works at Cesarea. The drafted megalithic style of Solomon was restored by Agrippa, the last king. The area within the walls of the present city is calculated by Mr. Besant, from Ordnance data, to cover 209 acres of ground, of which thirty-five are occupied by the Noble Sanctuary. To this must be added, in order to arrive at the area walled in by Nehemiah, after the return from the first captivity, a space approximately taken at fifty-seven acres, lying between the present southern wall, and the ancient fortifications of Ophel and of Sion. The city, thus containing some 266 acres, is described by its rebuilder as 'great and large,' while its inhabitants, enumerated at 49,942, were disproportionately few. By the time of Claudius Cæsar, Jerusalem had grown more populous. It 'gradually crept,' Josephus informs us, 'beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the Temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it 'considerably larger; and occasioned that hill, which is in 'number the fourth, to be inhabited also.' Around this new city, Bezetha, or Cænopolis, Agrippa laid the foundations of a megalithic wall, which, on the outburst of the final storm, was raised by the people to the height of more than 30 feet. Its circuit has not yet been accurately traced; but there are distinct indications of its approximate course. Such are the directions of the roads, the remains of megalithic masonry, and the position of the enormous sacrificial ash heaps which are

mentioned in the tract Yoma of the Talmud as lying to the north of the city wall. The area of Bezetha may be taken approximately at an amount which would make the Jerusalem of the Idumean kings cover something under 370 acres. The perimeter given by Josephus is 33 stadia.* The Roman wall of circumvallation, which began from the camp of the Assyrians, was 39 stadia.† The length of a line drawn round the Ophel wall discovered by Captain Warren, the southern scarp of the fortification of Sion, discovered by Lieutenant Conder,‡ and the points above indicated coincide very closely with the statement of the historian.§

The historic notices that exist of the walls of Jerusalem are few and brief. Yet they are sufficient, when examined by the light afforded by the results of actual survey, to enable us to speak with considerable certainty as to the eras, and even as to the authors, of their successive extensions. Four hundred and fifty years after the invasion of Palestine by Joshua, David laid siege to the royal city of Jebus. 'He stormed the lower city, but the citadel still held out,'|| confiding in the all-but inaccessible rock which had so long secured its independence. After the capture of this fortress, David 'joined the citadel to the lower city, and encompassed the whole with walls.'¶ These Solomon 'repaired and made higher, with great towers upon them.'** This magnificent king, moreover,†† 'by divine revelation, encompassed' the Temple hill 'with a wall, at the south side of which he laid rocks together, and bound them to one another with lead, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it.' Thus Jerusalem, in the time of Solomon, was encompassed by the wall of Sion, the wall to the north of the lower city, and the fortress wall of Moriah. In the two centuries and a quarter succeeding the death of Solomon, the city, in spite of two successful sieges, had become

* Bell. V. iv. 2.

† Bell. V. xii. 2.

‡ P. E. F. Quarterly Statement, Oct. 1872, p. 168.

§ With reference to the density of the population, and the large numbers congregated at the great annual festivals, we may draw an instructive comparison from the statistics of the city of London. The city proper covers 631 acres. In 1866 its resident day population was 244,865. This was increased by a daily influx of 509,111 clients and customers, raising the day population to 753,976. In the case of any extraordinary attraction, such as the visit of the Queen to St. Paul's, the density of the crowd is enormously increased. And London has no building capable, like the Temple, of containing 200,000 persons.

|| Ant. VII. iii. 1.

¶ Ant. VII. iii. 2.

** Ant. VIII. vi. 1.

†† Ant. XV. xi. 3.

more populous and extensive. The twelfth, fourteenth, and fifteenth sovereigns of the house of Judah occupied themselves in the extension of the walls to the south-east, to the north, and to the north-east. Jotham * 'built much on the wall of 'Ophel.' Hezekiah built † 'another wall without.' Manasseh built a wall ‡ 'without the City of David on the west side of 'Gihon in the valley, unto the entering in at the Fish Gate; 'and compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great 'height.' To these kings we must attribute the wall which has been traced for some 700 feet to the south of the south-east angle of the Haram, the wall in prolongation of the Haram wall to the north, the scarped ditch at the north-east angle of the city wall, and the prodigious rock-cut ditch which is described by Strabo as 250 feet wide and 60 feet deep; and which is traceable, in several places, without the existing northern wall of the city.

From the reign of Manasseh to the fall of Jerusalem before the Chaldeans, no extension of the area of the city is recorded, or, indeed, is likely to have taken place. The account of the wall which was rebuilt by the Governor Nehemiah agrees very exactly with the perimeter of that which we have indicated as completed by King Manasseh. In distinct points of this wall are to be found those unmistakeable signs of a hasty reconstruction upon ancient foundations, to which we shall presently refer. The demolitions and the reconstructions that took place during the rule of the Asamonean princes and high priests, and their predecessors of the house of Zadoc, were important and repeated; but the very account of the struggles of the time precludes the idea of extension of area. Simon the Just, the grandson of Jaddua, is referred to in the Book of Ecclesiasticus as rebuilding the fortress wall of the Temple.§ Jonathan, the 53rd high priest, built an interior wall to shut off Akra from Sion, the remains of which may yet be discovered.|| But under the reign of the magnificent Herod, and his immediate successor, the population so far increased as to induce Agrippa to lay out the third wall,¶ which, including the fourth or northern hill, added a new quarter to the city.

To the forces of Titus, advancing, as military reasons rendered advisable, from the north, three walls were opposed.** They protected Antonia, the Temple, and the upper city.

* Par. II. xxvii. 3.

† Par. II. xxxii. 5.

‡ Par. II. xxxiv. 14. Strabo, B. xvi. p. 763.

§ Eccles. i. 2.

|| Ant. xiii. 5, 11.

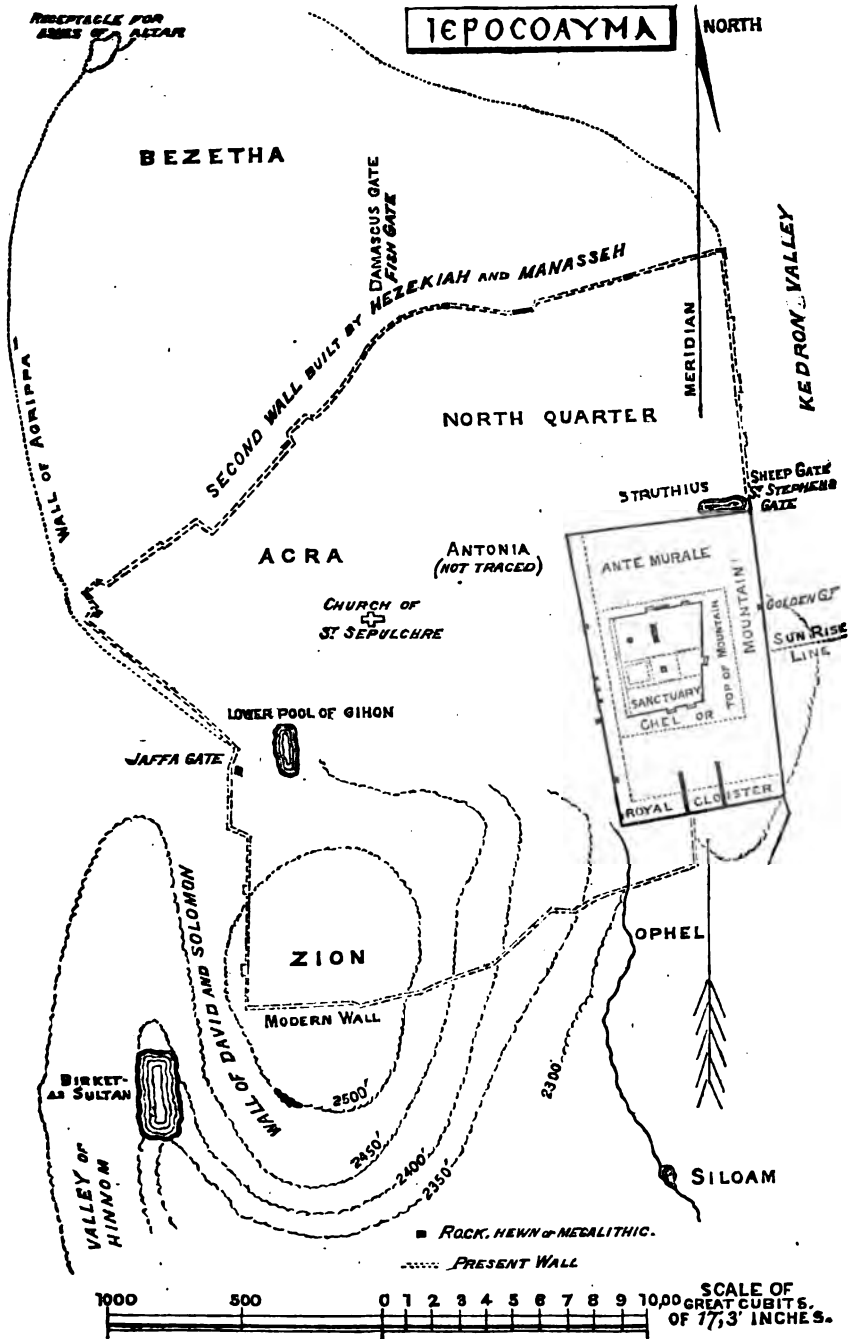
¶ Ant. V. iv. 2.

** Bell. V. vii. 3, *et seq.*

1873.

The Recovery of Jerusalem.

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The first of these, the wall of Agrippa, was taken on the 15th day of the siege, and was then levelled with the ground; as were the buildings yet standing in the north quarter of the city. The second wall, corresponding to that erected in the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Jewish occupation of the site, was taken on the 20th day. The third wall was turned, and ceased to be a line of defence when, on the 92nd day, Titus became master of the courts of the Temple. On the 97th day, the Romans burnt the lower city, as far as Siloam. On the 102nd day they erected banks against the west side of the upper city, by the royal palace; and on the 7th of Elul, the 119th day of the siege, this western wall was overthrown, and resistance was at an end.

The exact course of the internal wall, which was turned by the capture of the Temple enclosure on which it abutted, has been more fiercely debated than almost any point in the topography of Jerusalem. In presence of the historic view of the gradual growth of the city, the position of this line is a matter of minor importance. But hopes have been expressed, by persons slenderly acquainted with either the local or the historic facts, that a line of wall might be discovered lying somewhere between the Temple and the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre, so as to admit of that site being considered in some way exterior to the city. Josephus, however, tells us that the third wall stretched from the tower Hippicus to the west cloister of the Temple, passing the Xystus.* Of this place of exercise we first hear as having been built by Jason, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes,† 'under the tower itself;' and the gates which led to it from the mountain were to the west of the Inner Sanctuary, so that it must have been north of the northern causeway leading from the Temple to Acra.

Hippicus was situated at the junction of the walls of Solomon and of Agrippa.‡ The only part of the walls of the city which Titus left standing was that on the west. If this coincided, as can hardly be doubtful, with the line of the existing wall, the only point which fulfils the stratigraphical conditions stated by Josephus is the north-western salient of the city walls, north of the Jaffa Gate; where megalithic ruins exist. These facts seem to indicate that the line of the third wall ran somewhere between the Kalat al Jalud, and the Bab an Nazir. It must not be confounded with the wall built by Simon and Jonathan,§ during the high priesthood

* Bell. V. iv. 3.

† Mac. II. iv. 9-12.

‡ Bell. V. iv. 3.

§ Ant. XIII. v. 14.

of the latter, 'in the midst of the city, to cut off the market-place from the garrison'—that is to say, between Sion and Akra, or possibly round the Greek citadel; since the wall built by David, as we have seen,* included the latter quarter.

From a bird's-eye view of the site of Jerusalem it is easy to recognise the four hills described by Josephus. Moriah, the mountain of the Temple, is at once unmistakeable; surrounded as it yet is by its colossal wall, and covering a space which, if it were quite rectangular, would measure some 320 yards from east to west, and 527 yards from north to south. The summit, the Sacred Rock, is 2,440 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. To the south-west of this Great Altar Mountain lies the elliptical Hill of Sion, with its scarped defences. Josephus speaks of its height as dominating Moriah; and the level gives it as 110 feet above the Sakrah. The contour of the third hill, Akra, west of the Temple and north of Sion, is much disguised by the enormous mass of rubbish which has choked the ravines and city ditch. We are told by Josephus that its summit originally overlooked the Temple, but that it was reduced by Simon Maccabeus. It is at present 66 feet above the Sakrah, or 2,506 feet above the Mediterranean; but it is generally raised by *débris*, which, in the Tyropæon valley, fill a depth of from 60 to 90 feet. It may be noted that Dr. Lightfoot, whose very few errors have been implicitly adopted by writers who have neither his learning nor his candour, speaks of Sion as north of the Temple. But in the same breath he laments the want of a map; and admits that he draws the inference only from the second verse of the 48th Psalm; which, if it have any topographical reference at all, bears, with more propriety, an opposite sense.

On the site of Bezetha, the fourth and northernmost hill, little exploration has been attempted. Less rubbish is to be encountered here than in the other parts of the city; as the demolition effected by Pompey and by Titus had not here been preceded by the ruthless ravages of the Chaldeans. At the north-western angle of the area old foundations exist. It was at the north-west angle, the wall of Agrippa, that the tower Psephinus was situated, over against Hippicus. The level at this spot is 2,564 feet above the Mediterranean. At the parallel salient of the present wall it is 2,581 feet.

The identification of the four hills on which lay the Jerusalem of the Idumean kings leads to that of the gates men-

* Ant. VII. iii. 1.

tioned in the Bible, the Talmud, and the works of Josephus. These gates form three distinct groups or categories; being those of the City, of the Mountain of the House, and of the Sanctuary, or inner courts of the Temple. Of the six existing gates of the city three only can be identified with as many out of the seven of Herodian Jerusalem. The Sheep Gate, the Fish Gate, and the Western Gate (whether it was the *Porta Vetus* or the *Porta Ephraim*), are now known as the St. Stephen's, the Damascus, and the Jaffa Gates. The Bab as Zahiré, or Gate of Herod, now closed, tells of its date by its title, but is not mentioned by the earlier writers. The two gates in the present south wall, which is built far within the limits of the ancient defence of Sion, serve the purpose of the Valley Gate, the Dung Gate, and the Gate of the Fountain, of the wall of Nehemiah; the exact sites of which will be, no doubt, fixed when funds are forthcoming to allow of the prosecution of the survey, according to the simple but exhaustive project drawn up by Lieutenant Conder. Eighteen gates or entrances, open or closed, exist in the outer wall of the Noble Sanctuary. Of these Gates of the Mountain of the House the Talmud specifies five. There is reason to believe that they are specially referred to as being approached by bridges. On the western side the only double gate is still thus approached. On the eastern side Maimonides* states that this was the case. On the south and north the inclination of the ground is such as to have rendered some such expedient necessary. Through the eastern gate, over the arched causeway, the Talmud† describes the procession of the high priest to the Mount of Olives, for the sacrifice of the red heifer. There is no ground for hesitation in identifying the only eastern gate of the Haram, the Golden Gate. Its antiquity is proved by the exact interval it occupies in the wall, as well as by megalithic remains; in spite of the later Roman work which has been visibly patched on to it. It is referred to in the Bible under different names; as the Gate Miphkad, the Gate of Judgment, and the Gate behind the Guard. It is the *Porta Custodiæ* of Jerome; and has been an important feature of the Temple system from the very first.

On the south wall some of the original megalithic work of the two Huldah or 'Weasel' Gates, one of which is triple and the other double, is yet *in situ*. Their level is that of the Great Course hereafter to be described. The adit from the triple gate leads to the Water Gate of the Inner Sanctuary;

* In *Shekalim*, iv. 8.

† *Middoth*, i. 3.

through which the priests bore water, drawn from Siloe, in a golden vessel, to pour out during the Feast of Tabernacles. The quaint name of Solomon's Stables, which is attached to the substructure of the south-eastern angle of the Haram, and the extraordinary width of the gateway, are among the circumstances which enable us to identify the triple gate with the *Porta Equorum*, or Horse Gate. Through the double Huldah Gate a line drawn to the north crosses the site of the Great Altar, and then marks the centre of a partially explored crypt, or subterranean gallery; of which Josephus speaks as affording a communication between Antonia and the Inner Temple.

On the west, the double gate Kipunus, of the Talmud,* is referred to by Josephus,† as leading to Akra. The arch, yet existing, is probably a Roman restoration; ancient piers exist below the surface. Over this arch yet runs the aqueduct, by which, according to the Jerusalem Talmud, water was brought from Etam to supply the brazen laver. It is probable that this was the 'High Gate of the House of the Lord,' which was rebuilt by King Jotham. Symmetrically disposed with this causewayed gate is one which bears the name of the 'Iron Gate;' and thus recalls the memory of Peter's escape from prison. At the south, the remains of a second bridge, central to the Royal Cloister, and leading to the vertical scarp of Sion, show the position of the *Ascensus domus David* of the Book of Nehemiah. Between these two causewayed gates, and spaced at a symmetric interval, is the Bab al Magharibé, or Prophet's Gate, which appears to have given access from the suburbs to the Royal Cloister; and is probably one of the four western gates mentioned by Josephus. In the centre of the western wall, behind the Holy House, is a remarkable group of three gates, which appear to have been intimately connected with the service of the Temple—the southern adit, pierced in the wall, probably serving for the introduction of the lambs for the continual offering; six of which were always kept in a chamber at the south-west angle of the Sanctuary.

North of the Iron Gate further exploration is necessary. Three gates on the western wall were probably connected with the defences of Antonia. On the north the name of the Gate Tadi,‡ or Obscurity, is still preserved in that of the Bab al Atm; but the exact position of the ancient gate, its vestibule

* Middoth, i. 3.

† Ant. XV. ii. 5.

‡ Middoth, i. 3.

and adit, have yet to be discovered. This gate alone had a pediment or inclined architrave, all the others having flat lintels; the gigantic blocks of which are in several places visible.* The intimation given in the Bible of the connexion of that gate with idolatrous worship should stimulate the explorers.

Of the remaining gates on the north wall; the nine-chambered crypt that probably underlay one of the corner towers of the castle of Antonia, and the two pairs of twin tunnels which may possibly afford traces of the engineering attacks by Pompey and by Titus on that fortification, it is premature yet to speak. The north-east angle of the Haram is the only one not equidistant from the centre line. The now projecting tower is not indicated in the plan of the foundation, which runs on straight to a point at the same distance from the centre as the other angles, where the masonry changes its character.† We conclude that the original plan of the Sanctuary has here been modified, to which fact Josephus refers; probably to give accommodation to the Birket Israil. Further exploration is here requisite.

The area within the great wall of the Sanctuary is irregular or level, partially covered with grass, and dotted with a few trees. Numerous little houses or chambers are there, in an order by no means regular. Near the centre of the area is the paved platform, partly walled, partly rock-hewn, on which stands the famous mosque built by the Caliph Abd el Melek to replace the original structure reared by Omar over the Praying-place of the great Prophets. The effect of the contrast from the bright light without, to the enormous, dark, gloomy building, dimly lighted with the most glorious stained glass, is more imposing than that of York, of Westminster, or of Seville. Pillars of the richest marble, but of every conceivable diameter and style of capital, the spoils of various ruined buildings, support the great dome; covered with mosaics, arabesques, inscriptions, and gilding to the very top, just dimly gleaming out of the darkness. Beneath, a canopy of bright silk hangs over the dusty rock of the Sakrah.‡

* Ez. viii. 5.

† Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 162.

‡ The best description of the Sakrah is to be found in M. de Vogué's 'Églises de la Terre Sainte,' p. 279. He states that this venerable memorial fills the centre of the Mosque of Omar, rising from three to six feet above the pavement. The irregular hollow or cavern at the south-east end of it identifies it with the 'lapis pertusus' of Constantine; and the profound veneration with which this rock is regarded by Jews and Mahometans is probably a tradition connecting it with the Temple.

No spot on the surface of the planet can appeal more powerfully to the imagination than the Great Altar Mountain of Moriah: no place is so luminous in historic association. It is the very mooring-stone of monotheistic faith. On the rocky crest of its lofty summit, in the belief alike of the Jew, the Christian, and the Moslem, the veil that shrouds the invisible world has been most often and most evidently raised. Here, according to the oral tradition handed down by eighty-eight successive occupants of the dignity of high priest, the common ancestor of all the Arabian tribes laid the wood in order for the meditated sacrifice of his son. Here the shepherd who won the throne on which, as reigning over an undivided people, only three kings sat, saw the angel stand between the earth and the heaven, with a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. Here was believed to dwell, at least for the 423 years of the first Temple, if not for the full millennium during which sacrifice was offered on the altar, the shadow of the cloud and the glory of the Shekina, and to whisper the small, still voice of the Bath Col. Here, again, according to a second group of sacred traditions, to the priest Zacharias, at the Feast of Lights in the 35th year of Herod the Great (when the course of Abia was in attendance), appeared an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense. In one of the numerous chambers within that colossal wall, sat the divine Child, in the midst of the elders of the Sanhedrim, both hearing them and asking them questions. Under the Royal Cloister, cresting the great southern wall, twenty years later, the Son of Mary walked in the winter, at the Feast of the Dedication. Here, again, in the belief of the present guardians of the Sanctuary, from the very place where Abraham, and David, and Solomon had prayed, the great Arabian prophet took his upward journey, in a vision more momentous to the world than either of those in which Isaiah, Amos, and Ezekiel had been rapt to the same place. No spot so consecrated by sacred legend exists on the surface of the earth.

The skill, the art, the mighty toil, that have been devoted to the adornment, and to the desecration, of this most ancient place of worship, have been of extraordinary magnitude. The grandest legacy of Egyptian antiquity, the Great Pyramid, demanded, indeed, a larger amount of naked human labour; but in Moriah there is a compulsion of the features of Nature herself to the service of the builder. In actual bulk, the Great Pyramid is to the Temple rock as five to nine, if we descend but as far as the sills of the five double

gates of the Mountain of the House. If we carry the comparison down to the level at which the lowest foundation of the walls is inlaid in the rock at the angles of the enclosure, the bulk is three times that of the Great Pyramid. The cubic contents of the mason's work may not amount to a tenth part of that piled up by Souphis. But the hill has been honeycombed with chambers and galleries; and the declining part to the south covered with vaults and arches, to which Gizeh can show no parallel. No merely artificial structure could have so successfully resisted the resolute efforts of the two greatest military nations of the ancient world to destroy its existence and to obliterate its memory. No other monument, long surviving the era of Asiatic and Italian power, can ever, like the Noble Sanctuary, mark by its very ruins the successive periods of its glory and its fall.

If we regard not so much the evidence of the labour devoted to the work of the Temple as the effect produced on the mind by its apparent magnitude, we may suggest the following comparisons: The length of the eastern wall of the Sanctuary is rather more than double that of one side of the Great Pyramid. Its height, from the foundation on the rock at the south, and near the northern angles, was nearly a third of that of the Egyptian structure. If to this great height of 152 feet of solid wall be added the descent of 114 feet to the bed of the Kedron, and the further elevation of 160 feet attained by the pinnacle of the Temple porch, we have a total height of 426 feet, which is only 59 feet less than that of the Great Pyramid. The area of the face of the eastern wall is more than double that of one side of the pyramid. Thus the magnitude of the Noble Sanctuary of Jerusalem far exceeded that of any other temple in the world. Two amphitheatres of the size of the Coliseum would have stood within its colossal girdle, and left room to spare. The Coliseum is said to have seated 87,000 spectators, and accommodated 22,000 more in its arena and passages. For such a number to have been crammed within its circle, the space for each person must have been limited to 17 inches by 20 inches. Allowing 2 cubits each way, or 4 square cubits, for each worshipper, in the Temple, the Sanctuary would have contained 30,000; the Chel, excluding the Priests' Court, 26,000 more; and there would yet have been room in the Great Court and the cloisters to make the total reach to more than 210,000.

The walls of the Sanctuary do not bear the primary characteristic of fortifications. They have, with an exception to be noticed, neither salient angles nor projecting towers. Their

course has been determined, as we shall show, by the most precise linear measurement. The oblique lines of the interior platform (into the reason for which we shall presently inquire) are characterised, to a certain extent, by a want of parallelism to the exterior walls. But the depth of the Kedron ravine has also been taken into consideration by the architect. The loftiest portions of the wall, at the south-east angle, and towards the northern extremity, are laid on foundations in the rock approximately level, not only with each other, but also with that of the south-west angle, which alone is rectangular. It will be seen hereafter that an irregularity, at first very perplexing, furnishes a most remarkable proof of the thoughtful accuracy that superintended the execution of the original design.

Without the area of the Noble Sanctuary but little trace of the principal buildings of ancient Jerusalem has been discovered. We have yet to seek for the foundations of the royal palaces, of the Xystus, and of the monument of the High Priest John. The tombs of David and of the ten of his descendants who were buried in the royal sepulchres of Sion may even yet remain unrisfled, if they were concealed as carefully as we are told by Josephus was the case. Of the aqueducts, one, the low-level line, is yet in a state to supply water to the Haram. A second has been traced, in sections, to near the Jaffa Gate but has not yet been identified within the city. A third, entering the precincts near the Damascus Gate, and thus corresponding to 'the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of 'the fuller's field' of the time of Hezekiah, appears to have been disused at least since the time of Herod. Its course has been traced by the west wall of the Sanctuary, till it falls into the present sewer. A remarkable rock-cut passage connected with the Pool of Siloam appears, according to Captain Warren's account, to be yet unfinished. The introduction of syphon-formed conduits, causing an intermittent flow of the water, is the most striking peculiarity of this ancient hydraulic system.

The masonry of the Sanctuary wall has been examined by Captain Warren in twelve separate places. It is tedious to trace in detail so many minute observations, the combined result of which is nowhere grasped. But the labour brings with it a reward of adequate value.

The ancient law—for reasons into which the criticism of the nineteenth century does not care to inquire—forbade at the same time the erection of an altar of hewn stone, and the tonsure or mutilation of the priest. A great unwritten tradi-

tion, yet alive among us, commemorates the fact that neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron was heard in the House of the Lord while it was in building. The discovery of the quarry marks of the Phœnician masons on the foundation courses of the great eastern wall of the mountain, shows that this reverent provision was applied by King Solomon to the entire enclosure. Letters so ancient that they appear to be the common progenitors of the Greek, the Samaritan, and the square Chaldean characters, still designate, after a lapse of 2,875 years, the course for which more than one stone was hewn, and in which it is still found. Beth occurs on the stone of the second course, Daleth on the fourth, and a numeral 5 on the fifth. The skill of experts has been called in to identify the letters; but their unmistakeable purport has not before been pointed out. At various places on each wall (with the exception of the unexplored northern line), from the north-east angle round to the middle of the western wall, the same notable indication has been distinctly found. One, or more, of the foundation courses, especially where these are on the lowest level, consists of stones drafted round the edges, and fair-dressed within the draft. Above these courses occur others, also of drafted masonry, but of a different appearance. Some are much worn. Some appear to have been reversed, the under side being more worn than the upper. Others are carefully drafted, and admirably fitted; but within the draft the face is rough, projecting, in some cases, as much as 20 inches beyond the fair-work. In some occur cubical projections, or hollows of corresponding form.

In all these phenomena we recognise the proofs of rebuilding with old materials. Where the stones are worn, especially where most worn on the under side, the justice of the remark is self-evident. Where the face projects, we conceive that the block had its arrises destroyed by the violence of the overthrow. The rebuilder, finding a stone otherwise available, cut back the draft, until he had a fair arris all round, but did not take the trouble to remove the face in cases where he knew that the work would be buried by the *débris* of the first demolition, which averages the depth of 25 feet. Thus we have, with a probability which, in the judgment of a mason, amounts to certainty, the marks of the original work of Solomon, of the furious and unrelenting destruction effected by the Chaldeans, and of the hasty rebuilding by Nehemiah. And the mortices and tenons which, in the uncemented work of the founder, bound stone to stone, are left apparent, at times, on the face of the work of the restorer, who often reset a block at right angles to its former position in the wall.

In the superimposed pavements, separated from one another by 25 feet of *débris*, and of which the lower covers a second 25 feet of similar material, we have the marks of a first restoration, after the Chaldean storm, and of a second after that by the Romans. And in one place, at the south-west angle, under the site of the arched causeway that led from the Temple to the palace, we find the joggled (or morticed) voussoirs of the Arch of Solomon at the very bottom—the natural position, as the bridge would have been destroyed before the wall—and those of the reconstructed arch lying (under yet a further depth of 25 feet of *débris*) on the lower pavement. Are we not justified in speaking of these facts as possessing an historic value akin to that of the geological record of the earth?

We have little doubt that the entire history of this unique fortress-wall will hereafter become intelligible in detail. No work has been pointed out in its perimeter which can be identified with that of Herod, at least as existing *in situ*. But the account of Josephus by no means implies that Herod rebuilt the outer wall. He rebuilt the south, the west, and the north cloisters; the cloisters and gates of the inner Sanctuary; and the Temple. In the absence of any notice of demolition of the fortress-wall after its rebuilding by Simon the Just, there is no authority for asserting that the work of Herod went lower than the bottom of the outer cloisters.

This view of the grand historic unity of the megalithic Sanctuary wall is illustrated by notes of Captain Warren. In a mine near the north-east angle of the Haram, which opened an unexplained wall running under the *débris* without, he remarked: 'The stones here are very well dressed, but have a 'curious cracked appearance, as if they had been subjected 'to great heat.'* Again, on reaching the Sanctuary wall through some vaulting near the arched causeways of the Gate of Peace, he found 'the drafted stones very black and glazed, 'apparently from the smoke of fires.'† These burnt and blackened stones occur in the very spots where Josephus mentions two signal conflagrations; that of the western cloister, purposely fired by the Jews on the eightieth day of the siege; and that of the north cloister, as far as the east angle, built over the Kedron valley, 'on which account the depth was frightful,' which was burnt down by the Romans on the following day.‡

It requires no very profound degree of professional know-

* *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 179.

† *Idem*, p. 83.

‡ *Ant.* VI. iii. 1, 2.

ledge to see that the Sakrah, or Sacred Rock, which occupies the summit and centre of the Great Altar Mountain, must furnish, when rightly understood, the key to the entire system of the Temple. This portion of the live rock rises some eight feet above the pavement of the mosque which covers it. It is of an irregular form, stepped as if for the reception of masonry, and contains a chamber, into which access is afforded by a flight of steps. The levelling of the mountain in some places, its scarping in others, the alignment of the faces of the platform on which the mosque now stands, the position of the steps, partly rock-hewn, the intermixture of masonry with hewn live rock, and the direction of the important crypts, or subterranean galleries, are all so many consistent portions of one great comprehensive plan. A chamber, 25 feet square, hewn in this rock, does not appear to form a portion of the main system to which we refer. While the lines of the outer walls run approximately north and south, and east and west, the aperture into this cave faces the south-east. Its plan accords with the contours of the rock, not with the buildings. The cave itself is cemented. It returns in some places a hollow sound when struck; and it is not certain that we know its actual extent. But, so far as we can trace it, its origin appears to be foreign to that of the Temple. Its form is not that of a tomb, so that its object, if not ritual, is likely to have been industrial or domestic. Its site, when the city was unbuilt, must have commanded a prospect from a considerable distance.

Whatever may have been the origin of the cavern itself, two cylindrical perforations which exist, one in its roof and one in its floor, are unlike anything known elsewhere. So perfectly suitable is the arrangement, if regarded as an air-shaft, or means of supplying a constant current of air to the grating of the brazen altar, as to suggest the inquiry whether this could have been its site. On the application of the only test, actual measurement, to control this hypothesis, the facts that result are such as to leave little doubt, to a draughtsman, that the idea is correct. The east face of the Harel, or base of the Great Altar of Solomon, we know from the Talmud,* bisected the width of the Sanctuary east and west. That fact is exactly consistent with the placing of the altar on the Sakrah. Not only so, but we obtain from this determination the following results of an exact admeasurement of the Haram and the enclosed platform. East and west, the Court of the Priests, as

* Middoth, iii. 1.

rebuilt by Herod, bisected the Sanctuary; the mean width of the platform being exactly half of the mean width of the Haram. North and south, the perforation in the Sakrah is equidistant from the walls of the Haram. The Court of the Priests forms one-third of the length of the platform. The platform is one-third of the length of the Haram. These proportions are not approximate, but exact. Thus, the Court of the Priests forms exactly one-sixth of the area of the Sanctuary, which we identify with the platform; and the Sanctuary is exactly one-sixth of the area of the entire Mountain of the House.* These dimensions may be verified by any draughtsman on the Ordnance map. They admit of but one explanation.

It is remarked by the rabbinical writers as a matter partaking of the nature of miracle that, during the whole continuance of the first Temple, not only were the three fires that burned day and night on the hearth of the Great Altar unextinguished, but that, whatever was the weather or the current of the wind, the smoke always rose straight towards heaven. From the distant hills of Palestine that perpetual smoke-column must have been visible, ever ascending as if from an unslumbering volcano; deepening into thick blackness on the days of great sacrifices, but never absent, never extinct; the gilded pinnacle of the porch reflecting, in the darkness of night, the ruddy glow of the brazen hearth. A cloud and a smoke by day, in the language of the prophet, and the shining of a flaming fire by night, the glory and the defence of Sion.

The Arabian prophet, whose most remarkable vision hovers above the now altarless Sakrah, tells us how the wizard founder of the Temple bade a fountain of molten brass to flow for the service of his supernatural workmen.† He tells us how, feeling his end draw near, that wise sovereign so steadied his form, leaning on his staff, that his death was unperceived. For a full year after the soul of Solomon had taken its flight, the awed and obedient genii toiled on, and it was not until a creeping thing of the earth, gnawing in twain the staff of the king, betrayed the secret, that the posthumous labour came to an end. In the language of the western world, and of the nineteenth century, we may say that a royal and crowned engineer, more magnificent than Napoleon, and more subtle

* These proportions are those of the Temple of Herod. Vide: Mid. doth. The court of the House, in the first Temple, was 100 cubits square (vide Ezek. xlii. 13), or one-twelfth of the area of the Sanctuary.

† Koran, Saba. xxxiv.

than Souphis, knew how to feed the constant up-draught of his altar by a simple and effective arrangement, on which neither James Watt nor Isambard Brunel could have improved. On the return from the captivity, an altar built solid with unhewn stones, was substituted for the brazen hearth of King Solomon. But the light of the Shekina never rested on the second Temple, or on the altar that had been kindled by sparks struck from flint. Even in that removal of Solomon's altar by King Ahaz, which was the prelude to one of the most disastrous periods (almost passed over in silence by the sacred writers) of Jewish history, the brazen hearth was still maintained for the king 'to inquire by.' King Josiah restored the original order of the Sanctuary, after the innovations by Manasseh; and it is pretty certain that Hezekiah removed the unauthorised work of his own father, in whose time the lamp of the Temple, and probably the fire of the altar, were extinguished. To this restoration the fourth chapter of Isaiah may refer.

A further question remains which we believe, also, to be altogether new: it is that of the form of the courts of the Temple. In every attempt at delineation, it has been assumed that the Sanctuary occupied a square. But the existing platform, on which stands the Dome of the Rock, is neither square nor rectangular. The first cause of this obliquity is to be sought in the orientation of the Temple. The direction of the axis of a building east and west, is ordinarily regarded as a characteristic of Christian ecclesiastical architecture. But in ancient Greece the temples were built to face the east. The same is the case in Cælo-Syria. At Palmyra the Temple of the Sun stands north and south; but it has a principal entrance towards the east. The Great Pyramid faces the cardinal points, with a slight variation of 4' 35". At Stonehenge, which appears to have been so built as to suit the requirements of the site, a large stone yet marks the point of sunrise at the summer solstice, as seen from the centre of the circle. The directions given in the Pentateuch, as to the position of the Tabernacle, regard the cardinal points. The oral law enjoined that all beds should be placed north and south, and not east and west. It might, therefore, be expected, *à priori*, that King Solomon would have adopted some precise rule for the orientation of his unrivalled Temple. The actual alignment of the east face of the platform coincides with the meridian as exactly as can be determined from the Ordnance map. This meridian line, if prolonged, accurately bisects the south wall of the mountain. The centre line

drawn through the central western gate of the mountain, the perforation of the Sakrah, and the great eastern gate of the platform, subtends an angle of $79^{\circ} 51'$ with the meridian, giving a direction $10^{\circ} 9'$ north of east.

The date given in the English translation of the Book of Chronicles for the foundation of the Temple is the second of Zif, in the fourth year of Solomon. According to the Jewish calendar, it was on the seventh of Zif. The amplitude of sunrise on that day at Jerusalem, according to tables which we have always found accurately to explain the Hebrew dates, was $10^{\circ} 48' 30''$ north of east. But something like a degree would be lost owing to the elevation of the Mount of Olives. Without a special observation, both of the point taken as normal on Mount Moriah, and of the corresponding portion of the Olivet ridge, it is impossible to speak more accurately. As it is, the correspondence is so close that there can be little room to doubt that the sunrise line, on the day of the foundation of the Temple, determined the orientation of the Holy House, while the meridian determined the face of the platform. The western wall of the Sanctuary was traced square to the sunrise line; and the line through the double Huldah Gate, the Great Altar, and the subterranean gallery to the north, runs parallel to the western wall.

We are thus justified in stating that in the alignment of the rock-hewn scarps and colossal masonry of the Sanctuary and the enclosing mountain, King Solomon not only formed a record, more durable than brass, of the grand unity of his original design, but further calendared, to all future time, the very year and day of the foundation of the Holy House. That day, in the year in question, fell on the first day of the week. To trace such long-hidden characters of the wisdom, which is proverbial in the East, is a pursuit unusually fascinating to the imagination. But it is not the imagination which supplies the facts. They lie patent on the face of the Ordnance survey. It is to the methodic application of the ordinary science of the engineer that every step in our path is due. The results, however startling, are certain, definite, and in natural sequence. We ask the company of our readers for yet a few steps further.

The contour of the live rock of Mount Moriah, levelled on its summit, and scarped and walled around the sides of its crowning platform, when the dimensions are compared with the numerous details preserved by the great writers of the Mishna and the Tosaphoth, enables us to determine the distribution of the Sanctuary, or inner courts of the Temple of

Solomon, with a precision hitherto unattempted. There remains an entirely independent source of verification. It is supplied by the crypts, or subterranean passages, which have been, as yet, but very partially identified.

It is matter of long tradition that the Temple mountain was pierced, and honeycombed by secret passages. Several are distinctly mentioned by Josephus, and in different tracts of the Talmud. Others are inferentially referred to. In the survey by Captain Wilson, which in the first instance had reference to the water supply of Jerusalem, every subterranean chamber observed in the mountain was regarded as a tank or cistern. Among the vaults to the south of the Haram may be identified the great internal reservoir which, as we learn from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, the high priest Simon roofed over with brazen plates. The aqueduct which, according to the Jerusalem Talmud, brought water from Etam for the supply of the brazen laver of King Solomon, yet enters the Sanctuary over the causeway of the gate Kipunus. But much has been discovered which can in no intelligible manner be connected with hydraulic purposes. And when we compare some of the details already ascertained with the statements contained in the literature of the subject, the result, if only partially ascertained, is indubitable as to its bearing.

In a direct line with the long adit of the double Huldah Gate, under the northern part of the platform, Captain Warren has traced for 130 feet a tunnel 24 feet wide, the floor of which is some 30 feet below the surface of the wall. It is partly hewn, and partly walled, and roofed with a segmental arch. 'There was an occult passage built for the king,' says Josephus. 'It led from Antonia to the Inner Temple at its eastern gate'. . . . that he might have the opportunity of a subterranean ascent to the Temple.* Further exploration will show whether these two descriptions refer to the same excavation.

A second gallery has been discovered by Captain Warren, partly excavated in rock, partly built, lying along the north edge of the platform. Its width is 18 feet. It has been traced for only 70 feet, where the passage is stopped with rubbish. It is on the level of the former passage, with which no doubt it communicates, and it bears every sign of having been a crypt to the north cloister of the Sanctuary.

Again the Talmud † states that in the north-west chamber of the house Moked was a descent leading to the House of Baptism. Through this the priest, who had ceremonial need of the

* Ant. XV. ii. 7.

† Middoth, I. vi. 9.

bath, 'rose and went out in the gallery that ran under the arch, 'and candles flamed on either side until he came to the House of 'Baptism.' A partially explored crypt, connected with curious chambers under the north-west part of the platform, points exactly in the direction of Beth Moked, at the south-western angle of the Sanctuary.

A fourth member of this unexplored system of subterranean communications, to the north of the Water Gate, may have been connected with that part of the ritual which directed the pouring of water and wine into the silver basins, with holes, like nostrils, at the bottom, at the Feast of Tabernacles, of which we have a minute account in the Talmud.* The accurate survey of these remarkable crypts is most earnestly to be desired. If the Roll of the Law, which is believed to be buried in the mountain, should be found, it will probably be in the course of this exploration. A shaft is visible which lies under the site of the three-cubit gallery in the north wall of the Holy House, and which may prove an important indication.

The Royal Cloister, rebuilt by Herod the Great to the south of the great court of the Temple, is referred to as one of the most splendid features of the whole series of magnificent works. Its three walls, we are told in the 'Antiquities,' reached from the eastern to the western valleys. The height of its pavement above the rock-hewn foundations of these two limiting walls, is proved by shafts to have been 106 feet at the east, and 180 feet at the west. The central aisle, or nave, in Herod's Cloister, was 45 feet wide and 100 feet high.† The side aisles were each 30 feet wide and 50 feet in height. It was supported on 162 columns, 27 feet high, with spiral bases, and of such a diameter that it took three men to encircle them with their arms. It is not stated whether the aggregate width of 105 feet was measured in the clear, or from centre to centre of the columns. But if we take, as appears natural, the centre of the arch which led from this great cloister to the scarp of Zion, and of which the springing course and the bottom of the first piers are *in situ*, as indicating the centre line of the cloisters, the extreme width was 129 feet. In the adits of the Huldah Gates yet remain bases and blocks of megalithic masonry that suggest the conclusion that the total width of the original cloister of Solomon, including walls, piers, and columns, was 91 cubits, or 121 feet 4 inches. It is remarkable that in speaking of Herod's Cloister, Josephus uses the foreign dimension of the foot, instead of his usual unit of the cubit.‡

* Succah, iv. 9.

† Ant. XV. ii. 5.

‡ In order to understand the explanation which the details contained

The roof of this magnificent work was of carved cedar, fragments of which, charred by the fire kindled in the Roman siege, have been recovered from beneath the enormous mass of *débris* that hides the face of the southern wall. Much difficulty has been raised as to the number of columns mentioned by Josephus. It is, palpably, indivisible by four. It is therefore worthy, at least, of inquiry, whether it included the pilasters, or engaged columns, in the southern wall. Assuming, for the moment, that it does not, we find that the number would give 53 bays, or intercolumniations. It may be said that one number is as problematical as another. But we find from the large plan, that if we provisionally take 13 cubits, which is the 53rd part of the total length, as a unit of measurement, 19 of these *moduli* reach exactly to the eastern jamb of the double gate, fifteen more, thence to the western jamb of the triple gate, and a second series of nineteen thence to the wall. There seems, therefore, no room to doubt that we have recovered the actual modulus or unit of intercolumniation, seven of which units give the original width of the Royal Cloister of Solomon.

We have not space, while attempting to recover the 'lost word' of King Solomon, to enter into the quaint magic of the Cabbala. But all students of the Hebrew writings are aware that some important facts are hidden in the obscure language in which the prophet Ezekiel speaks of the measurement of the Temple. The term the 'full reed, of 6 great cubits,'* and the description of the reed borne by the angel as 6 cubits long,† by cubit and hand-breadth, denote the use of some dimension that differs from the ordinary ameh of 16

in the works of the Jewish writers may yield of the Ordnance survey of the Noble Sanctuary, the first requisite is the determination of the Jewish cubit. The subject is one, confessedly, of difficulty. It is complicated by the fact that, according to the Talmud, and, indeed, according to the Bible, different metrical systems were applied by the Jews for different purposes; but there is no doubt that the ordinary Jewish ameh, or cubit, contained 6 palms, 24 digits, or 48 barleycorns; and was the equivalent of 16 English inches. That the apparently vague unit of a barleycorn agrees closely with the lowest dimension of English long measure, is proved by the accurate accordance of certain measurements taken by Captain Warren with English feet and inches. We thus gain this important step; that the measurements of the Sanctuary are commensurate with the 16-inch cubit. But it is another matter to say what was the actual unit there employed. That further step can only be taken as the result of a scientific examination of the actual dimensions of the building.

* Ez. xli. 8.

† Ez. xli. 4.

inches. Again, the dimension applied to the altar, corresponding to the 'first measure' of the Book of Chronicles,* is a cubit, a cubit and a hand-breadth.† The two Hebrew terms, the Tephah which contains 4 digits, and the Zereth which contains 12, appear to be used indeterminately, and indeed as equivalent to the half-cubit, in these passages. The difficulty was one only to be solved by actual admeasurement. But when we find that the intercolumniation of the Royal Cloister was a space of 13 cubits, giving 12 great cubits of 26 digits each, the matter becomes perfectly clear. In actual fact, the whole alignment of the Temple, inner, and outer, has been determined by this definite unit.

We compared, in a former page, the lengths and widths of the courts of the Sanctuary and of the Mountain of the House. It remains to add that these dimensions are accurately determined by the above determined unit of 17·4 feet. The length of the platform, north and south, is 31 intercolumniations; that of the Haram is 93. The mean width of the platform is half of that of the Haram, the alignment of the walls having been slightly varied, so as to give an exact number of bays at each end. The gates of the mountain are all situated at exact intercolumnar distances. The four principal gates referred to in the Middoth measure are exactly 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and 3 units in width. The position of the other gates is determined by the same standard; the measure being taken, not to the centre, but to the jamb. The only dimension in the ancient work which is less than half a bay, or 6 full cubits, occurs in the south wall, which is $53\frac{1}{2}$ bays long. But the reason for this is manifest. The line of the face of the platform not only bisects this wall, but bisects the space between the centres of the two Huldah Gates. As one of these gates is $2\frac{1}{2}$ bays wide, and the other 3, there is a difference of twice the eighth part of a bay to take into account, which is accurately added to the length of the wall, and of which account is again taken in the platform.

Thus the sunrise line, through Temple and altar, through the central western gate of the mountain and the great east gate of the Sanctuary, bisects the enclosure of the Haram north and south; while the meridian line, determining the face of the platform, bisects the southern wall of the Sanctuary. It would be difficult to give clearer proof of unity of intelligent design. And all these walls, gates, and courts are measured by this one accurate unit of 104 inches, or its double, 208.

* Par. II. iii. 3.

† Ez. xliii. 13.

It is not easy to assign a reason for the employment by Solomon of a unit so unusual, and indeed so ill-omened, as the number 13. It may, however, be thought that as the Temple was intended for the worship of the thirteen tribes, the fusion of 13 into 12 was not without significance. But whatever be the cause, of the fact there is no doubt. So exact is the application of the unit to the original work, that the additions of later restorers may be detected by its disuse. The references made to it, besides those which we have cited, are extremely obscure. Maimonides, in his *De Domo Selecta*, in speaking of the steps round the Inner Temple, makes use of the expression 'half a pace of 3 cubits;' which no doubt refers to the reed of 6 cubits. But the knowledge possessed by the great doctors of the Talmud—the Tanaites and the Amoraim—on this point, if indeed they possessed it, has been hidden under the most complicated allusions. The outer court of the Temple of God was not to be measured, the prophet was told, till the Holy City had been trodden underfoot for the appointed time. No record of, no attempt at, such a measurement has been made until shortly before the Ordnance survey mapped city and mountain on one unimagined sheet of paper. Even then, to know what were the ancient and proposed dimensions of Priests' Court, and Sanctuary, and mountain, it was necessary to recover the measuring-rod of Solomon, or the pattern of which David his father, to use the language of St. Jerome, spoke as *scripta manu Domini*.

In determining the exact alignment of the outer wall of the Mountain of the House, the founder of the Temple took account of the local features of the spot. The course of the deep ravines on the east and on the west side of Moriah confined within certain limits that of the walls. The question of level has evidently been studiously considered. The foundation course of the deepest part of the walls, at the south-east angle, and near to the angles at the north-east and south-west, is approximately level. Thus three orders of consideration were present to the great architect. There was an astronomical and historical orientation; there was the use of a definite unit of measurement; and there was a regard to the maximum height of the walls and the due level of the courses of masonry. Astronomic, geometric, and hypsometric science were all applied to the mighty plan. But while, as far as the application of the traditional implements of the mason—the plummet, the line, and the square—is concerned, the exactitude of the work is as remarkable as its magnitude, there are indications that no trigonometric science found a place in the wisdom of Solomon.

The erection of the east wall was a problem of no ordinary difficulty, in the absence of the theodolite and the spirit-level. The problem was solved; but the more modern method of slightly inclining the faces of the stones to the beds would have produced a more indestructible face than the stepped batter actually employed.

The reader who has thus far accompanied our inquiry may be prepared to expect a definite explanation of the form and character of that elevated and trapezoidal platform which surrounds the dome of the rock, and which is the site of the Sanctuary, or Inner Temple, of the Jewish writers. Its form, hitherto inexplicable, becomes perfectly intelligible when we grasp the three elements which have determined it. First, the position of the Great Altar and of the sunrise line, drawn through Temple, altar, and eastern gate, gives an approximate direction, east and west. Secondly, the meridian gives the eastern face with absolute precision. Thirdly, the Sanctuary being surrounded by a cloister, the founder has been careful to make each side equal to a definite number of intercolumniations. To do this it has been requisite to slew (or deflect) each side, except the east face, to some extent. The area thus defined is a sixth part of the entire Haram.

The gates of the Inner Sanctuary are referred to, in different places, in a manner that has occasioned perplexity as to their actual number; but the apparent inconsistency of the Middoth is cleared up by the identification of the sites of the houses Nitsus and Moked,* through each of which was a gate, now represented by modern steps. We have the indisputable authority of Rabbi Chija† for the fact that there were seven prefects of the gates, who locked and unlocked the seven gates of the Sanctuary at the same moment. They were closed during divine service, as well as at night.

On the east are now visible the rock-cut steps of the famous gate Nicanor. Two of the spiral columns of King Herod are built rudely into its piers. Miracles were wrought,‡ the rabbis tell us, by the leaves of this great eastern portal, the Beautiful Gate of the Acts of the Apostles. It was this gate that opened self-moved, as recorded by Josephus,§ as an omen of the approaching downfall of the city. It was wrought in Alexandria; and, a storm arising when it was shipped, one leaf was thrown overboard. The tempest continuing, the mariners proceeded to lighten the vessel by throwing off the

* Tract Tamid.

† Tosaphta Shekalim, xi. 18.

‡ Tosaphta Yoma, in loc.

§ Bell. VI. v. 4.

second. But Nicanor, the maker, bound himself to his work, and declared that he would be thrown in with it. Not only did his insistence prevail, but the first leaf was thrown up upon the shore in answer to his prayers.

An unusual halo hovers over the silent relics of the gate Nicanor, from the fact that it is one of the two spots within the walls of Jerusalem that were, beyond any manner of doubt, lightened by the presence of the Infant Christ. There His mother, like all Jewish matrons, presented herself for her purification, before she might pass into the court beyond. At this gate, we learn from the Talmud,* the ordeal of the water of jealousy was administered. Here, too, the leper who was being cleansed was allowed to thrust his thumbs and great toes into the Sanctuary.† This gate is exactly central to the sunrise line of the Temple.

To the south, and a little to the west, of Nicanor, exist the steps of the Water Gate. As to this we have definite information. Through it, at the ceremony of water drawing, during the Feast of Tabernacles,‡ water from Siloe was borne in a golden vessel to be poured out into a silver basin in the Sanctuary. This was the most joyful of the Jewish festivals, and it was said that no one who had not witnessed it knew what rejoicing was. At night the broad court below was so illuminated that all Jerusalem shone.

To the west of the Water Gate exist the traces of the Gate of Firstlings, one of the most important features of the entire Temple system. It lies directly between the adit of the double Huldah Gate and the Great Altar. Its position is distinctly identified by the Talmud.§ On its fifteen steps the Levites chanted the fifteen psalms of degrees. It was ascended by the priests in a ceremonial which was instituted to commemorate the denunciation, by the prophet Ezekiel,|| of the worship of the sun by bowing towards the east. At this gate, or in its close vicinity, was breathed to God that song of the aged Simeon (the father of Paul's teacher, Gamaliel), which yet preserves, in the evensong of English churches and cathedrals, an echo of the music of the Temple. For here it was that the parents of the Child Jesus brought Him, as a first-born son, to present Him to the Lord.

In the south-west of the Sanctuary, partly on the platform, and partly terraced over the Chel, stood the four-chambered

* Tract Sotah, in loc.

† Succah, v. 5.

|| Reg. I. vii. 3.

† Pesachim, vii.

§ Succah, v. 4

house Moked, in one of the vaults of which six lambs were constantly kept for the daily offering. In the north-west angle stood the famous house Nitsus, the Sparkling House, where the vestments of the high priest were kept. The position, the dimensions, and the employment, of this house, seem to identify it with the House of the Forest of Lebanon; in which the golden shields of the Temple guard were deposited. The curious disproportion in the spaces between the forty-five cedar pillars,* disappears when we regard the house, like its opposite neighbour, as being built partly upon the platform, and partly over the Chel. This identification further solves the problem of the eccentric position of the Golden Gate. It was opposite, not to the Temple, like Nicanor, but to the most splendid building within the mountain next to the Holy House itself. Thus it is appropriately termed the gate behind the guard. Through this three-storied house, and through the southern house Moked, where were kept the shewbread and other offerings, were gates from the Sanctuary into the Chel, each guarded by a priest above, and by a Levite below.† The two northern gates, that of Women (referred to by Ezekiel)‡ and that of Music, are also yet to be recognised by the steps.

Within the Sanctuary were pointed rails, or pillared divisions, bounding the Court of the Priests, which formed a sixth of the whole area. West of the altar were two raised platforms, each 11 cubits broad, on which stood the Levites, who chanted; the priests, who blew with the trumpet (120 of them as one man at the dedication of the Temple §); and the 'Mahamad,' or section of 'standing men,' who, in their twenty-four orders, corresponding to those of the priests, stood by the altar at the time of sacrifice, as representatives of the whole congregation of Israel.||

The Talmud ¶ speaks of the portion of the Sanctuary between the standing place of Israel, or platform of the standing men, and the east gate, as the Court of the Women. We are ignorant of the exact interior divisions of the Sanctuary. There is no doubt that the women were excluded from the whole upper platform westward of the raised dais, and that at least the eastern part of the court of the Sanctuary was common to both sexes.

To the south of the Inner Sanctuary, at the foot of the

* Ezek. viii. 16.

† Ezek. viii. 14.

‡ Taanith, iv. 2.

† Middoth, i. 1.

§ Par. II. v. 12.

¶ Middoth ii. 6.

steps of the Water Gate, and of those of the Gate of Firstlings, lay what the Book of Esdras calls the Broad* Court of the Temple, and the Talmud, the Court of the Women.† Here Ezra read the law. Here were held the great rejoicings at the Feast of Tabernacles. Here, on the ceremony of the water drawing, during that feast, was made an illumination that lit up every court in Jerusalem. Some remains of broad steps, defining the southern limit of this court, are shown on the Ordnance plan.

Without the Court of the Women was the Chel. There were nine gradations of sanctity in Jerusalem, the first being the space within the city walls, the ninth the Holy of Holies. Of these the Chel was the third. Its exact line has yet to be traced, but indications exist which will no doubt prove accurate. At the Passover three lambs were sacrificed, for three successive bodies of worshippers.‡ Of these the first, after their service, went out from the Sanctuary, but remained in the mountain until nightfall. The second remained in the Chel; the third, in the body of the Sanctuary. After the three blasts of the trumpet that denoted the close of the 14th of Nisan, all went out from the precincts, to eat the pascal lambs within the walls of the city.

The great erudition of Dr. Lightfoot has not prevented him from making the unintelligent remark that the compass of the Temple, described in the last chapters of the prophecy of Ezekiel, was between three and four miles. In this estimate he has been unhesitatingly followed by every succeeding writer on the subject. The passage from which he makes the calculation is the last section of the 42nd chapter, containing five verses. In the Latin Vulgate, the last of these contradicts the four former, a fact which is betrayed by the interpolated italics of the English version. Four lines are successively measured, each being 500 'cubits of reeds.' The area enclosed is thus stated to be 'five hundred cubits long and five hundred 'cubits broad, to make a separation between the Sanctuary and 'the profane place.' Contradiction is avoided, and the text is rendered intelligible, by taking the term 'cubits of reeds' to be equivalent with the 'great cubit' of Chapter xli. 8. The Septuagint correctly translates the passage. We thus have the exact repetition of the statement of the Talmud, that the top of the Mountain of the House was 500 cubits square. This space designates the Chel, or division lying between the *ante-*

* Esdras. ix. 41. Cf. Nehemiah, viii. 8.

† Succah, v. 2.

‡ Codex Kelim. i. 1.

murale, or outward court, and the Court of the Women, which was surrounded by the ΘΡΙΓΓΟΣ, or reticulated wall which no foreigner was allowed to pass.

An identification so important leads to the careful investigation of a passage which has been usually considered as mystic, not to say unintelligible. The English commentators cannot be complimented on their work here. It appears entirely devoid of meaning. The translation of St. Jerome, on the contrary, although not altogether reliable, is such as to show that the writer had a distinct idea of what he was saying. As, compass and scale in hand, verse after verse is compared with the Ordnance plan of the 'Noble Sanctuary,' and with the parallel passages in the Talmud, the 'future and glorious Temple' of dear old Whiston and the other theologians fades away like the mirage of the valley of the Jordan. That poetic and imaginary structure entirely disappears. But in its place we find something of tangible value. We have a record of its leading dimensions, penned fourteen years after the attempt of the Chaldeans utterly to obliterate the very traces of the Temple of Solomon. Nor can we doubt that when, forty-two years later, Zerobabel the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua the son of Josedec the High Priest, attempted the rebuilding of the Temple, the description given by Ezekiel must have been of signal service.

One by one the principal features of the building emerge from a long obscurity. The double threshold of the Golden Gate, under the yet undated restorations and adornments of which two megaliths still attest the original width, was first measured by the angel. The very puzzle of the plan, the eccentric position of this gate, is indicated by verse 19, as noting the distance of its vestibule from the north-east angle of the Chel. The positions of Tadi (v. 20) and of Huldah (v. 24), in line with the gates of the Inner Sanctuary, follow. The adits from these gates (a feature absent in that on the east) are here described by the term 'the arches thereof were before them.' The length of these adits, and the distance from their termination to the Chel, is not stated. 'The court which is without the Temple leave out, and measure it not.*' The hundred cubits that actually separate the stairs on the north, and again those on the south, of the platform, are measured in verses 23 and 27. The towers enclosing the Sanctuary gates are given as 50 cubits by 25. According to Josephus, the

* Apoc. xi. 2. It is a remarkable fact that the mean width of the great Court is exactly 666 great cubits.

vestibules of the gates built by Herod were 30 cubits by 15 ; but the first is an exterior, and the second an interior measurement.

When we come to the dimensions of the Holy House, and of the court in which it stood, we can detect the changes effected by Herod on the original plan. Avoiding any minute detail, the Holy House of Solomon was 90 cubits from east to west, and 70 from north to south. It stood in a court 100 cubits square. Before this, in a court of equal size, stood the altar. A third quadrangle, also of 100 cubits, corresponded to the Court of the Women of the Middoth.

In the third Temple, the Holy House was 10 cubits longer than that of Solomon, and had a façade of 100 cubits.* Its face was 5 cubits westward of the original line, and the total width from Nicanor to the west wall of the Sanctuary was 22 cubits more than in the Temple of Solomon. The breadth of these central courts was also increased from 100 to 135 cubits. We thus can understand the expressions of Josephus as to the enlargement, by Herod, of the inner courts, the rock-hewn platform and the measured Chel remaining as before ; and we can further understand how 20 cubits of the work of Herod, as not resting on the foundations prepared by Solomon, ‘ afterwards fell down ’†—a catastrophe of which the cause may no doubt be attributed to the natural slope of the rock.

We must pause, not from want of matter, but from want of space. Much remains to be told, more to be recovered. Lieutenant Conder‡ has just sketched the crypt of one of the six ‘ conclaves ’ § that stood within the Sanctuary, respectively named the Chambers of Salt, of Parva, of Baptism, of Wood, of the High Priest, and of the Sanhedrim. We have yet to trace the bounds of the four unroofed courts (in the corners of either the Sanctuary, the Chel, or the outer court), allotted to the store of wood, to the purification of the lepers, to the store of oil, and to the service of the Nazarite. The crypts and foundations of the houses Nitsus and Moked must be *in situ*. The extension by Herod of the western part of the Sanctuary explains the confused and broken outline of this part of the platform, as compared with the sharp rock-cut indications remaining on the other three sides.

With the 500 cubits of the Chel thus identified, and with the limits of the Sanctuary, at first 400 cubits by 300, and

* Ant. XV. ii. 3.

† Middoth, v. 1.

‡ L. E. F. Quarterly Statement, Oct. 1872.

§ R. Chija, De Die Expiationis.

afterwards 400 by 322, so distinctly indicated as to reconcile the various statements of the Bible, of the Talmud, and of Josephus, with existing facts, it only remains to remove an error that prevails as to the meaning of the Jewish historian when he speaks of the length of the cloisters built by King Herod.* Agrippa was besought by the Jews to rebuild the eastern cloister. It is therefore clear that this was not done by his great-grandfather. The total length of the south, the west, and the northern cloisters agrees with the 6 furlongs mentioned by Josephus.

It is thus that we are able to stand, with no uncertain foot, on the site dedicated to God by King Solomon; and to recognise clear traces of the cities of David, of Nehemiah, and of the House of Herod. But the recovery of Jerusalem is only at its commencement. The detailed determination of the course of the walls, the discovery of the sites of the various palaces, the identification of the Xystus, which the Second Book of Maccabees mentions as 'under the tower,' and the unveiling of the tombs of David and his royal line, all await the explorer.

We have not forgotten that the chief interest of Western Europe is excited, not so much by the monuments of the ritual of the Temple as by the shadowy traces of the scenes that surrounded the cradle of Christianity. But a knowledge of the main features of ancient Jerusalem is a necessary preliminary to the formation of any intelligent opinion as to the verity of the monkish sites. We have attempted what no author has yet done. We have pointed out two exact spots to which on a known day, eighteen hundred and seventy-five years since, the Child Jesus was borne by His parents. How Constantine founded his metropolitan cathedral (under the same invocation as that of one of our well-known city churches) on a spot as exactly central to the city of Herod as could be well selected—how tradition, that cannot be dignified by the term apocryphal, has reared a church or a chapel to localise every recorded event in the Divine Life, and many which have no record but that of the imagination—has yet to be told. A new Holy City, monkish Jerusalem, sprang up, as if by magic, on the ruins of *Ælia Capitolina*. To this belongs that *cænaculum* which, by an exegesis worthy of the wildest romance of the Talmud, is made to do duty at once for the sepulchre of David, and for the scene of the Last Supper. To this belongs the column of the scourging, erect on a mass of *débris* resulting

* Ant. XX. ix. 7.

from the demolition by Titus. To this, the niche self-formed in the wall, that shrank to give shelter to the Madonna, when pressed by the crowd; the house of St. Veronica; the house of Dives; the house of Lazarus; the stone on which Lazarus sat to beg; and the stone which was about to cry out when Christ entered Jerusalem, and which went so far as to form a mouth for the purpose. The pool, which was once troubled by an angel, is now guarded by a dragon, during whose slumbers the waters sink, to rise and flow upon his awaking. The investigation of these, and of less, or perhaps more, doubtful points, will form a new chapter in the history of Jerusalem; a chapter dated a thousand years later than that which we now reluctantly close. Mr. Besant has done much to awaken, and to satisfy, interest as to the history of the Christian Conquest. It is in speaking of the City of the Crusaders, of that *Dux inclytus Godefridus*, who refused to wear a golden crown where Christ had worn one of thorns, and of the fate of that shadowy sceptre which, by falling eight times to the spindle, seemed almost to justify the Salic law, that the sites hallowed by the Greek and Latin Churches must be described. But the true features of mediæval Jerusalem can only be laid down on a plan, on which the bounds of the cities of Solomon, of Manasseh, and of the Idumean kings shall have been previously and accurately traced.

We trust that the foregoing pages, by showing how much positive knowledge has been gained by the exploration of Jerusalem already effected, may stimulate the public to aid in the worthy prosecution of the enterprise. This is a modern crusade for the recovery of the Holy Places, not undertaken in the spirit of knight-errantry or superstition, but of science, knowledge, and patient research. It is a fact unprecedented in the history of the world that an undertaking which may be termed in the broadest and noblest sense a religious effort, at once claims for its illustrious patron the Defender of the Faith, and is sanctioned by the firman of the Caliph. Two of the most powerful ecclesiastical princes of the younger forms of the monotheistic faith, linked together in a knightly brotherhood, thus unite to draw back the veil which has so long obscured the cradle of a worship that was the parent of their own. Such a conjuncture might have fired the imagination of Bacon as a harbinger of the fulfilment of his great hope—the first of the steps of unity in the City of God.

ART. II.—*Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin, Governor of Jamaica, Governor-General of Canada, Envoy to China, Viceroy of India.* Edited by THEODORE WALROND, C.B. London: 1872.

THE duties and position of an English governor or viceroy, the representative of the Queen in the government of the great dependencies of this empire, are peculiar and without a precedent in history. We have ceased to rule over these vast possessions with an exclusive regard to the interests of Great Britain. We aim at the promotion of their present and future welfare more than at the establishment and maintenance of our own authority. We draw from them no tribute, and we ask of them no allegiance but that which is based on mutual respect and affection. We desire to plant in them the seeds of our own freedom, science, and enterprise. We leave them, like children advancing to the maturity of life, in possession of ample independence, of self-government, and of institutions more modern, if not more free, than our own. But we are prepared to defend them in war, to assist them with the capital and intelligence of the mother-country, and, above all, to set before them by example and by advice a high standard of culture, of law, of social order, and of political experience. For this purpose, mainly, the Crown selects, and the colony willingly accepts, a supreme governor or chief ruler from the most able and energetic of British statesmen. The colonies are thus relieved from one of the great difficulties of all free communities—the choice of a chief magistrate from amongst themselves. The governor goes out to a young and half-civilised country, invested with the dignity of an ancient sovereignty and a great power. He takes with him, amongst a people of equal ranks, the rank of some race as ancient as the Bruce, and the highest traditions of station and honour; he takes with him the education of our universities, the polish of our manners, the experience of our public offices of government, the eloquence of our political assemblies; he is the representative of whatever is best in the nation quite as much as of the majesty of the Crown; and he conspicuously supplies precisely that in which a young people, struggling with the powers of nature, intent on material gain, and separated by oceans from the civilisation of Europe, is necessarily most deficient. A colonial governor over a great dependency who combines these qualities and gifts, or who possesses even a fair share of them, fills therefore one of the most honourable, useful,

and unselfish positions in the world. He is an apostle of political wisdom and good government. He is placed above those local interests and dissensions which are apt to vex small or remote communities. And happily for the colonies, as well as for the general welfare of the empire, men have never been wanting who are content to quit the centre of human affairs, to renounce perhaps the prospect of splendid advancement at home, and to go forth to the ends of the earth, not for the sake of wealth, for that is not to be gained by it, nor for the love of power, for that is limited, but strong in the performance of a noble duty to those nations of the future which still form part of the Queen's dominions.

It may be said without exaggeration that the late Lord Elgin was the type of such a man; and if any proof were wanted of the spirit in which the office of a British colonial governor may be filled by a conscientious and intelligent statesman, this volume supplies that evidence, not so much by what is said of him by the judicious editor of these papers, Mr. Walrond, as by the record of Lord Elgin's own life and thoughts in his letters and journals, which death alone could unseal. For the chief merit of this publication is that it does not purport to be a biography, though the life it relates was not an uneventful one, but a record of what Lord Elgin himself said and thought, traced by his own hand, in the various offices which he filled.

James Bruce, who afterwards succeeded to the rank of eighth Earl of Elgin, was not born heir-apparent to the honours of his house. He was the second son of his father, the ambassador, and his education was completed before the deaths of his elder brother and of his father raised him to the peerage. In this inferior station therefore he went to Oxford, where he formed one of that remarkable set of men who have played so great a part in the political affairs of our times—William Ewart Gladstone, the late Duke of Newcastle, Sidney Herbert, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, Robert Lowe, Edward Cardwell, Roundell Palmer—to whom we cannot forbear adding the name of the late Duke of Hamilton, though he was not their rival in public life—men all born within a short time of the year 1810; George Cornewall Lewis and Sir Edmund W. Head were rather older, but were still connected with Christ Church and Merton in 1831. A generation of statesmen! Similar for the most part in education, pursuits, tastes, and opinions—for, with the exception of Mr. Lowe, all of them belonged to the Conservative school of politics; all of them were regarded with hope as the future leaders of the Conservative party; and all of them were brought

round by the force of circumstances or conviction to serve under Whig governments and rally at last to the Liberal cause. Of the whole of this brilliant list of men, even now not much past the meridian of life, but four remain to us; six of them may be said to have sunk under the burdens or the risks of official life, not however leaving the promise of their youth unfulfilled. In this remarkable group James Bruce is recorded to have outshone all his competitors in the brilliancy and originality of his speeches at the Union; and Mr. Gladstone himself has said of him, 'I well remember placing him as to the natural gift of eloquence at the head of all those I knew, either at Eton or at the University.' But he was not less distinguished by maturity of judgment, by a love of abstract thought, and by those philosophical studies which lay the foundation of true reasoning in the mind. In 1834 he published a pamphlet to protest against a monopoly of Liberal sentiments by the Whigs; and in 1841 he came into the House of Commons for Southampton on Conservative principles, which had however a strong flavour of Whiggism about them. He seconded the Address which turned out Lord Melbourne and brought in Sir Robert Peel, in a speech prophetically favourable to Free Trade, and he would doubtless have been a cordial supporter of Peel's liberal commercial policy. But his parliamentary career speedily came to an end. The death of his father raised him to the Scottish peerage. He had no seat in either House of Parliament, and in 1842 he accepted from Lord Stanley the office of Governor of Jamaica—an appointment which decided his vocation in life.

It fell to the lot of Lord Elgin, in each of the great offices he filled abroad, to assume the reins of government almost immediately after some crisis in colonial history—in Jamaica after Emancipation and the struggle of 1839, in Canada after the rebellion, in India after the mutiny. He was not indeed called upon to face and subdue the great perils of those conjunctures; but he arrived in time to lay the wind, to encourage the desponding, to reconcile the disaffected, and to restore tranquillity and confidence. For these tasks of pacification and peace he was eminently qualified. It is impossible to speak too highly of the sagacity of his observations or of his confidence in high principles of action. These he had the art of expressing, both in his speeches and despatches, with singular ease and perspicuity, insomuch that we hardly know a book in the language more instructive to a statesman than this volume.

Take, for example, the following passage, in which he

pointed out to the ruined planters and refractory peasantry of Jamaica that the true remedy for the evils that afflicted the island was a higher education and a higher system of cultivation :—

‘ In urging the adoption of machinery in aid of manual labour, one main object I have had in view has ever been the creation of an aristocracy among the labourers themselves; the substitution of a given amount of skilled labour for a larger amount of unskilled. My hope is, that we may thus engender a healthy emulation among the labourers, a desire to obtain situations of eminence and mark among their fellows, and also to push their children forwards in the same career. Where labour is so scarce as it is here, it is undoubtedly a great object to be able to effect at a cheaper rate by machinery, what you now attempt to execute very unsatisfactorily by the hand of man. But it seems to me to be a still more important object to awaken this honourable ambition in the breast of the peasant, and I do not see how this can be effected by any other means. So long as labour means nothing more than digging cane holes, or carrying loads on the head, physical strength is the only thing required, no moral or intellectual quality comes into play. But, in dealing with mechanical appliances, the case is different; knowledge, acuteness, steadiness are at a premium. The Negro will soon appreciate the worth of these qualities, when they give him position among his own class. An indirect value will thus attach to education. Every successful effort made by enterprising and intelligent individuals to substitute skilled for unskilled labour; every premium awarded by societies in acknowledgment of superior honesty, carefulness, or ability, has a tendency to afford a remedy the most salutary and effectual which can be devised for the evil here set forth.’

And again :—

‘ Is education necessary to qualify the peasantry to carry on the rude field operations of slavery? May not some persons even entertain the apprehension, that it will indispose them to such pursuits? But let him, on the other hand, believe that, by the substitution of more artificial methods for those hitherto employed, he may materially abridge the expense of raising his produce, and he cannot fail to perceive that an intelligent, well-educated labourer, with something of a character to lose, and a reasonable ambition to stimulate him to exertion, is likely to prove an instrument more apt for his purposes than the ignorant drudge who differs from the slave only in being no longer amenable to personal restraint.’ (Pp. 18–20.)

De te fabula narratur. Can anything be more wise or applicable at the present moment to the somewhat disturbed relations of agricultural labour in other countries than Jamaica?

Lord Elgin remained in that island four years. A severe domestic affliction, and perhaps his own love of retirement, caused him to lead a somewhat secluded life in the Blue Mountains. But these years were sedulously devoted to the im-

provement of the colony, and they were not without a powerful effect on the formation of his own mind and character, for in him the contemplative were largely united to the active faculties. He had pre-eminently the rare quality of seeing both sides of a question. This faculty at times kept his judgment in suspense, and he would argue alternately in favour of two inconsistent courses of action down to the very last moment when it became necessary to take a final and decisive resolution. Then all uncertainty left him. He adhered with inflexible tenacity in action to the plan which previous deliberation had satisfied him to be the best. The more hesitating and open to objections he had been before, the more determined he was when these objections had in his mind been overruled. At this time, however, he was little known in England—not at all to the men who had succeeded Sir Robert Peel in power, yet such was the opinion entertained of his ability from his correspondence, that shortly after his return home Lord Grey—no mean judge—offered him the important post of Governor-General of British North America.

Nine years had elapsed since the Canadian Rebellion of 1837. Lord Durham, Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot, Lord Metcalfe, and Lord Cathcart had successively governed the North American provinces in that short interval, but with small results. The power of England and of the English party had been re-established by force more than by conviction. The French and Irish elements in the population were highly disaffected. The legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada was unreal. Even the loyal Canadians were inclined to think that their interests were drifting them towards incorporation with the United States. Such was the state of the country when Lord Elgin arrived there. He arrived there, having recently contracted a second marriage with a daughter of the late Lord Durham, to demonstrate that (to use his own words) ‘the real and effectual vindication of Lord Durham’s ‘memory and proceedings will be the success of a Governor-General of Canada who works out his views of government ‘fairly.’ Thus it happened that the young Conservative Peer, who had already shaken off his early Tory prepossessions, found himself called upon to build on the broad foundation laid by the most advanced member of the Liberal party of that day, and to inaugurate the new principle of government which Lord Durham and Charles Buller had conceived, not merely in Canada but throughout the colonial empire of Britain.

This great experiment had soon to be tried. The Con-

servative Canadian Ministry with which Lord Metcalfe had attempted to govern, was beaten by a large majority at the next election, and Lord Elgin at once summoned to the councils of the Crown the leaders of the Opposition who had till then been most fiercely arrayed against the British connexion. The French Canadians, who had very lately been pronounced impracticable and disloyal, were for the first time placed in power and called upon to declare and act upon their policy. Lord Elgin gave them his frank and unqualified support, and although the events of the time were most critical, for the Irish famine had thrown on the shores of Canada a host of starving emigrants, and the revolutionary spirit which pervaded Europe in 1848 was not unfelt even in the other hemisphere, he had no reason to regret the confidence he placed in his new Ministers. He was convinced that nothing was wanting but a policy of conciliation and trust to secure their loyalty. As M. de Tocqueville had said at the time of his visit to the United States in 1832, 'Be persuaded that the Canadians are too French ever to become Americans unless you compel them to be so by turning them into Englishmen.' So Lord Elgin:—

'I must, moreover, confess, that I for one am deeply convinced of the impolicy of all such attempts to denationalise the French. Generally speaking they produce the opposite effect from that intended, causing the flame of national prejudice and animosity to burn more fiercely. But suppose them to be successful, what would be the result? You may perhaps *Americanise*, but, depend upon it, by methods of this description you will never *Anglicise* the French inhabitants of the province. Let them feel, on the other hand, that their religion, their habits, their prepossessions, their prejudices if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent, who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French Canadian? (P. 54.)

The changes in the commercial policy of England had been extremely perplexing and injurious to Canada. The permission to import American flour at a nominal duty had set all their mills at work. A year or two afterwards the total abolition of the Corn Laws exposed them to the full competition of the great corn-growing districts of the West. To these dangers Lord Elgin applied two remedies. He ardently supported the Repeal of the Navigation Laws, and he laboured to establish complete reciprocity of trade between Canada and the United States, which was for a time secured by a treaty, since, unhappily, sacrificed to the protective policy of the Union. Things, however, did not always run smooth. The Rebellion

Losses Bill, for the indemnification of losses sustained in the outbreak of 1837 and 1838, was attacked with extreme violence by the British party in Canada and by the Opposition in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone himself described it as 'a measure for rewarding rebels;' and the strongest pressure was put upon Lord Elgin to induce him to refuse the Royal Assent to the Bill which had passed the Assembly by forty-seven votes to eighteen. To do so would have been to place himself in direct collision with the Canadian Parliament, and this Lord Elgin steadily refused. The result was an extraordinary explosion of party violence. 'I confess,' he said, 'I did not before know how thin is the crust of order that covers the anarchical elements that boil and toss beneath our feet.'

'The people of Montreal seemed to have lost their reason. The houses of some of the Ministers and of their supporters were attacked by mobs at night, and it was not safe for them to appear in the streets. A hostile visit was threatened to the house in which the Governor-General resided at a short distance from the city; all necessary preparation was made to defend it, and his family were kept for some time in a state of anxiety and suspense.

'For some weeks he himself did not go into the town of Montreal, but kept entirely within the bounds of his country seat at Monklands, determined that no act of his should offer occasion or excuse to the mob for fresh outrage. He knew, of course, that the whole of French Lower Canada was ready at any moment to rise, as one man, in support of the Government; but his great object was to keep them quiet, and "to prevent collision between the races."

'Throughout the whole of this most trying time,' writes Major Campbell, 'Lord Elgin remained perfectly calm and cool; never for a moment losing his self-possession, nor failing to exercise that clear foresight and sound judgment for which he was so remarkable. It came to the knowledge of his Ministers that, if he went into the city again, his life would be in great danger; and they advised that a commission should issue to appoint a Deputy-Governor for the purpose of proroguing Parliament. He was urged by irresponsible advisers to make use of the military forces at his command, to protect his person in an official visit to the city; but he declined to do so, and thus avoided what these insatuated rioters seemed determined to bring on—the shedding of blood. "I am prepared," he said, "to bear any amount of obloquy that may be cast upon me, but, if I can possibly prevent it, no stain of blood shall rest upon my name."' (Pp. 84, 85.)

Under these circumstances he tendered his resignation of the office of Governor-General. But the Home Government, represented by Lord Grey, firmly supported him, approved his policy, and shortly afterwards conferred upon him a

British peerage as an acknowledgment of the unshaken confidence of the Queen. Never, at the worst of times, would Lord Elgin admit that the relation of the Colonies to the Empire was to be regarded as a provisional relation, incompatible with their full development and the maturity of their power. On the contrary, he argued with enthusiastic eloquence that both to them and to us the union of the Colonies to Great Britain was the surest pledge of their future prosperity and greatness, as well as of our own.

‘ May I not with all submission ask, Is not the question at issue a momentous one ? What is it indeed but this : Is the Queen of England to be the Sovereign of an Empire, growing, expanding, strengthening itself from age to age, striking its roots deep into fresh earth and drawing new supplies of vitality from virgin soils ? Or is she to be for all essential purposes of might and power, Monarch of Great Britain and Ireland merely—her place and that of her line in the world’s history determined by the productiveness of 12,000 square miles of a coal formation, which is being rapidly exhausted, and the duration of the social and political organisation over which she presides dependent on the annual expatriation, with a view to its eventual alienisation, of the surplus swarms of her born subjects ? ’ (Pp. 118, 119.)

‘ You draw, I know, a distinction between separation with a view to annexation and separation with a view to independence. You say the former is an act of treason, the latter a natural and legitimate step in progress. There is much plausibility doubtless in this position, but, independently of the fact that no one advocates independence in these Colonies except as a means to the end, annexation, is it really tenable ? If you take your stand on the hypothesis that the Colonial existence is one with which the Colonists ought to rest satisfied, then, I think, you are entitled to denounce, without reserve or measure, those who propose for some secondary object to substitute the Stars and Stripes for the Union Jack. But if, on the contrary, you assume that it is a provisional state, which admits of but a stunted and partial growth, and out of which all communities ought in the course of nature to strive to pass, how can you refuse to permit your Colonies here, when they have arrived at the proper stage in their existence, to place themselves in a condition which is at once most favourable to their security and to their perfect national development ? What reasons can you assign for the refusal, except such as are founded on selfishness, and are, therefore, morally worthless ? If you say that your great lubberly boy is too big for the nursery, and that you have no other room for him in your house, how can you decline to allow him to lodge with his elder brethren over the way, when the attempt to keep up an establishment for himself would seriously embarrass him ? ’ (Pp. 119, 120.)

And with equal force he contrasted the genuine working of the representative system in Canada with the ‘ absence
‘ of effective responsibility in the conduct of the legislation
‘ and the want of concurrent action between the parts of the

'political machine' in the institutions of the United States, especially as displayed in the prevalence of sectional interest and jobbing. And, above all, he steadily maintained the value of the monarchical principle as the corner-stone of the edifice.

'If the monarch be not an indispensable element in our constitutional mechanism, and if we can secure all the advantages of that mechanism without him, I have drawn the wrong moral from the facts. You say that the system the Red Republicans would have established in France would have been the nearest possible approach to our own. It is possible, I think, that we may be tending towards the like issues. It is possible, perhaps probable, that as the House of Commons becomes more democratic in its composition, and consequently more arrogant in its bearing, it may cast off the shackles which the other powers of the State impose on its self-will, and even utterly abolish them; but I venture to believe that those who last till that day comes, will find that they are living under a very different constitution from that which we now enjoy; that they have traversed the interval which separates a temperate and cautious administration of public affairs resting on the balance of powers and interests, from a reckless and overbearing tyranny based on the caprices and passions of an absolute and irresponsible body. You talk somewhat lightly of the check of the Crown, although you acknowledge its utility. But is it indeed so light a matter, even as our constitution now works? Is it a light matter that the Crown should have the power of dissolving Parliament; in other words, of deposing the tyrant at will? Is it a light matter that for several months in each year the House of Commons should be in abeyance, during which period the nation looks on Ministers not as slaves of Parliament but servants of the Crown? Is it a light matter that there should still be such respect for the monarchical principle, that the servants of that visible entity yclept the Crown are enabled to carry on much of the details of internal and foreign administration without consulting Parliament, and even without its cognisance?

'It appears to me, I must confess, that if you have a republican form of government in a great country, with complicated internal and external relations, you must either separate the executive and legislative departments, as in the United States, or submit to a tyranny of the majority, not the more tolerable because it is capricious and wielded by a tyrant with many heads. Of the two evils I prefer the former.' (Pp. 123, 124.)

It was in this spirit, with a steadfast adherence to Parliamentary principles, but a no less steadfast appreciation of his own position as a representative of the Crown, placed above the strife of parties, and bound to look to the general interests of the community, that Lord Elgin conceived and exercised the duties of a Colonial Governor. He returned to England at the close of 1854, being succeeded in the government of Canada by Sir Edmund Head, who had examined him for

a Merton Fellowship at Oxford in 1833. Soon after Lord Elgin's return home, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster was offered him by Lord Palmerston, with a seat in the Cabinet. But he preferred to take no active part in public affairs, and enjoyed an interval of two years' rest from official labour, independent of party, and chiefly occupied with the discharge of home duties to his estate and his neighbours at Broom Hall in Fife.

Thus far we have seen Lord Elgin inaugurating free labour in Jamaica at the conclusion of the negro apprenticeship, and inaugurating Parliamentary government in Canada after a colonial revolution. But it was his lot to play the most conspicuous and responsible part in another revolution, of far more momentous interest to mankind, and far less to be anticipated by European statesmanship. The time was come when the frontiers and social systems of the great empires of the far East, hitherto so closely sealed against the enterprise of the Western world, were to be thrown open, and when direct political and commercial engagements were for the first time to be established between Great Britain and the Rulers of China and Japan. It devolved upon Lord Elgin to negotiate and sign those treaties, and at a later period of his career to enforce them at the head of a great expedition which dictated peace under the walls of Peking. These events were so extraordinary, that they would suffice to confer a rare distinction on the statesman who was principally concerned in the direction of them. They secure to Lord Elgin that page in universal history of which even Napoleon is said at times to have doubted and despaired. For who can ever forget the man who brought these astonishing and secluded nations into close contact with ourselves?

The history of Lord Elgin's first mission to China has been so fully and ably written by Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, who accompanied him as his private secretary, and the incidents of that eventful expedition are so well known, that we shall not attempt to repeat them in this place. But the volume now before us contains, in the shape of Lord Elgin's own journals and letters, a record of these transactions which has a very fresh and lively interest. It puts us in possession of his own feelings and motives—of his tender regard for those he had left behind him, and his warm attachment to that home which was so strange to him—of his sensitive conscientiousness when he was compelled to use force against a treacherous enemy—of his singular power of self-control—and of the high religious and moral principles which accompanied him throughout his career.

Arrived at Ceylon in May 1857, the news of the Indian mutiny was the first intelligence he received on landing in the East. It changed for a time the destination of the forces under his orders; it condemned him for many months to a perplexing inactivity; but the magnanimous resolution he took, on his own responsibility, to turn the transports from Singapore to Calcutta and to comply with the urgent entreaty of Lord Canning for the troops, powerfully contributed to save India. Of this act Sir Henry Ward, then Governor of Ceylon, then said:—

‘You may think me impertinent in volunteering an opinion upon what in the first instance only concerns you and the Queen and Lord Canning. But having seen something of public life during a great part of my own, which is now fast verging into the “sere and yellow leaf,” I may venture to say that I never knew a nobler thing than that which you have done in preferring the safety of India to the success of your Chinese negotiations. If I know anything of English public opinion, this single act will place you higher in general estimation as a statesman than your whole past career, honourable and fortunate as it has been. For it is not every man who would venture to alter the destination of a force upon the despatch of which a Parliament has been dissolved, and a Government might have been superseded. It is not every man who would consign himself for many months to political inaction in order simply to serve the interests of his country. You have set a bright example at a moment of darkness and calamity; and, if India can be saved, it is to you that we shall owe its redemption, for nothing short of the Chinese expedition could have supplied the means of holding our ground until further reinforcements are received.’ (P. 188.)

The interval which ensued was one of cruel uncertainty. Lord Elgin spent it partly at Singapore, and partly on a bootless voyage in the ‘Shannon’ to Hong-Kong. All the objects of his mission were in suspense, and his French colleague, Baron Gros, had not arrived. On the 19th July he took the resolution to go up himself to Calcutta, and on the 8th August the ‘Shannon’ sailed up the Hoogly. It was about the darkest hour of that tremendous eclipse which had overshadowed the power of Britain in India. The European population of Calcutta were dismayed. Fort William was looked to as their last resource and refuge. But as the great ship was brought to an anchor abreast of the Maidan, and fired a salute which thundered over Calcutta, the enthusiasm of the Europeans knew no bounds, for it seemed as if salvation had come to India.

‘Speaking afterwards of this scene, Lord Elgin himself said, “I shall never forget to my dying day—for the hour was a dark one, and

"there was hardly a countenance in Calcutta, save that of the Governor-General, Lord Canning, which was not blanched with fear—I shall never forget the cheers with which the 'Shannon' was received as she sailed up the river, pouring forth her salute from those 68-pounders which the gallant and lamented Sir William Peel sent up to Allahabad, and from those 24-pounders which, according to Lord Clyde, made way across the country in a manner never before witnessed." (P. 198.)

'Tell Lord Elgin,' wrote some time afterwards Sir William Peel, whose heroic character fitted him to play a part in these great events, 'tell Lord Elgin that it was the Chinese Expedition that relieved Lucknow, relieved Cawnpore, and fought the battle of the 6th December.' For Lord Elgin had thus indirectly brought about the success and triumph of other men, even more essential to the stability of the empire than the enterprise in which he was himself engaged.

Lord Elgin's own view of the crisis is simply recorded by himself in the following passage from his journal:—

'The Government and public in England would not believe there was any danger in India for a long time, and consequently allowed the season for precautionary measures to pass by, and then made up for their apathy by the most exaggerated apprehensions. My mind has been more tranquil, for it has not presented these phases. As soon as I heard of Canning's difficulties, I determined to do what I could for him; but it never occurred to me that we were to act as if the game was up with us in the East.

'The secret of governing a democracy is understood by men in power at present. Never interfere to check an evil until it has attained such proportions that all the world see plainly the necessities of the case. You will then get any amount of moral and material support that you require; but if you interfere at an earlier period, you will get neither thanks nor assistance! I am not at all sure but that the time is approaching when foresight will be a positive disqualification in a statesman. But to return to our own matters. The Government and public are thinking of nothing but India at present. It does not however follow, that quite as strong a feeling might not be got up for China in a few months. If we met with anything like disaster here, that would certainly be the case.' (Pp. 207, 208.)

The operations against Canton commenced on January 1, 1858. The city was soon taken. Yeh was captured. The plenipotentiaries moved northward to Shanghai, and at last to Tientsin, where the Treaty was signed, which may be regarded as the basis of our relations with the Chinese Empire. Lord Elgin said that 'he felt very sensibly the painfulness of the position of a negotiator, who has to treat with persons who yield nothing to reason and everything to fear, and who are at the same time profoundly ignorant of the subjects under

'discussion and of their own real interests.' His policy was therefore to practise the utmost forbearance and moderation, and not to ask for more than the Chinese themselves could fairly grant. In this he was admirably seconded by the French Plenipotentiary, Baron Gros. But he obtained the right to send an Ambassador of the Queen to Peking; religious toleration; liberty of trade, with the addition of five commercial ports; a revision of the tariff fixed by a previous treaty; and a sum of about 1,300,000*l.* for the losses at Canton and expenses of the war. But Lord Elgin foresaw that the future relations of the West with China must rest mainly on our own conduct as Christian and more highly civilised Powers:—

'When the barriers which prevent free access to the interior of the country shall have been removed, the Christian civilisation of the West will find itself face to face, not with barbarism, but with an ancient civilisation in many respects effete and imperfect, but in others not without claims on our sympathy and respect. In the rivalry which will then ensue, Christian civilisation will have to win its way among a sceptical and ingenious people, by making it manifest that a faith which reaches to Heaven furnishes better guarantees for public and private morality than one which does not rise above the earth.

'At the same time the machina-facturing West will be in presence of a population the most universally and laboriously manufacturing of any on the earth. It can achieve victories in the contest in which it will have to engage only by proving that physical knowledge and mechanical skill, applied to the arts of production, are more than a match for the most persevering efforts of unscientific industry.' (P. 240.)

Immediately after the termination of the negotiation with China, Lord Elgin made that brilliant and successful excursion to Japan, so well related by Mr. Oliphant, which raised for the first time in modern days the mystery hanging over that ingenious people. Viewed by the light of subsequent events, it appeared that Lord Elgin had taken too favourable a view of his new friends, when he said they were 'the nicest people possible,' and he certainly was misled when he negotiated with the Tycoon, who after all was not the sovereign of Japan. But more recent experience has proved that he did not overrate their extraordinary aptitude to learn the arts of civilised life, their wonderful acuteness in business, and their practical sense and goodnature—qualities which have since led to one of the most sudden and extraordinary revolutions in the history of the world.

Although Lord Elgin had taken every precaution to insure the faithful observance of the Treaty of Tientsin by the Chinese, and had left his brother, Sir Frederick Bruce, in

charge of our newly-established relations, besides making himself a remarkable expedition to the interior of China as far as Hankow on the Yang-tsi-Kiang, fresh troubles soon broke out, the ratification of the Treaty was evaded, and our ships were fired upon from the Peiho forts. So that within a year of his return to England in 1859, Lord Elgin was again despatched to China as Ambassador Extraordinary. Frederick Bruce was not to be outdone by his brother in magnanimity. When the unfortunate affair took place in June 1859, at the Peiho forts, and the British attack was beaten off, he might have stated that he had done all he could to dissuade the admiral from making the attack at all, and had even written a despatch to that effect. After the event, Lord Elgin says: 'Frederick, partly from generosity of character, and partly from sympathy with the admiral and admiration of his valour, abstained from stating in his own justification all the circumstances of the unfortunate affair at the Peiho last year.' The fact is, that the despatch he had written *against* the expedition was never produced, and Sir Frederick Bruce took upon himself a considerable share of the discredit which arose from the failure, although he was in no way responsible for it. Only now has this fact come to light; but it is one that deserves to be remembered.

The allied forces of England and France which were assembled in July 1860 in the Gulf of Pecheli, about two hundred miles from the mouth of the Peiho, were incomparably more powerful and efficient than those engaged in the former war. The expedition was in fact too large. Lord Elgin had said to Lord Palmerston before he started that he had much rather undertake to march to Peking with 5,000 men than with 25,000; and he afterwards declared that the delays incident to conveying a large army were the principal cause of the loss of the prisoners, and nearly made the whole thing break down. He states the forces actually engaged to have amounted to 30,000 English (fleet and army) and 10,000 French; but 'I suppose,' he adds, 'we must not crow till we see what the Tartar warriors are.' The Tartar warriors were not formidable, either behind their forts or in the field, although the forces collected by the Chinese Government were considerable, and fully demonstrated their determination to break, if possible, the Treaty they were bound to ratify. It was the procrastination and treachery of the Tartar generals that proved our worst enemies, and led to the very formidable incident of the seizure of Mr. Parkes, Mr. Henry Loch, and others, and their capture in the dungeons of Peking, which has been so simply

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and graphically related by one of themselves in pages which are a genuine record of British heroism.* Nothing could be more painfully embarrassing to Lord Elgin than the knowledge that these distinguished members of the embassy, many of whom were personally dear to him, had fallen into the hands of enemies to whom pity, justice, and the usages of war were alike unknown. He was perfectly aware of the extreme danger of their position. But he deviated not one hair's breadth from the path of public duty. The Chinese endeavoured to stop the advance of the army by alternate promises and threats about the prisoners. But the allied forces steadily moved onwards. They took the Summer Palace; they advanced to the walls of Peking; in a day or two more the city would have been stormed. The Emperor had already fled from it. In this extremity, on October 8, those of the prisoners who survived were sent back to the camp. But several of them had miserably perished; and it was as a measure of signal retribution for this atrocious crime that Lord Elgin resolved upon the destruction of the Yuen-ming-yuen, the favourite Summer Palace of the emperors of China. As this is the only act of Lord Elgin's life to which a doubt, approaching to censure, has in some minds attached, we think it right to republish his own justification of it:—

‘Having, to the best of my judgment, examined the question in all its bearings, I came to the conclusion that the destruction of Yuen-ming-yuen was the least objectionable of the several courses open to me, unless I could have reconciled it to my sense of duty to suffer the crime which had been committed to pass practically unavenged. I had reason, moreover, to believe that it was an act which was calculated to produce a greater effect in China, and on the Emperor, than persons who look on from a distance would suppose.

‘It was the Emperor's favourite residence, and its destruction could not fail to be a blow to his pride as well as to his feelings. To this place he brought our hapless countrymen, in order that they might undergo their severest tortures within its precincts. Here have been found the horses and accoutrements of the troopers seized, the decorations torn from the breast of a gallant French officer, and other effects belonging to the prisoners. As almost all the valuables had already been taken from the palace, the army would go there, not to pillage, but to mark, by a solemn act of retribution, the horror and indignation with which we were inspired by the perpetration of a great crime. The punishment was one which would fall not on the people, who may

* We refer to the ‘Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China, 1860, by Henry Brougham Loch,’ which was published in 1869. Mr. Loch was made a Companion of the Bath for his gallant services, and has since been appointed Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man.

be comparatively innocent, but exclusively on the Emperor, whose direct personal responsibility for the crime committed is established, not only by the treatment of the prisoners at Yuen-ming-yuen, but also by the edict, in which he offered a pecuniary reward for the heads of the foreigners, adding, that he was ready to expend all his treasure in these wages of assassination.

'On Thursday, the 18th of October, the extensive buildings of the palace were given to the flames; and during the whole of the 19th they were still burning. "The clouds of smoke," says Mr. Loch, "driven by the wind, hung like a vast black pall over Pekin;" well calculated to enforce with their lurid gloom the lesson conveyed to the citizens in a proclamation which Lord Elgin had caused to be affixed in Chinese to all the buildings and walls in the neighbourhood, to the effect "that no individual, however exalted, could escape from "the responsibility and punishment which must always follow the commission of acts of treachery and deceit; and that Yuen-ming-yuen was burnt as a punishment inflicted on the Emperor for the violation "of his word, and the act of treachery to a flag of truce."

'Five days later, on the 24th of October, the Convention, which had been the subject of so much dispute, was finally signed, and Lord Elgin exchanged with the Emperor's brother the ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin.' (Pp. 366, 367.)

No man was more opposed than Lord Elgin to the bloodshed and vandalism of war. He may be said to have hated them. But the acts of war would be even more detestable than they are, if they were not governed and directed by a high sense of moral justice. We believe that in this instance the punishment inflicted was just, necessary, and signal, and though it destroyed a palace which was the pride of a nation, it did not touch a single human life.

The treaty of peace signed by Lord Elgin shortly afterwards (on October 24), at Pekin, has fulfilled the expectations of its authors. It placed the relations of the two Empires on a sound foundation; it established a peace which has already lasted for twelve years; it has led to enormous development of trade; and far from weakening the Chinese Government, it has rendered it materially stronger than it was at the time when the interior of the country was devastated by a frightful rebellion and its coasts were threatened by foreign war.

Lord Elgin returned to England in April 1861, having made an excursion to the Philippines and to Java on his way home, in which he had an opportunity of comparing the Spanish and Dutch systems of colonial government in the East with our own. How different is the picture! In those dependencies he saw the religious intolerance of Spain and the commercial restrictions of Holland used to crush the native population to the earth, whilst the policy of England tends to inculcate self-

reliance, toleration, equal justice, and education. The comparison is honourable to ourselves; yet perhaps, as Lord Elgin remarked, the natives do not like us the better for it.

Before he had been a month in England, the highest office in that service in which Lord Elgin had spent his life was offered to him, and he accepted the splendid post of Viceroy of India, conscious that here again it would be his duty to restore order, authority, and confidence after a great convulsion, and aware that the advance of life, and twenty years of incessant labour, often in tropical climates, had sensibly weakened his vital powers. He took leave of his friends at Dunfermline in a few touching sentences, which showed that he himself thought it might be for the last time. The death of Ritchie, the Advocate-General, soon after he reached Calcutta, the death of Lord Canning within a few months of his retirement, and the death of Robert Bruce, one of the best and best-beloved of Lord Elgin's brothers, contributed to give additional strength to these gloomy forebodings. In fact Lord Elgin was destined to fill the office of Governor-General of India for only eighteen months, a period hardly sufficient for him to have mastered the details of administration of that great Empire, with which he had no previous acquaintance, and quite insufficient for him to give to the policy of the Government the stamp of his own mind. Averse to all rash or sudden changes, he contented himself with following in the steps of his friend and predecessor, Lord Canning, whose sentiments were so congenial to himself. Yet his letters written at this period to Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, though somewhat inferior in vigour to his earlier compositions, show with what an earnest intelligence and love of truth and justice he had applied himself to the work before him, and that if strength and life had not failed him at the outset, Lord Elgin might have taken rank with the ablest and best of those remarkable men who have governed in succession the Anglo-Indian Empire.

At an early period of his residence in India he had taken the resolution to leave as soon as possible the enervating climate of Calcutta, and to see with his own eyes, as he was ever wont to do, the chief provinces of his government. He proceeded in February to Benares, and thence to Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi, holding durbars, opening railways, speaking everywhere the language of conciliation, respect for native rights, and peace. His great object was 'to obtain some knowledge of local and native feeling which does not reach Calcutta,' and with this view he even thought that the seat

of government might with advantage be removed to Lahore. In March he reached Simla, and there the last few months of his life were spent. Even then he explored some of the upper valleys in the chain of the Himalaya, crossed the Chenab by the twig-bridge, which he describes as 'the most difficult job he ever attempted,' and studied the opening of a new road for trade with Ladāk and China. But this effort was the last. Indeed, he never rallied from the exhaustion consequent on passing the twig-bridge at the Chenab, which was so rent and tattered by the wear and tear of the past season as to render the passage extremely fatiguing. Symptoms of disease of the heart, which had manifested themselves since he reached the Hills, now assumed an alarming character. On the 6th November his illness was pronounced to be mortal. In full possession of his faculties, and conscious of his own condition, he displayed in this last stage of life the same moral greatness which had borne him through it, an absolute resignation of himself to the will of God, and a minute and thoughtful consideration of all that remained to be done for others. When he received the Holy Communion for the last time, 'We are now entering on a new communion,' he said, 'the living and the dead.' On the 20th November he expired, and was buried on the following day at the cemetery of Dhurmsala, in a spot chosen by Lady Elgin, and surrounded by the most sublime scenery in the world.

Perhaps the noblest part of the history of England is to be found in the recorded lives of those who have been her chosen servants, and who have died in that service. Self-control, endurance, and an heroic sense of duty, are more conspicuous in such men than the love of action and of fame. But their lives are the landmarks of our race. Lord Elgin, it is true, can hardly be ranked with the first of British statesmen, or orators, or commanders. His services, great as they unquestionably were, had all been performed under the orders of other men. Even among his own contemporaries he fills a place in the second rank. But happy are the country and the age in which such men are to be found in the second rank, and are content to be there! This volume, then, deserves, in our opinion, to be read as the faithful picture of a varied and adventurous life, but it may well retain a place in English literature, from the vivacity and grace of Lord Elgin's own style, from the originality of many of his observations on public affairs, but, above all, as an example to future times of a high-minded and patriotic servant of the Crown.

- ART. III.—1. *History of Ancient Manuscripts.* A Lecture delivered in the Hall of the Inner Temple, by WILLIAM FORSYTH, Q.C., LL.D. Printed at the request of the Masters of the Bench. London: 1872.
2. *History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times.* By ISAAC TAYLOR. London: 1859.
3. *Præfationes et Epistolæ Editionibus Principibus Auctorum veterum præpositæ.* Curante BERTHOLD BOTFIELD. London and Cambridge: 1861.

WHEN the classical student or historian has exhausted his lamentations over the ravages sustained by ancient authors, and reflects upon the vicissitudes to which the manuscripts which enshrined their labours have been exposed, he will find a more legitimate matter of surprise in the extent of our possessions. There have been several periods in history when the entire extinction of ancient books seemed more probable than their partial preservation. War, fire, negligence of custody, bigotry, ignorance, and dishonesty sum up a catalogue of enemies compared with which 'Time's effacing fingers' might well appear to have foregone their share in the destruction of such perishable materials.

It is to German editors in particular that we owe the latest exposition of the relative value of existing manuscripts, and even Mr. Munro, whose valuable edition of Lucretius* forms an epoch in English scholarship, has been content to follow, though with a rational not servile assent, in the steps of Lachmann. The neglect of this study by a long series of eminent scholars was manifested by the loose and capricious application of such phrases as 'received reading' and 'vulgate text'—justly stigmatised by Ernesti as a mere *ἀγνοίας εἰδωλον*, *per fugium certè inscitiae*. The ultimate object of critical inquiry, with reference to documentary evidence, must be directed singly to ascertaining, from whatever source, the probable state of the text as it originally appeared; this, strictly speaking, being the only real archetype, or *exemplar primigenium*, towards which, as to the parent source, all existing families of transcripts must more or less remotely converge. The authority of these autographs, of course, if they existed, would be conclusive, but few exist even of modern works, and none

* Edin. Rev., No. ccxlix. We gladly recur to that particular portion contained in his introductions on the formation of the text, a learned and practical contribution to the study of MS. authority.

of any ancient one. Pliny and Quintilian attest to having seen the autographs of Cicero, as Tertullian that of St. Paul's Epistles, and Aulus Gellius speaks of a manuscript of the second book of the *Æneid*, which was believed to have been written by Virgil, and sold for twenty 'sigillaria.' The original MSS. of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, extorted, we are told, by Ptolemy from the starving Athenians for his library at Alexandria, possibly shared a fate like those of Latin authors in public and private collections at Rome, which fell victims to the flames in the time of Nero.* But whatever weight may be attached to such traditions, the loss of these autographs necessarily deprives us of that direct proof of the identity of existing copies, which they alone could furnish. How far then, and by what means, dealing with principles rather than details, do existing manuscripts establish, if not identify, at least the fact of connexion? The inquiry is complex and multiform in its aspects; it alternates between external evidence and critical inference; but its main features are well-regulated and comparatively simple.

Palæography, however various in its methods, and embracing contradictory theories, assigns most of the earliest classical manuscripts extant to periods not beyond the ninth century. Great, however, as is the interval denoted, in these cases, from the date of the author, this modest estimate of antiquity—the result, be it remembered, of practised observation by those most competent to judge—fails wholly to shake, nay rather tends to confirm, the other proofs of genuineness. 'It is not necessary,' Mr. Taylor justly observes, 'to trace the literary relics of classical authors a step farther back than into the midst of the Dark Ages. For if all external and correlative evidence were wanting; if nothing were known concerning the classic authors except that, such as they are now, they were extant in the tenth century, enough would be known to make it abundantly clear that these works were the product of a different and a distant age.' The Dark Ages, in fact—and Mr. Taylor has taken the period of midnight, the *plumbeum ævum*, for his standpoint—were not the times for literary forgeries. All that Hallam can say of Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries is, that Latin was not 'wholly unintelligible,' and the very degeneracy of the language which helped to destroy the purity, was a safeguard for the genuineness of the text. It had begun indeed in Italy before the fall of the Empire, in a manner sufficiently marked to distinguish the

* Lipsius ad Tac. Ann. xv. cap. 41.

productions of that age from those of pure Latinity. There is a wide and patent difference between Lactantius the 'Christian Cicero,' and his Augustan prototype. The 'Lives' of Cornelius Nepos were for a long time, in the infancy of criticism, assigned to Æmilius Probus in the fourth century, from some dedicatory verses to Theodosius found on the manuscripts, but this evidence has been rejected by scholars since Lambinus for the more convincing arguments derived from the purity of his style. In Greece the popularity of Anacreon produced a herd of clumsy imitators in the fourth and fifth centuries, but modern critics, on similar grounds, have unanimously declared against the collection first edited by H. Stephens in 1554, though supported by manuscript authority not inferior in weight, as regards antiquity, to that of many genuine classical productions.

But while we think that Mr. Taylor has inadequately described such conclusions—based in reality on settled rules of critical scholarship—as the result of 'intuition,' a vague explanation at the best, yet we agree in his remark, as applied to the broad question of genuineness, that 'the age of existing manuscripts is a matter of more curiosity than importance, since proof of another kind carries us with certainty far beyond the date of any existing parchments' (p. 203). We allude with him to that network of references and quotations which runs through and connects the mass of classical literature—each a link in the chain of tradition, and a species of indirect evidence which defies the suspicion of modern invention. Essential they are not, and their frequency depended on the popularity of the author. No direct quotations are to be found from Livy after Priscian, and Niebuhr infers that the lost books were probably not read during the whole of the Middle Ages, except perhaps by some grammarians in Italy. Just suspicion undoubtedly attaches to 'buried writings,' which have lain for centuries unnoticed, and indeed, the discovery of many classical manuscripts would seem to be the result of accident bordering on the miraculous; * but their genuineness

* Strabo's story that Aristotle's works remained rotting in a cellar at Soepris for 200 years after his death, until rescued by Apellicon of Teos, has been so severely sifted by Kopp, Brandis, and Stahr as to limit its application, if true at all, to that author's original MSS., probably of only a small portion of his works, for his writings were familiar to Alexandrian students in that interval. Of Propertius the oldest copy extant is the 'Codex Guelpherbytanus' of the thirteenth century. The archetypal MS. was supposed to have been found under some casks in a wine-cellar, in the lifetime of Pontanus, until Van

must be disproved on other grounds than the bare fact of their long concealment. Velleius Paterculus is not quoted till the time of Priscian, 400 years after he wrote, and then comes a silence of 900 years till Aventinus. Pithæus, the first editor of 'Phædrus' in 1596, could find no reference to his author before Avienus, a period of 400 years.* But such silence, as Bentley remarks, cannot pass for a negative proof that there were no such authors.

'If they were read,' he says, 'the readers of them were not writers themselves, so as to let posterity know that they had read them. Although the writers of the barbarous ages do not speak of those authors, they do not say anything to imply that they had no existence. If they do say anything amiss which could be corrected from them, it is to be imputed only to their own ignorance, or laziness, that they would not search for them.'†

To this, with some authors, must be added the scarcity of manuscripts obtainable. Cicero's Letters are not mentioned between the time of Lupus of Ferrieres in the ninth century and Petrarch's discovery, an interval of silence very improbable had there been any number of copies then existing. But, *exceptis excipiendis*, with the great body of classical authors the evidence afforded by tradition is abundant. Throughout the Dark Ages the continuity of knowledge was, however slenderly, maintained, and the remains of ancient literature, taken as a whole, contain within themselves the proof of the genuineness of each part. For the purposes, however, of emendation this class of testimony is subject to restrictions. Did the writers quote from memory, or from a manuscript in their possession? If from memory, they might easily have

Santen (pref. ed. Amsterdam, 1780) threw doubts upon the value of the discovery. Poggio, says Jovius, found Quintilian 'in salsamentarii taberna.' The 'Ethiopics' of Heliodorus were published by Opsopæus from a book given to him by an Hungarian soldier, which he had picked up in the pillage of King Corvinus' library (pref. ed. princ. 1534). Disraeli (Cur. of Lit. p. 8) gives, among other instances of discovered MSS., an anecdote of Sir Robert Cotton, who was said to have found his tailor on the point of cutting up an original copy of Magna Charta. See also Bentley (Dissert. ad Phal. p. 375) for pretended discoveries, including that of the Revelation of St. James, supposed to have lain buried in Spain from the time of the apostle. Unluckily the MS. was written in modern Spanish, a difficulty, however, which Aldrete accounted for by the proleptic exercise of the 'gift of tongues!'

* Botfield's Prefaces, pp. 627-9.

† Dissertation on Phalaris, p. 367, ed. 1817.

forgotten the exact words; if from a manuscript, that manuscript might have been corrupt. So far, indeed, from such quotations, even when professedly literal, contributing to prove the purity of the earliest existing copies, or their identity with the original, they reveal, in some cases, the remote introduction of error. 'It is not easy in any other way,' says Mr. Munro, 'to explain the agreement of Macrobius and Nonius (fourth century) with the archetype of all existing MSS. of Lucretius in many indisputable corruptions.'* Cicero's oration 'pro Flacco' appears to have been imperfect in the same century from another reference in Macrobius; and the writings of Solinus, Martianus Capella, and Isidorus contain quotations from Pliny with flagrantly corrupted words.† Columella, who quotes several passages from Cicero, makes him mistranslate Xenophon, but probably he merely had Cicero before his eye and put his thoughts into his own language.‡ And in the fifth century Cassiodorus misquotes from Tacitus, though his words '*quodam Cornelio scribente*'—a conjectural reading gives *quondam*—argue a slender acquaintance with his author. Indeed, lax and inaccurate quotations were the rule; and from the seventh to the thirteenth century, though allusions to the classics more frequently occur, they are for the most part indirect and unauthenticated. Orosius refers to Tacitus in the fifth century, and may have had direct access to his works; but Freculphus, Bishop of Lisieux, in the ninth, as well as John of Salisbury—whose references to Cicero's Epistles are from Macrobius and Quintilian—quote second-hand from Orosius; and Adam of Bremen is content with the readings of Rudolphus, a monk at Fulda in the ninth century, the only one apparently of the German or Italian historians of the Middle Ages who had consulted Tacitus' writings.§ Of Lucretius few traces are to be found in that interval; and, according

* Introduction to Notes, p. 313.

† Several early writers contain passages from Pliny which cannot be found in any existing MSS., including the best. But Sillig conjectures with reason that most of these quotations were fictitious, made to give a spurious authority to their writings. Pliny being the standard author on Natural History throughout the Middle Ages, the prevailing ignorance and the probable scarcity of MSS. offered special temptations to this kind of fraud.

‡ Orelli's Cicero, ed. 1828, vol. iv. part ii. p. 472. But Cicero's 'Timæus' shows the lax way in which he translated from his Greek originals.

§ Ritter in his edition of Tacitus has given an admirable review of the early historical notices of his author contained in other writing.

to Mr. Munro, Honorius of Autun, in the twelfth century, merely quotes him second hand. Direct reference alone can prove the existence of the work quoted at the time the writer made his reference. At the same time quotations appear to have 'suffered comparatively little from the process of transcription.' If they serve to reveal in some cases the extent of our losses, they have rescued much of classical literature from oblivion: they have been freely used by scholiasts; and Wesseling, among others, while complaining of the indifference of previous editors of Herodotus to this source of information, acknowledges its aid in supplying lacunæ and confirming doubtful readings.

But the evidence of age, sufficient, as we have seen, to establish, in conjunction with other lines of proof, the connexion of existing copies with their lost originals, has a more immediate bearing upon their authority. Inasmuch as corruptions must increase with the process of transcription, it is a mere truism to assert that the nearer you approach the author's lifetime the purer will be the text, there being less chance, in proportion, of the multiplication of error by time. And, accordingly, broadly speaking, the oldest manuscripts are the best. But this rule is subject to restrictions the later we advance; and its inconclusiveness is shown by the fact, to which we shall hereafter advert, that no existing manuscript, however ancient, is free from corruption of some kind. It is an axiom in collation that a younger copy will often supply the defects of one of higher antiquity:—

'Some manuscripts (says Mr. Taylor) as late as the thirteenth or even fifteenth century, afford clear internal evidence that, by a single remove only, the text they contain may claim a *real* antiquity, higher than that even of the oldest existing copy of the same work. For those older copies sometimes prove, by the peculiar nature of the corruptions which have crept into the text, that they have been derived through a long series of copies; while perhaps the text of the more modern manuscript possesses such a degree of purity and freedom from all the usual consequences of frequent corruption, as to make it manifest that the copy from which it was taken was so ancient as not to be distant from the time of the first publication of the work.' (Pp. 14–5.)

These considerations plainly show that the authority of manuscripts must be estimated by the relation of parts to the whole, not by isolated copies. *Codicibus bonis*, says Madvig, *obtemperandum est, non serviendum*. The age of the text rather than of the copyist is the thing for critics to ascertain; and Erasmus justly rebuked the prevailing vice of editors in his

day when he remarked '*nimis imperiti est hominis, libros annorum numero aestimare, ac non potius rerum indicio.*' Even mere fidelity of transcribing, however meritorious, is not evidence of the internal goodness of a manuscript; for it might have been most faithfully copied from a corrupt original. The merit of antiquity, in brief, consists in the groundwork it affords for explaining the subsequent introduction of error. We shall have occasion, later on, to observe how the neglect of these simple principles by early critics and first editors led to two opposite faults, each showing an ignorance of the relative value of manuscript authority—the one, an exclusive adherence to some '*vetus exemplar*'—'*surdum plerumque oraculum*,' as Wolff remarks, '*nisi constanter consulentibus*'—the other, an indiscriminating regard for mere numerical testimony, irrespective of its source.

The aggregate authority of existing manuscripts depends upon their relation to the archetype, either known or inferred; but even that point at which a common parentage can be assumed, denotes an interval, more or less in proportion to their antiquity, from the authors' original. We can only sketch in outline the leading principles of such an inquiry; and it will be convenient, for that purpose, to distinguish their application to three separate epochs which appear to us to govern the distribution of existing materials. Without assuming too arbitrary a division of time, the first may be taken to extend from the date of classical authors to the seventh century, the nadir of the human mind in Europe, and the period when the stock of manuscripts may be said to have first reached its minimum.

As might be expected, few classical manuscripts of this epoch exist, though, fortunately for their preservation from decay, they were written on the most durable materials. Some there are, indeed, whose probable age exceeds that of the oldest biblical MSS. extant. Of the Greek copies of the Scriptures, the four most ancient, which we give in their probable order of precedence, occupy different periods in the fourth century. These are the famous Codex Sinaiticus, unearthed by Tischendorf in 1859; the Codex Frederic Augustus, his earlier discovery in 1846; the Codex Alexandrinus, which was presented to Charles I. by Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, and is now in the British Museum; and the Codex Vaticanus of the Italians. To the fifth century are assigned the Codex Ephrem of the French, a palimpsest, and the Codex Bezae, found by Beza in the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons, and given by him in 1581 to the University of Cam-

bridge.* As regards the Hebrew manuscripts of the text, if we assume with Mr. Forsyth that the subscription on the Pentateuch roll brought from Darghestan is an accurate index of its date, we have nothing more ancient than A.D. 580. It is enough merely to observe that this represents an interval of about a thousand years from the time of Ezra, one of the latest of the Old Testament writers.† In this respect the majority of classical manuscripts have the advantage. It is true that the oldest known copy of Herodotus does not go beyond the tenth century. Between Æschylus and Sophocles and their earliest archetypal codex, the parchment of the tenth century in the Laurentian Library, the gap is still longer; and the Townley MS. of Homer, which is probably the oldest complete copy of that poet, is as recent as the thirteenth century.‡ On the other hand there are some, among the earliest copies of other authors, where this interval assumes far more modest proportions. Putting aside some few fragments that are supposed to be older than the Christian era, perhaps the oldest classical manuscript of importance is the Vatican palimpsest of Cicero's 'De Republicâ' discovered by Mai—one of the latest, if not the most valuable of the results first disclosed in the last century by that new source of ancient learning, and carried back by competent judges to

* Marsh's notes on Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 720. Dr. Whiston, with suspicious minuteness, assigned it to A.D. 130, thirty years after the death of St. John, and Dr. Kipling, who published a facsimile in 1793, thought this estimate 'not impossible.' Compare *Nouveau Traité de Diplom.*, vol. iii. p. 37, where the learned Benedictines are more sceptical.

† Dr. Lowth, in reviewing the results of Kennicott's earlier researches, has not omitted to explain how abundantly this defect of age, as regards the formation of the text, is compensated by the authority of ancient versions made 'from different languages, in much earlier times, and from manuscripts in all probability much more correct and perfect than any now extant.' (*Prelim. Dissert. to Isaiah*, p. xlv.)

‡ Now in the British Museum (Cat. MSS. N.S., part ii. p. 37, Lond. 1841). Mr. Cureton edited in 1851 a Syriac palimpsest of about 3,000 lines, which he ascribes to the fifth century. He mentions three other fragments of remote date:—1. The Ambrosian MS. at Milan, discovered by Mai, but containing only 800 lines; 2. A papyrus roll in the possession of Mr. Banks, with 678 lines of the last book (*Philol. Mus.* 1832, p. 177); and 3. A MS. found in the hand of a mummy at Monfalout, with 306 lines of B. xviii. (*Athenæum*, No. 1141, p. 913). Zonaras relates that in the library at Constantinople, founded in the fourth century, there was a roll of dragons' gut, 100 feet in length, with the entire Iliad and Odyssey written in golden letters.

the second or third century. A copy of Cicero's translation by Aratus, with nine lines previously unknown, was edited by Mr. Ottley in 1836, who has laboured in a learned dissertation to prove an origin equally remote.* But, with classical and biblical MSS. alike, the proofs of age become more inferential and indirect in proportion to the antiquity reasonably supposed to exist. Syriac manuscripts have, in this respect, one important advantage in the contemporary testimony of the scribe to the year, the month,—nay sometimes the very hour—when the transcript was completed. But with Greek and Latin authors this kind of evidence is comparatively rare. Had colophons been appended from the earliest times, and reproduced faithfully by succeeding copyists, it is evident that each manuscript so written would contain exact evidence of its connexion, however distant, with the original. But where such evidence exists the chain of reference is far from complete. Greek copyists, for the most part, Montfaucon has observed, altogether omitted all previous annotations, and wrote only their own; although it would appear that, where they did reproduce the colophon from the original before them, they were careful to add in a note the date when their copy was made. 'In no MS. which I have seen,' he says, 'has the copyist repeated the old mark, without adding his own.'† But as regards Latin manuscripts in particular, including some of the earlier, the authority of the subscriptions made by correctors is seriously impaired by the fact that they are often found repeated in subsequent copies by scribes who reproduced them with servile fidelity. The Codex Leidensis of Pliny's Natural History, written in the ninth or tenth century, contains the words '*Feliciter Junius Laurenaus relegi*,' evidently wrongly copied from the signature of some earlier corrector, whom Sillig conjectures to have been Lucius Aurelianus. The *Codex Mediceus* of Tacitus, the earliest MS. of the latter part of his Annals, which was written in the monastery of Monte Cassino, contains the following:—

'Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi Romæ felix, Olibrio et Probino coss. in foro Martis controversias declamans oratori Eudelechio, rursus Constantinopoli recognovi Cæsario et Attico coss.'

From this, Pichena concluded that the MS. was written, or rather corrected, in A.D. 395, the year when Olibrius and Probinus were consuls in the West, although the writing is Langobardic, and therefore not anterior to the tenth or eleventh

* Archæologia, vol. xxvi. pp. 47-211.

† Paleographia Græca, p. 38.

century, when the original from which it was copied was probably destroyed. But a better instance occurs in two MSS. of Livy's first decade—the one at Florence, the other at Leyden—each of which contains the same formula, valuable, it is true, as proving their common origin, but indicating at the same time that neither is archetypal. The words are ‘*Emendavi Nicomachus Flavianus Titi divii ter præf. urbis apud Hennā ab urbe cond. Victorianus voc (properly vc) emendabam Domnis Symmachis (sic).*’ The first name is understood to represent Nicomachus Flavianus Dexter, prefect at Rome for the first time in the year 393 or 394; but the genuineness of the signature being disproved, it is easy to see the imperfect value of these colophons as a testimony to the age of the manuscripts, while the suspicion which ordinarily attaches to them is further increased by the fact that they are often written in large quadrated capitals; a clumsy expedient apparently to give a spurious appearance of antiquity to a document otherwise detected to be comparatively recent.* The earliest existing Latin manuscript which is supposed to bear the autographs of the corrector is the celebrated *Codex Mediceus* of Virgil, attributed to Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, who was consul in 494 A.D. Heyne has remarked that his signature is only annexed to the *Bucolics* as a proof that there his labours ended, and rejects the hypothesis that the manuscript is merely a copy of a recension of Apronianus, and that his signature has been omitted in other places by the negligence of the copyist. The Benedictines, who with Holstenius and Niebuhr fix its date at the latter part of the fifth century, base their inference mainly on the supposition that it was recently written when delivered to the corrector, and their remarks deserve quotation:—‘It is true,’ they admit, ‘that the signature differs from the text, but it does not follow that the latter was much earlier. Although it is quite possible that a MS. may have been corrected long after it was written, yet generally the correction followed close upon the copy, in the case of very ancient MSS. It is only towards the seventh century that men became negligent about correction.’† These instances

* Niebuhr quotes several instances, among others a colophon attached to a MS. of Persius in the Vatican of the tenth century, copied from a far more ancient original, which recorded that it had been corrected in the reign of Honorius. (*Edit. Fragm. Liv.*, i. p. 21, ed. 1820.)

† *Nouv. Traité de Dipl.*, vol. iii. p. 52.

suffice to illustrate the restrictions which govern the reception of colophons as evidence of antiquity, when applied to the most ancient manuscripts existing. The evidence of drawings, from which Mr. Ottley mainly inferred the high antiquity of his copy of Aratus, is exempt from those dangers of later imitation to which we have alluded, from the fortunate circumstance that until the close of the fifteenth century few painters, as he observes, studied historical accuracy, especially in costumes, but conformed to the fashion of the times. Even the authority of lapidary inscriptions is not always conclusive, from the variations in spelling and the forms of the characters which occur in some of the earliest. At the same time they form the surest standard of comparison with respect to the MSS. of the epoch now under consideration. Niebuhr has traced an exact similitude between the uncial characters of the Vatican palimpsest fragment of Livy, B. xci., discovered by Bruns, which he assigns to the later Empire, and the inscriptions on the baths of Titus, and the same holds good of the other oldest classical MSS. extant, such as the Medicean and Vatican MSS. of Virgil, and the Vatican MS. of Terence of the fourth or fifth century. It seems tolerably certain that the original Roman letters continued in use until the fifth century, when they were vitiated by the Goths; at any rate, the inscriptions at Pompeii disprove the employment of cursive handwriting at that period.

The precise age, however, of these earliest classical remains is a matter of more curiosity than importance; and in the absence of positive criteria, the question, at the best, is one of probabilities, and incapable of exact formal proof. In each case, an interval of a certain length exists between the copy and the author's original, sufficient to destroy partially the purity of the former, although perhaps the text had only passed through two or more transcriptions. The Milan palimpsest of Plautus of the fifth century exhibits corruptions which might appear inconsistent with its high antiquity, were it not for the abundant testimony afforded us of the remote introduction and rapid growth of error. Brenemann has traced back many of the transcriptural corruptions of the Florentine MS. of the Pandects of the sixth century to a very faulty original: and Munro with Lachmann observes the same with regard to the lost archetype of Lucretius, notwithstanding that its earliest representatives, the two Leyden copies of the ninth and tenth centuries, prove that it 'retained many valuable vestiges of high antiquity, especially in the spelling of words, and though there may have been few stages between it and the age of

'the author.'* No archetypal manuscript of Shakspeare is known to exist, but the first edition by Heminge and Condell, published only seven years after his death, shows how maimed and deformed was the first appearance of his works. With several classical authors we can trace the existence of error to the very fountain-head. Livy, for instance, like Milton, probably never committed his compositions to writing, except through the medium of an amanuensis, and Bentley's emendations of the latter, however absurd and conjectural, proceeded on the recognition of the temptations thus offered to error, whether of negligence or fraud. That such suspicions—although the remedy may be worse than the disease—are not wholly unfounded, appears from a valuable MS. of Gower, given, as the colophon relates, by the poet himself to Henry IV., since besides being unpointed and obscured with abbreviations, it is described by Warton as 'abounding in those misspellings which flow from a scribe unacquainted with the French language.' The imperfections or variations in the autograph, where such original emanated from the writer's own pen, would naturally breed farther error from the commencement. It is supposed that the *Æneid*, like the *Pharsalia*, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, and probably Cicero's *De Legibus*, were never fully revised by the author. The same has been inferred by Mr. Munro of *Lucretius*, apparently a posthumous publication.

'If Cicero (he observes) was editor, he probably put it into the hands of some of his own amanuenses, or entrusted it to the large copying-establishment of Atticus; and he may have spent only a few hours in looking over it or hearing it read to him; his name rather than his time was probably wanted by the friends of *Lucretius*. . . . It is certain enough that the poem must have been published in the unfinished state in which it was left by the author; indeed, I hardly like to say how strong my suspicions, even my convictions are, that many of the most manifest blunders in the poem as we now have it appeared in the very first edition, whether from design or inadvertency, probably both.' (*Introd. to Notes*, p. 313.)

Many of the repetitions in *Lucretius*, as in the '*De Lingua Latinâ*' of Varro, would probably have been removed on revision, but there are instances in the former of several 'consecutive verses, always forming an entire and independent sentence,' which can hardly be explained by transcriptural confusion, but appear to be 'marginal additions made by the poet,' and faithfully reproduced, without regard to their proper order, by the first editor. We still possess the original MS. of Pope's transla-

* *Introd. to Notes*, vol. i. p. 29.

tion of the Iliad, and anyone who has seen the variations and corrections introduced into it by the author, will readily comprehend by what gradations any great intellectual effort advances to correctness, and what differences—each of them exhibiting the author's own text at various stages of composition—exist between the rudeness of his first conceptions and the elegance of his last. Variations of this kind have been discovered, each bearing apparently the stamp of genuineness, which in some authors have led eminent critics to adopt the theory of two independent recensions made by the author himself during his lifetime.* 'Each of these altered copies,' as Mr. Taylor observes, 'would, if the work were in continual request, become 'the parent of a family of copies.' Corruptions they cannot be called, though they probably gave rise to later interpolations; but it is important to notice them when considering the fact that, before the intervention of printing, the manuscript of the author formed the only original archetype, and consequently the more variations there were at the fountain-head, the larger was the field for diversities in subsequent transcripts. Different copyists, moreover, each with distinctive peculiarities of error, but each copying in the first instance possibly from the same original, would necessarily make different mistakes, and this process would be repeated *ad infinitum*, so long as copies were multiplied. Well might ancient authors, on launching their literary craft, commend its prosperous voyage through such a 'sea of troubles' to the care of Fortune and the gods. Martial, in one of his epigrams, relates how one of his admirers sent him a copy of his poems, which he had bought, to be corrected by his own hand. From a comparison of the earliest existing MSS. of Virgil, four of which are probably anterior to the fifth century, Heyne has discovered, even at that remote period,

* See Weber's Lucan, vol. ii. pp. 430-2. The passage in the 'Pharsalia' which supports this theory is B. vi. pp. 186-8:—

'Jamque hebes et crasso non asper sanguine mucro
Percussum Scævæ frangit, non vulnerat hostem;
Perdidit ensis opus; frangit sine vulnere membra.'

Grotius, Guetius, Burmann, and Bentley have inferred from the similarity of the two last lines, that each is genuine, but that the poet substituted one for the other in a revised edition of his work. Weber rejects this theory on the ground of the imperfect state in which Lucan left his poem, and argues reasonably that he would naturally have first finished revising the whole before publishing a second and only partially revised edition. Oudendorp conjectures that the poet inserted both lines in his original manuscript, postponing the selection until final revision, which was never accomplished.

two distinct families of transcripts—one, the Apronian, of which the Medicean MS. is the parent; the other, of which the original is in the Vatican—although there is reason to believe that the older copies from which they were taken were not only imperfect but few in number. The remark so frequently made by critics that copyists are more prone to add than to omit, applies to a later age; at all events, the probabilities of interpolation would seem to decrease the nearer the copyist approached the author's lifetime. Servile as was the condition of the earliest scribes, they were specially trained to their work, and like Tiro, the freedman of Cicero, were probably selected from the most intelligent, or, at all events, the least ignorant of their order. Martial's remark on the consequences of a slip by the author,

‘ Ut scriptor si peccet, idem librarius usque,’

is, at any rate, a testimony to their mechanical fidelity. At the same time, whatever their qualifications, it is impossible to disregard the contemporary evidence we possess of the errors that crept into the earliest copies. We find Cicero complaining to his brother Quintus, ‘ de libris Latinis, quo me vertam ’ nescio: *ita mendose et scribuntur et veneunt.*’ Varro applies the same remark to the current copies of Terence, and it appears from Gellius that in Hadrian's time the text of Virgil was extremely corrupt. Mistakes of inadvertence are common to all times; but the remoteness of their introduction into the text is an element of importance in the just appreciation of antiquity.

By far the largest portion, however, of classical literature survives in manuscripts which have come down to us from the Middle Ages. Montfaucon has observed that Greek MSS. written before the seventh century present no distinguishing marks of age, the characters in all being almost identical; and it is equally true of Latin copies made in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries that no differences of external appearance exist between them, sufficient to form a sure criterion of antiquity, in the absence of other evidence. French copyists were absurdly fond of imitating the ancient handwriting of their originals, and the degeneracy of characters, especially in Greek MSS. of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, proved the source of frequent corruption. Fortunately, however, the number of MSS. belonging to this second epoch is sufficient in many cases to establish their relation, more or less remote, to the lost archetype by means of comparison; although the moment we get beyond existing copies, and no direct evidence is

attainable, the inquiry proceeds on critical inference alone, of a more speculative character the farther we recede into antiquity. Modern criticism, however, acting on canons now well ascertained, has done much to simplify such an investigation, and one result has been considerably to limit the aggregate authority of this class of MSS. by tracing them to a common parent; such paternity being decided with tolerable certainty by a careful and systematic collation, and by the observation of points of similarity common to all, whether defects of omission or commission, lacunæ or interpolations. We have mentioned the two MSS. of Livy's first decade, in which community of origin is proved by a common colophon; but this kind of proof is comparatively rare. Cobet has traced back all extant plays of Æschylus and Sophocles to one copy, the Laurentian MS. of the tenth century. Of Athenæus the sole original, from which all others are derived, is the *Codex Veneto Parisiensis* of the same period, first collated by Schweighauser, which was brought from Greece by Cardinal Bessarion, and after his death remained in St. Mark's library at Venice, until removed by Napoleon. And the same result has been arrived at in some instances where no archetypal codex exists to prove its parentage. Müller with Varro, and Niebuhr with the 'Bellum Civile' of Cæsar, assign all extant copies to one parent MS.; and Lachmann with Lucretius has not only proved the same community of origin, but has elaborately investigated the probable character of the lost original archetype. The materials on which his conclusions are based are the two Leyden MSS. we have mentioned, and a transcript by Niccoli in the fifteenth century, from Poggio's MS. discovered in Germany. Although neither of these three appear to be directly taken from the other, an obvious hiatus in all throws light on their common origin. In this case a 'whole leaf of the 'archetype,' comprising the missing portion, would seem to have been wanting; at all events, wherever evidence of this kind decides paternity, it carries back the introduction of error or imperfections by proving the defective character of the lost archetype.

If we turn to the last class of existing manuscripts, viz., those later transcripts made between the first revival of classical learning in Italy and the invention of printing, we find the mere authority of numbers even more strikingly curtailed by collation. Zealous as was the search for classical manuscripts, the materials discovered were, for textual emendation, comparatively meagre; and these 'tabulæ naufragii,' where only one copy was found to survive, were necessarily archæ

types of all future transcripts. Few of them unfortunately exist to attest their parentage or probable antiquity. The *Codex Medicus* of Cicero's Epistles ad Fam., which was found by Petrarch in the Capitular library at Verona, where Niebuhr discovered the Institutions of Gaius, is still preserved at Florence, and Bandinius assigns it to the eleventh century. The same city contains the parent manuscript of Tacitus Annal. i-vi, of the ninth century, which was brought from Fulda in 1513 to Rome, and edited by Beroaldus for Leo X. But the number of these existing archetypes is unfortunately small. Transcripts were made, but the precious relic was left to moulder in the monastery where it had been imprisoned. The Council of Constance, which was sitting when Poggio made his most important discoveries, laid levies on monastic libraries, but this injunction would not seem to have extended beyond requiring a copy, not the original itself. The MS. of Asconius Pedianus, transcribed by Poggio at S. Gall, remained afterwards in its former obscurity; and Orelli accounts for its neglect by the ignorance of manuscript authority then prevailing. Jealousy, no doubt, will partially explain the retention by the monks—unworthy custodians as they were—of the original: the MS. of Tacitus seems only to have been abstracted from Fulda by fraud. The laxity of custody is abundantly testified by the discoverers; Poggio found his copy of Quintilian in a decayed coffer at S. Gall, 'in teterrimo quodam et obscuro carcere, plenum situ et pulvere squalentem;' and the ravages of time, ill-usage, and moths are amply sufficient to explain the mutilated condition of these manuscripts when discovered. Politian describes the parent manuscript of Statius' Sylvæ, which was brought from France by Poggio, as 'mendosus, depravatusque, et etiam dimidiatus,' and ascribes the gap still unsupplied in Petrarch's archetype of Cicero's Epistles to the negligence of bookbinders. And the same testimony applies to Greek MSS. brought from the East. The ancient *Codex Cæsareus* of Dioscorides, which was imported from Constantinople, is described by its purchaser as 'vetustatis injuriâ pessime habitus: ita extrinsecus a vermibus corrosus, ut in viâ repertum vix aliquis curet tollere.*' But the loss of most of these archetypes, however explained, is the more to be regretted, since there is reason to know that in some cases they were very inaccurately copied, partly owing to haste,

* Montfaucon, Pal. Gr., vol. iii. p. 195, seq. Lambecius, Bibl. Cæs. vol. iii. c. 6.

partly to the difficulty of deciphering caused by external defacement. Bruns spent forty days in transcribing the Vatican palimpsest of Livy, but Poggio's visit to S. Gall was merely a flying one, and he admits that he copied the MS. of Asconius 'velociter.'* Concerning the probable antiquity of these lost archetypes we learn next to nothing from the discoverers—a silence which is best explained by their ignorance. It is not improbable that some might have claimed a high antiquity, except where textual corruptions can be traced, indicating that they had already passed through many stages of transcription. The mere external mutilations, however deplorable, prove rather lax custody than age.

Such, at any rate, are some of the considerations which tend to illustrate the probable value and condition of these lost archetypes. We must fall back for direct evidence on existing transcripts; and notwithstanding the small authority attached by critics, on other grounds, to Italian copies of the fifteenth century, there are circumstances in their favour which should not be overlooked. Fortunately, in some instances, we possess more than one independent copy, made by different copyists from the same original when discovered. The archetype of Asconius, before alluded to, appears, according to Orelli, to have found another copyist after Poggio;† and the same learned critic has restored much of the text of Velleius Paterculus—which before his researches depended on a single MS.—from a similarly independent source. The relative authority of these twin transcripts, equal as regards their common origin, must be tested by internal evidence, and depends upon the skill or fidelity of the transcriber. It is enough to say that they materially aid the formation of the text, one copyist supplying what the other failed or omitted to decipher.

In the second place, the connexion of these later transcripts with the lost archetype can often be satisfactorily ascertained by external proof, the colophons furnishing a more trustworthy test of pedigree than those annexed to earlier manuscripts. Cicero's 'Orator,' for example, first appeared, at the revival of letters, as part of the *Codex Laudensis*, discovered among

* Ep. ad Guar. Ver., p. 261. Fabricius says of Petrarch's copy of the *Codex Medicus* of Cicero's *Epist. ad Div.* that it differs in many places from his original. (*Notit. Lit. de Epist. Ciceronis.*)

† His conclusions are formed from a Leyden MS. of the fifteenth century, which exhibits diversities, in his opinion, 'quales exstare debuerunt alio descriptore felicius veteris situque consumpti codicis 'scripturam interpretante.' (*Analecta ad Ascon.*, vol. viii. p. 311.)

a heap of rubbish at Milan by Gerardus Landrianus, who was made Bishop of Lodi in 1419. This archetype is lost, but we probably have the second transcript. Gasparin Barzizius, who first had it transcribed by Cosmo of Cremona, a professional copyist, since no one at Milan could read it (he himself describes it as 'vetustissimum, sed pæne ad nullum usum aptum'), died in 1431; and the *Codex Vitebergensis*, its earliest existing representative, has a colophon stating that it was copied by a certain 'Miles de Carraria,' in 1432. Another instance occurs with the 'Germania' of Tacitus. The parent archetype, now lost, from which all existing copies, with one exception* in the Vatican, were derived, seems to have originally existed at Fulda, from the readings quoted by Ruodolphus, a monk there, in his 'Tranlatio S. Alexandri.' These readings correspond exactly with the text of the *Codex Perizonianus* at Leyden, evidently the first transcript, from an inscription as follows:—

Hos libellos Jovianus Pontanus exscripsit	M.CCC
nuper adinventos et in luce (<i>sic</i>) relatos ab	LX
Enoc Asculano, quanquam satis mendosos.	Martis Mense.

We could quote instances, such as the Medicean MS. of Cicero's Epistles 'ad Atticum,' 'ad Q. Fratrem,' and 'ad Brutum,' the earliest extant, and indeed the first copy of Petrarch's lost original, made by himself, where the colophon records minutely not only the name of the transcriber, but the successive changes of ownership through which it afterwards passed.

It is plain, however, that evidence of this description, however valuable towards enabling a just classification of these later transcripts, by determining their pedigree, deprives them at the same time of the authority due to independent witnesses. Critical inference, based on an examination of texts dependent on these sources, concurs in limiting the estimate of their importance. Niccoli's copy of Lucretius, observes Munro, is the fountain of all others written in the fifteenth century: of Catullus, like Tibullus, none are earlier than the same period, and all spring from Campesani's lost original discovered at Verona. The archetype of Tacitus' 'Agricola,' found ap-

* Ritter has ingeniously detected this by a passage in cap. 25, 'liberti argumentum sunt,' wrongly inserted in Pontanus' lost original at the end of cap. 26, but restored by him to its proper place ad fin. cap. 25, where all the other MSS. have it. The Vatican MS. (No. 1862) alone preserves the wrong position, without any marginal correction.

parently soon after the *editio princeps* of his works in 1470, but since lost, is represented by four later copies; and from the same lacunæ, which occur in portions of Cicero, such as the 'De Naturâ Deorum,' 'De Legibus,' and 'De Divinatione,' it is clear that only one copy survived the wreck of antiquity, and proved the parent of all others of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With regard to the 'De Senectute,' the 'De Amicitia,' and the Tusculan Questions, similarly situated as to age, this farther difficulty is presented by the absence of any one manuscript so superior to the rest as to form a basis of reference in constructing the text; and the utmost that can be done is to distribute them into a kind of pseudo-families, distinguishing the most from the least corrupt.

No modern critic requires to be reminded that a hundred copies, taken from the same original, have merely the authority of one, unless they can be proved to have been independently copied in the first instance, and not derived successively from each other. But the number of these later transcripts led to a fanciful and exaggerated estimate of their authority among early Italian scholars and first editors; and the diversities they exhibited, intelligible enough if we consider the prevailing license of conjecture in emendation, were received as genuine readings of independent weight. Numbers of these arbitrary interpolations, introduced partly in consequence of the mutilated state of the archetype when discovered, were accepted and passed current under the title of 'variæ lectiones,' though 'variæ prælectiones' would be their correcter designation, since many of them owed their origin to the oral lectures in the schools. Collation, where employed, was usually resorted to by critics as an occasional aid, where none but the most flagrant corruptions occurred. The study of the text yielded to that of interpretation, especially after the discovery of Servius' Commentary on Virgil; and long-winded dissertations were written to explain the sense of the passage, before the words themselves were critically determined. Even Politian—the foremost philologist of his age—did not confine himself to any method; and Lambinus in later times showed that he failed to understand the proper relation of MSS. to each other. Such better specimens as the 'variæ lectiones' of Petrus Victorius and Muretus serve to illustrate the defects we have alluded to. The innumerable MSS. of Lucan, belonging to this period, exhibit differences so great, that Weber declares that if any one single copy were exclusively followed, the result would be to lop off a twelfth part or to add more than a hundred verses to the text; and certainly

the audacity of conjecture shown in these later transcripts substantiates Niebuhr's observation that the best MSS. are not those of Italy, but of France and Germany. Meagre as were probably the materials at the disposal of the first editors, we cannot absolve them from the charge of failing to distinguish between the authority of various readings in MSS. derived from a single copy, and the diversities introduced by a long chain of unbroken tradition, where the author's work cannot be said to have ever been lost.

The study of the text, however, involves a study of its corruptions, and a distribution of the particular sources of error has an immediate bearing on the authority of manuscripts in general. The doctrine of 'plenary inspiration' has never been applied to classical MSS., but their collective evidence is amply sufficient to outweigh any negative testimony derived from their partial corruptions. If the *Æneid* or the *Iliad* had come down to us with more errors in all the copies than are to be found in the worst manuscript now extant of either, no doubt many portions would lose their beauty; but the plan and structure of each poem would retain the mark of genuineness. Negligence, ignorance, folly, and fraud sum up the causes of transcriptural error. We have noticed the first as the most prominent defect of copyists at first, and as accounting for the probable existence of 'various readings' from the commencement of transcription. The mistakes arising from ignorance form the staple of copies written in the Middle Ages. It is possible that too many errors are attributed to these copyists; but although we agree with Mr. Taylor, that 'professional training would promote technical accuracy,' his remark applies only partially to monastic scribes. Ducange states expressly that 'in monasteriis pueri, vel qui in disciplinis nondum plenè versati erant, ad id operis adhibebantur;' and when all allowance is made for Dr. Maitland's ingenious vindication of their order in the Dark Ages, it must be remembered that literature in general was only adopted as an incidental employment. 'C'est une illusion,' says Mabillon, 'de certains gens, qui ont écrit dans le siècle précédent, que les monastères n'avaient été d'abord établis que pour servir d'écoles et d'académies publiques, où l'on faisait profession d'enseigner les sciences humaines.' And when Mr. Taylor declares that 'correctness and legibility must have been the qualities upon which principally the *marketable* value of books depended,' his test is subject to modification when applied to vindicate monastic copyists in particular, who wrote in an indolent and ignorant age, when not only was the market

extremely limited, but the average class of readers were too unenlightened to detect any but the most palpable inaccuracies.

But apart from the qualifications of these copyists, the peculiar condition of the earlier originals from which they wrote led to distinctive peculiarities of error. The earliest existing manuscripts are written continuously, all as one word. Whether this was the case with copies made in the Augustan age we have no documentary evidence to show: points are found on early inscriptions, as Mr. Ottley has remarked, proving that they were not then unknown. Now so long as custom sanctioned this continuous writing, and it was understood by readers, perhaps no temptations to incorrectness would occur in transcription, although its disadvantages are probably shown by the introduction of accents in Greek MSS., ascribed to this cause, at a very early date. But confusion, both of phrase and sense, began directly the necessity of punctuation arose, since it imposed upon later copyists, unfamiliar with the text, the responsibility of division. It is true that this task was not always confided to copyists, but to the revision of correctors; and Suetonius mentions Valerius Probus, an early grammarian of repute, as one who '*multa exemplaria contracta emendare ac distinguere, et adnotare curavit.*' But those duties appear in later times to have fallen into desuetude, or devolved usually upon men of the same condition, and the same perfunctory habits, as the scribes. There is much truth in the paradox that the least corrected copies are frequently the most correct; and the extent of the mischief thus caused may be inferred from the anathemas, even in classical MSS., against unscrupulous or ignorant correctors, especially in later times. The Codex Urbinas of Virgil, of the fifteenth century, abounds in ludicrous specimens of wrong division, which can only be explained by the hap-hazard conjectures of ignorance. Bottari quotes three instances, viz:—Æn. ii. 34,—SIVE DOLO SEU JAM TROJÆ, converted into SIVE. DOLOSE. VIAM. TROJÆ; Æn. i. 426.—MAGISTRATUSQUE into MAGIS. TRAT. USQUE; and Æn. ii. 30,—CERTARE SOLEBANT into CERTA. RES. OLEBANT. Here the evident nonsense of the sentences provokes instant detection, but such examples, however harmless, serve abundantly to illustrate Porson's dictum that manuscripts are of no authority in punctuation. The most ancient MSS. of Latin poets are written as prose: we are not aware that any copy of Terence exists in verse earlier than the Harleian MS. No. 2524, of the thirteenth century; and scholars know well that the word *versus*, a *ver-tendo*, derived its original meaning not from metrical considera-

tions but the importance of preserving an even margin. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that usually they adhered scrupulously to the same number of letters in each line, has materially aided modern critics in the discrimination between real and supposed lacunæ; but it proves at the same time how utterly inadequate is the authority of manuscripts alone to establish any arbitrary system of versification, especially in contradiction to the principles of prosody, and accounts for that metrical confusion in Terence, which deceived even Quintilian in his day, and continued until the modern settlement of the Iambic Trimeter. The broken verses in the *Æneid*, so perversely imitated by Milton, and possibly many of the hemistichs in Spenser's 'Fairy Queen,' are probably due to original imperfections or the absence of revision; but the ignorance of early grammarians found a convenient solution of the numerous errors arising from continuous writing in a wholesale system of poetic licenses. Many of these so-called licenses—which are blemishes at the best and deviations from rule—have been found to disappear on emendation, or by a reasonable extension of the principle of exchanging equivalent feet. A line in Cicero's translation of Aratus,

' Gestit; jam vero clinata est ungula *vemens*
Fortis equi,'

removes, as Mr. Otteley remarks, the supposed license in Horace, Ep. ii. 2, 120,

' *Vehemens*, et liquidus, puroque simillimus amni,'

where the usual explanation of synæresis is rendered unnecessary by the substitution of a spondee for an anapæst. As regards Terence, so full of fancied licenses, no argument in their support can be drawn from the violent elisions and contractions found in the MSS., since these were the ordinary compendious forms of copyists, and their introduction for the sake of metre is disproved by the fact that similar ones occur equally in MSS. of works in prose. As a general rule, abbreviations in manuscripts—though frequent in old inscriptions—are rarer in proportion to antiquity. Very few occur in the Medicean Virgil; and though common with Greek copyists from the ninth century, they were previously rendered unnecessary by the use of uncial characters; very probably their prevalence is due to the corruptions or variations introduced with cursive handwriting, and to the mercenary motives for tachygraphy. Their inconvenience, as a source of corruption, was evidently foreseen by Justinian, when he forbade them to be used in the Pandects: the misfortune is, that in classical MSS.,

instead of being copied exactly as they stood, they were converted into something which satisfied later scribes or correctors; and ambiguous symbols, because misunderstood, were twisted into nonsense.* To these stumbling-blocks must be added the discrepancies in spelling, inseparable, indeed, from the very process of transcription. The absence of printing alone, as a learned critic† has observed of early English manuscripts, might of itself assure us, that the forms of orthography would be more or less fluctuating, from the total want of any considerable number of copies following one general principle in the composition of their words. 'Orthographia apud Romanos,' says Quintilian, 'consuetudini inservit, ideoque semper mutata est;' and the Roman language was probably more prone to this uncertainty than the Greek, since it conformed at a later period to grammatical analogy. A study of the date of these successive changes would go far to determine the age and relation of early manuscripts; although the oldest of them, from the lapse of time and barbarity of learning, abound in variations, and fail to give a basis for ascertaining the primitive system. These differences, at any rate, perplexed later copyists, who were used to other and more recent modes of spelling current in their day, and added immensely to the difficulties of punctuation. There never could have been, as at the present day, any multiplied exemplars of the same work, the literal fac-similes of each other, and consequently the reciprocal guarantees of their respective fidelity to the original text; while, in cases of dubious issue, the copyist was unable from ignorance to resort to analogy as the only standard of appeal and the best arbitrator of his doubts. Heinsius thought that the Medicean Codex exhibited the genuine orthography of Virgil; but in the absence of proof, all that can be conceded is that the spelling is that which was customary when the copy was made—a period sufficiently advanced from the Augustan era to admit of several series of changes. The first editors and the Italian scholars of the Renaissance first endeavoured to restore the

* Sigonius has detected numberless instances in Livy. Thus $\overline{si}$ = *sibi* was transposed into *is*; $\overline{SC}$ = *senatus-consultus* became *socius*; and in ii. 17 the manuscripts read 'Si vos urbisque, si vestri nulla cura tangit,' where the *que* is an evident contraction for *Quirites*. So in the Codex Leidensis of Pliny, of the ninth or tenth century, taken by an ignorant copyist from an excellent original, the numerals CL are converted into *clemens*.

† Price's Preface to Warton's 'Hist. of English Poetry,' ed. 1824, vol. i. p. 82.

supposed orthography of the poets of the Republic, but their rule was purely arbitrary, and founded on conjecture instead of analogy. We are only now beginning to acquire a body of rules, drawn from those manuscripts which are thought to represent the fashion of the best ages.

It would be easy to multiply instances of ignorance on the part of monastic copyists. The text of Pliny has suffered particularly from two causes; one, his frequent use of proper names and technical terms, which led first to errors of misconception and then to interpolation; the other from certain peculiarities of idiom and construction, such as the favourite employment of the ablative absolute. Mistakes like the substitution of *inscitia* for *in Scythiâ* may possibly have arisen from dictation; and a study of these might give some clue to the early pronunciation of Latin. The elaborate beauties of Ciceronian Latin, the *ἀκρίβεια*, as Ernesti calls it, and the rhythmical correspondences of his diction, when once the ear is familiarised with them, have enabled men like the last-named critic to detect frequent errors of transcription, from the ignorance of copyists, who have transposed single words, or omitted others which they thought redundant, thus marring in reality the just measure of the sentence. The changes and corruptions of the Latin language itself, even in Italy, added to this source of error. These corruptions had already begun in the first centuries after the Christian era; and although a better prose style began with Claudian, which lasted from A.D. 350 to 500, the classical age of Christian literature, yet Ducange has clearly proved, with others, that writers of that epoch, whose faults would be reflected in the colloquial Latin of the copyists, corrupted the Augustan purity of the language by adapting the phraseology to new uses, based upon different conditions of life and habits. Barbarisms crept in as early as the third century, and the Latin language had lost its purity, and was fast losing its genuine idiom in the fourth. Attic Greek was only faintly imitated at Constantinople at the same epoch, and the manuscripts written there in later days bear abundant traces of barbarism. The best copies of Cicero were made in Germany, but Ernesti has traced a multitude of corruptions to the foreign and alien vernacular.

Caligraphy bred a host of depravations from the foolish desire of subordinating the accuracy of the text to superficial embellishment. 'Give me,' said Jerome, as early as the fourth century, 'non tam pulchros quam emendatos codices,' and John Gerson describes a class of monastic scribes as 'quasi pictores, who had absolutely no knowledge of what they were tran-

scribing. Excessive care for mere external elegance and the form of single letters distracted their attention from the context, even where the language was understood. The profits, both of copyists and correctors, when the office became one of gain, was enhanced by the appearance of neatness, to which fidelity was accordingly made subservient; and hence critics concur in remarking that where the writing is more beautiful, more errors commonly remained. Nor was the remedy, if the copyist discovered the error or chose to correct it, much better than the mistake itself. Interlineal insertions, as a rule, were carefully avoided: if the accidental omission, even of a single syllable, took place, the whole sentence was repeated, or the omission perhaps inserted in quite a foreign place, in order not to spoil the look of the manuscript; minute symbols being sometimes added to avoid erasure, which the next copyist would not notice or would purposely omit, or which became obliterated by time, leaving the original error apparently uncorrected.*

But the worst mistakes are those where the copyist has endeavoured to extract a meaning from what he could not understand; and, unfortunately, the sciolism of scribes and correctors seems to have kept pace with their ignorance. Instances abound where copyists would appear to have exhausted their ingenuities in depraving the text and obliterating the previous vestiges of the genuine reading contained in more clumsy corruptions. The twenty-second book of Livy began thus:—‘*Jam vero appetebat, quæ Annibal ex hybernis metuit, et neque eo qui jam ante conatus transcendere Apenninum,*’ until Valla discovered in the words italicised the true reading, *nequaquam*. The other occurs in Cicero’s ‘*Philippics*,’ xiv. 3, where the conjectural, but obvious, improvement of ‘*non injustæ belli internecini notæ*’ has superseded the nonsense contained in MSS. ‘*non injusta evelli inter nec uno te.*’ We might add a similar example in Pliny’s ‘*Natural History*,’ vii. cap. 7; where the corruption of ‘*tamen cujus semper tinctoria*’ (altered marginally into *in victoria*) *est mens,*’ was restored with much probability by Rhenanus into ‘*curâ pertinaci æstuans.*’

Mr. Taylor alludes to a distinct source of corruption in the intentional omissions or alterations of fraud, which, so far as they can be proved to exist, undoubtedly ‘affect the credit and value of the text.’ Griesbach, whose canons of critical emendation form the basis of all interpretation of Scriptural

* See Geener ad Horat. A.P. 45, where Bentley’s sagacity detected a transposition of this kind.

MSS., and deserve the careful study of the classical student, mentions, among other readings of suspicious authority, those which inculcate precepts of monastic devotion, and appear to support so-called orthodox doctrines; and the text appears to have suffered considerably in much earlier times at the hands of religious sects and factions, especially of the Eastern Church.* But the traditionary instincts of Romanism, with which monastic scribes were imbued, did not extend to any serious corruption of classical literature, preserved through their means. In Lucan's '*Pharsalia*,' vii. 725, the expression,

'Plurimaque in *sævos* populi convicia *divos*,'

appears to have offended the pious ears of some copyists, who have omitted the line from their transcript; and v. 796 of the same book,

'Fortunam *superosque* suos in sanguine cernis,'

absent also in some MSS., may, very possibly, as Weber conjectures, have been purposely erased by some superstitious monk, who misunderstood and therefore misinterpreted the meaning of the words in italics. We know the rule of St. Isidore '*hereticorum libros legere nefas*,' and we are told that Jerome dreamed he was whipped by the devil for reading Cicero; but the condition of classical MSS. forbids the idea that the hostility of the early Fathers, or even of Gregory the Great, preferred the subtle method of poisoning the purity of the text to the policy of open prohibition. The lacunæ common to all existing copies—especially in Book III. of Cicero's '*De Naturâ Deorum*'—are ascribed to the mutilations not of Christians but of heathens, who saw in the candid exposure of the follies of Pantheism abundant arguments in favour of Christianity.† Guyetus denied the authorship of the last four books of the *Æneid* on very insufficient grounds; but not all the wildness of allegorical interpretation—which misrepresented rather than corrupted the text of Virgil—will give colour to the extravagant scepticism of Hardouin, who ascribed the entire poem, in common with the mass of Greek and Latin authors, to some spurious productions of the thirteenth century.‡

* Compare Erasmus, pref. to ed. Nov. Test., 1535.

† Fabricius (Not. Lit. de scriptis Ciceronis philosophicis) cites Arnobius' treatise '*Adversus Gentes*,' iii. 103. '*Erant*,' says that author, '*qui mussitarent, oportere statui per Senatum Romanum, aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus Christiana religio comprobetur, et vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas.*'

‡ He admitted the genuineness of part of Horace and Virgil, but

The varieties and corruptions of even the oldest MSS. serve to explain the early origin of critical studies. It was the singular fortune of the Homeric poems to develop a kind of philological criticism before even the name of critic or grammarian was attached to a profession. Two emendations of a sophist under Pericles, observed by Wolff,* show how vicious were the copies at that early period; and H. Stephens infers the same of the text of Æschylus from the frequent resort of the old scholiasts to conjecture. We must briefly turn from the necessity of criticism to its methods, to show how the purity of classical authors has suffered from incompetent emendation. Philemon, in his 'Homeric Questions,' attributes much of the errors then existing in the copies of Herodotus, Thucydides, and other Greek writers of eminence to the *παράδορ-θώματα πάντα ἄγροικα*—the rustic corruptions of mistaken critics: and even in the days of pure Latinity we learn from Gellius that the Roman classics were deformed, not only by the casual mistakes of copyists, but by the deliberate perversions of 'falsi et audaces emendatores.'† We may readily concede that in many instances the earliest critics were in possession of older, and to that extent better, MSS. than any now surviving. On the other hand, chance has preserved to us some monuments of antiquity, as Villoison's Codices Veneti of Homer, evidently unknown to Eustathius, which in the days of private study and restricted intercourse were inaccessible to the compilers of 'new recensions.' Several Latin authors appear to have found interpreters soon after their works were published. Glosses, or short explanations of difficult or unusual words, were then mostly in vogue; they were written at first interlinearly, and afterwards in the margin, until they extended in the twelfth century to a kind of running commentary. The evils of this practice consisted in the temptations offered to later copyists or more indolent critics, who neglected the reading of the text for the more familiar annotation of the scholiast. If not actually

described them as two allegorical writers, who, as Lalage and Æneas, represented Christianity and the life of its founder. The Odes he ascribes to some pseudo-Horatius in the latter half of the thirteenth century. His explanation of Od. ii. 20, 'Non usitata, etc.,' is given by Gesner. 'Prosopopœia hæc est Christi-triumphantis et Judæos 'alloquentis. *Biformis* vocatur Christus, quia simul *in formâ Dei* et *in formâ servi*. *Alitem album* interpretatur "candidâ veste indutum:"—*Quæ residunt pelles cruribus asperæ*—ocreas intelligit, quibus 'equitans Dominicanus crura tegit!!!'

* Proleg. in Hom., cap. xxxvii.

† Noct. Att., ii. 14.

embodied into the text, and as in some instances of Roman poets, put into metre accordingly, these exegetical or explanatory phrases acquired too often a spurious authority as various readings. The relics of Acron and Porphyrio, the ancient Horatian scholiasts, abound in interpolations; while the authoritative readings of Servius, based in all probability on excellent materials, are buried in a mere farrago of commentary, the incrustations of later and less scrupulous physicians of the text. The concise diction of Tacitus was peculiarly obnoxious to this source of corruption, from the necessity of explanatory glosses to readers enervated by the common-place simplicity of Suetonius or Eutropius. The value of the early glosses, which we are far from wishing to impugn, depended on their preservation by later copyists or critics as distinct from the text itself. A commentary on Lucan still exists, entire in twelve manuscripts, and compiled by Vacca, a grammarian of the sixth century, from a multitude of much older glosses containing numerous readings of genuine mark and high antiquity; and the 'Corpus Glossatum' of the Roman law, the labour of Accursius in the thirteenth century, has elicited the warm eulogium of Savigny on the critical industry of the early jurists in the formation, as well as the interpretation, of the text. If no other good were done by such later compilations as the one just mentioned, they deserve acknowledgment for having restrained the luxuriousness of interpretation which had so long prevailed in the schools. The laborious triflings of the centonists had early corrupted much of the purity of Virgil, especially in his minor poems, as well as of Ovid and other favourite poets. A monkish interpreter in the *Codex Gudianus* of Virgil derives Publius 'a pollice magno, quem habebat,' and Virgilius 'à virgâ lauri,' but it would be well if the pedantic subtleties of the rhetoricians had been confined to mere fantastic derivations. The arbitrary interpolations of scholastic teachers corrupted the text in a wholesale fashion under the pretence of emendation; and manuscripts, like the *Codex Bernensis* of Cicero's Tusculan Questions, or the copy on which the editio princeps of Terence was founded, and which was revised, according to the colophon, by Calliopos, a 'Magister Scholasticus' of the time of Charlemagne, exhibit the same traces of depravation. The reason why Plautus is less injured than Terence is because the former has partially escaped the perverse ingenuity of these critics; and we find Merula, the first editor of Plautus, thus explaining the inequalities of his MSS. :—'At septem ultimæ Comœdiæ,' he says, 'ut in eas incidimus, quæ simplices et intactæ a censoribus

' fuerant, quanquam mendosæ forent, multo veriores erant.' Much as the Homeric text had suffered by successive interpolations from the days of Solon until its restoration by the Alexandrine critics, the method adopted by those parents of the present version was not such as would now be deemed consistent with historical fact, to say nothing of their neglect of older recensions for readings in vogue in their day. Even where they sought to establish the genuine text by collation, the question remains, What did they mean by the genuine text? It was in fact a matter of taste, determined by learned, but arbitrary canons of elegance. Taste, not authenticity, was their standard; their art was rather æsthetic than critical. Hence, a general license of change, correction, interpolation, and erasure; and the fact of their not having been blamed for it at the time proves, as Wolff justly remarks, that such practices had been common before, and were then no novelty. Cicero's half-jocose description of Aristarchus—the most intelligent and cautious of their number—' *Homeri verus negasse, quos ipse non probaverit*,' is fully applicable to the grammarians who succeeded his opponent, Crates Mallotes, at Rome. The censures made from style alone form, at the best, a subsidiary portion of textual criticism: unfortunately for the preservation of the Roman classics, this branch of emendation continued to be exclusively relied on, after the purity of Augustan Latin had decayed. Critics had only their own corrupt standard of taste and style to appeal to, and their emendations in consequence reflected the barbarity of the age; while, so long as criticism was regarded as an exercise of ingenuity rather than of scientific skill, the value of documentary evidence was ignored or unappreciated. Collation, where practised, was rendered nugatory, if not mischievous, where the architect of the text was left to pick and choose at his own discretion.

Hence, whether from ignorance, necessity, or choice, the critic was thrown back on conjecture. We fully concur in the opinion expressed by modern scholars like Ernesti, that the term is one in many instances too broadly applied, especially by those who regard emendation as a game of chance, and that critical inference and analogy will frequently give to a conjectural reading the authority which manuscript evidence fails to supply. At the same time it possesses one radical defect, that it proceeds on no system and is regulated by no principles. Even Bentley, in spite of his unrivalled classical scholarship, ended by elucidating Milton into obscurity; and the fascinations of pure conjecture, instinct as they are always

with the pride and novelty of invention, were at once peculiarly dangerous and irresistible in an age too ignorant or too indolent for the laborious exercise of scientific criticism. Stephens aptly compares a 'mendosus liber' under the treatment of conjectural critics to a sword in the hands of a madman; but the whole extent of the corruptions thus introduced, though partially discerned by some of the first editors, was not revealed until the invaluable industry of the French and Dutch schools first threw light on the mutual relation of MSS., and reduced the art of collation to a science.

These evils were intensified after the revival of learning until printing put a stop to the multiplication of error; and there is abundant reason to lament that the invention of that art was not coeval with the first search for ancient authors. The discoveries of Petrarch and Poggio opened a new field for farther corruption in the numerous later transcripts which they produced. Fortunately, indeed, for Greek literature, so rudely handled at the destruction of the Byzantine empire, Italy was sufficiently advanced to give a welcome to the learned refugees and the precious relics they had saved. But neither with Greek nor Latin MSS. did this advancement avail to preserve the text unimpaired. Aldus in his preface to Aristophanes, ascribes the mutilated condition of his author, together with Greek mathematicians, to the ignorance of that language in Italy. The defective state of the originals when discovered gave rise to interpolation. Booksellers would not tolerate a manifestly defective edition, and so these 'purpurei panni' of conjectural critics were patched in to conceal existing lacunæ. Most of the falsifications in Diodorus Siculus were the productions of this period, when MSS. were in great request and dearly paid for. 'Docti pariter et indocti,' says Merula,* 'ad corrigendos libros passim concurrunt.' The later MSS. of Cicero's 'De Amicitia' suffered especially from his popularity in the schools, and instances could be quoted in other authors of whole passages introduced by declamatory rhetoricians. The edition of Varro's 'De Lingua Latinâ,' by Antonius Augustinus, gives a totally fictitious aspect to that author, from the text being founded on a MS. which embodied the interpolations of Italians after the revival of learning; and a whole family of copies of Cicero's 'De Naturâ Deorum' is tainted with the license of conjecture in the fifteenth century. The fact of several obvious interpolations having been traced back to MSS. in the possession of scholars like Petrarch and

* Pref. to edit. princ. of Plautus. Venice, 1472.

Politian serves to show that great names were not wanting to sanction the vicious criticism of the age. The evils of conjectural emendation were increased by the servile adherence to authority which ensued. Conjecture was harmless while proposed and recognised as such, but Rhenanus, in his notes on Pliny, has told us the usual consequences:—

‘Some learned man perhaps annotates in the margin of his copy a conjecture which occurs to his mind, not necessarily because he approves of it, but because he thinks it possibly correct. Afterwards, one of his disciples or admirers inspects the copy and fastens on it as an oracle, thus converting an innocent suggestion into a reading of genuine authority. Immediately he erases the old reading and inserts the new; and communicates it to his friends with an air of mystery, leaving the vestiges of the old error undiscernible to his successors.’

It was in vain that Hermolaus Barbarus, the first restorer of Pliny, warned succeeding critics and readers of his recension of the real character of many of his most successful emendations; and Crinitus records of Marullus, the eminent soldier critic of Lucretius, ‘paulo improbius hæc et alia pro ingenio ‘subdere tentavit, quæ ab ejus quoque sectatoribus recepta ‘sunt pro verissimis.’

The silence of the first editors, especially those of the fifteenth century, as to the MSS they employed, is a matter of regret, although easily explained by their ignorance. Merula’s account of his materials we leave our readers to explain. So far as we can comprehend his statement, which we give below,* it merely amounts to this: that if he could have procured a certain copy, which was out of his power, it might have been of use to him; but as to its being the archetype of the rest, is a pure assumption, and contradicted by the hope he expresses directly after, that he should find in it variations from the copies he used, an idea wholly inconsistent with that of supposing his copies to be transcripts from a common original. Pintianus complained, as one of the evils of printing, that the old libraries were stripped, on the faith of the printed editions, of their ancient MSS., which were used for book-covers and to wrap tradesmen’s wares in. Aldus laments the loss of MSS. in his time in Italy;

* ‘His omnibus accedit, unum tantum fuisse librum, a quo, velut archetypo, omnia deducta sunt, quæ habentur exempla, qui si in manus nostras aliquâ viâ venire potuisset, Bacchides, Mostellaria, Menæchmi, Miles, atque Mercator, emendatiores sane haberentur. Namque, in his recognoscendis libros contulimus de corruptis exemplaribus factos.’ (*Pref. ed. princ. Plautus.*)

and where the first editors break silence, it is but to join in the Jeremiad over the paucity and corrupt character of their materials.* Much allowance must be made for what Froben stigmatises as the servile adherence of first editors to one particular manuscript. The niggardness of bibliophagists is a frequent theme of complaint,† though perhaps exaggerated; but while some private patrons of literature, as Navagerius of Venice, to whom Aldus dedicates his Pindar, appear to have lent a MS. in their possession to this or that scholar, who was to superintend its printing, yet, even if the copy was not unique, fidelity of editorship was in some cases the condition attached to the loan, and precluded the editor from fishing in other waters. The utmost that some of them appear to have attempted was to produce a faithful facsimile in print of the MS. they employed. The first edition of Terence contained no divisions into verse: that of Asconius Pedianus reproduces the blank spaces existing in Poggio's copy; the undated 'editio princeps' of Horace appears to have been the mere mechanical production of the typographer, unspoiled by the ingenuity of corrector or grammarian. Gesner, accordingly, like Reitzius with Lucian and Burmann with Claudian, describes the text as equal to the authority of a MS. The state of these MSS., like those of other authors, can best

* Cf. J. Andreas' preface ad Virgil.:—'In tantâ tamque mendosâ exemplariorum raritate;' and again:—'Ecce emisimus Ciceronis ad Atticum opus, et multis in partibus, quod notis secretioribus, et inter paucissimos cognitis, scriptæ sunt literæ, non satis intellectum; in parcite præsertim exemplariorum, quæ aut non sunt apud literales erogandi, aut at invidis communi hominum odio occultantur.' Aldus (ad Aristot. 1495–8) could find only one copy in Italy of Theophrastus or of Aristotle's 'Moralia;' and a private patron lent him a MS. for Hesychius, the only one on which that author depends. Of Dion Cassius R. Stephens says: 'In iis libris (i.e. twenty-three out of the eighty mentioned by Suidas) excudendis, unico exemplari usi sumus, eoque accuratam et diligentem castigationem desiderante.' Ferandus of Brescia speaks in identical terms of the single copy on which his 'editio princeps' of Lucretius was based; a preface strangely omitted by Mr. Botfield.

† Gerard Falkenberg in his preface to Nonnus, addressed to Sambucus, contrasts the liberality of his patron with the jealousy of others:—'In Italiâ præsertim et Galliâ, qui, si quæ habent veterum codicum exemplaria, vel sibi ea, ut soli sapere videantur, reservant, vel non nisi carissime vendita typis describi patiuntur.' John Andreas (ad Lucan.), like Ugoletus (ad Quintil.), complains of the stupidity, avarice, or jealousy of private owners in withholding their MSS., because they thought that printing depreciated their value.

be judged by the editions themselves, and the text will supply the information which Mr. Botfield's Prefaces fail to convey. The study of these 'editiones principes' has been too often undeservedly neglected even by modern critics; the prestige of the Aldine press threw many of them into the shade, although both that and the Juntine did not scruple to pilfer without acknowledgment from their contents. Nor can much importance be attached to the statements of later editors of the sixteenth century. Henry Stephens, for example, in his edition of Herodotus in 1570, speaks of his labours as 'ex vetustis exemplaribus recogniti,' but is forced in his second impression to confess that, up to that time, he had not been able to consult a single ancient MS., and was probably content to utilise the collation of Aldus. *Dolus latet in generalibus*; and their loose and ambiguous professions of the number and antiquity of their MSS. deserve small attention. Some undoubtedly had access to excellent and ancient copies, since lost. Valla speaks of a Codex Regius of Livy, 'quo nullus in omni Italiâ est augustior,' which only survives in his readings. Lipsius, who is singularly reticent as to his authorities for Tacitus, had full opportunities for ransacking the Vatican; and Victorius, himself a diligent collator, was the first Ciceroian editor who could boast of using any MS. of his Epistles ad Fam. earlier than the fourteenth century. On the other hand we meet frequently with feeble and pedantic attempts to give a forced additional value to a MS. of undoubted authenticity. Aldus speaks of his copy of Pliny as coeval with the author; but the partial refutation by Hearne is sufficient to expose the utter absence not only of proof, but of plausibility; nor need we seriously examine the assurance of Zarotus, in his Milan edition of Virgil, that it was corrected 'ab ipsis propriis Maronis exemplaribus.'

The fragmentary, no less than the corrupt character of their materials will frequently account for the inferiority of the first printed editions. Even where the archetype had exhibited the author in his integrity, his works were too often disjointed by literary men in later transcripts. No entire MS. has been known to exist of the extant books of Livy: the 'editio princeps,' of Cicero's De Officiis by Fust, contained a leaf with Horace, od. iv. 8, attached, the earliest impression of any portion of that author. The popularity of classical writers had in fact not always extended to the whole of their works, even before the revival of learning. Cicero was probably never studied collectively in the schools of the early grammarians, but through the medium of rhetorical compendiums

and select passages. An extract from Fronto* serves to explain the patchwork character of the MSS. of his Epistles, and the reason why so many of those epistles have perished.† Throughout the Middle Ages the absence of general views or ideas of symmetry, which was manifested by the preference given to the abridgments of compendious but inferior writers, sufficed to destroy the integrity of classical MSS. in general, while the text of such school-books as Eutropius was overwhelmed, like our topographer Stowe, by the gratuitous additions of his continuators. The Greek anthology was confined to the *disjecta membra*, the arbitrary expurgations and interpolations of the monk Planudes in the fourteenth century until Salmasius discovered the older Palatine MS. in the seventeenth. The variegated composition of this class of manuscripts, as with Pliny and Homer perhaps in particular, has seriously increased the difficulties of classification with a just reference to the authority of various readings, inasmuch as many of them exhibit at once the most striking features of resemblance and of contrast, while the same copy contains within itself discrepancies which can only be explained on the supposition that they were supplied from a totally different source. Hence the unequal and heterogeneous character of many of the first printed texts, especially in the 'Opera Omnia' editions. Fragments of MSS. were snatched up promiscuously wherever they could be found, or as chance favoured the editor, to form a collective whole; and good, bad, and indifferent were boiled down together without method or discrimination. John Andreas speaks thus in his preface to Apuleius in 1469: 'Lucium Apuleium, ut in exemplariorum penuriâ licuit, 'redegi in unum corpus, *variis in locis membratim perquisitum*.' Minutianus' 'Opera Omnia' of Cicero, like Beroaldus'

* 'Memini me excerpisse ex Ciceronis epistolis ea dumtaxat, quibus 'inisset aliqua de eloquentiâ vel philosophiâ vel de republicâ disputatio' (ed. Rom. p. 150). Nerlius says of Homer in his preface to the first edition: 'Ob incuriam librariorum ita sui dissimilis videbatur, 'ut in nullo fere codice, quamvis perveteri, integer agnosceretur.'

† We learn from the old grammarians that they were compiled originally in separate collections under the names of the persons to whom they were addressed; and very likely they retained this arrangement until scattered by barbarism. Dr. Tunstall assigns their present shape to some collector of the twelfth or thirteenth century. Suetonius was not divided into books till the time of Isaac Casaubon. Sigonius attributes the distribution of Livy into decades to some grammarian, Petrarch to the 'fastidiosa legentium ignavia;' at all events it was probably not anterior to the sixth century at the latest.

Tacitus, was collected second-hand not from MSS. but from earlier printed editions of portions of his author, which in their turn had been similarly compiled. The 'editio princeps' of Cicero's Orations appeared in 1471, but must have been merely an embodiment of scattered materials. This much is certain, that if the editor employed an entire MS., it must have been of recent date, since it contained those same orations, except the 'pro Roscio Comædo,' which Poggio had brought in that century from Germany. And the same defects of age and quality attach to those 'tria vetustissima'—observe the loose phraseology of even eminent critics of that age—'atque emendatissima omnium M. Tullii operum,' of which Lambinus boasted himself the possessor in his preface to Lucretius.

Lastly, the insufficiency of the MSS. used by the first editors of the fifteenth century, amply testified, as we have seen, by their own statements and by the study of their works, is shown even more conclusively by the progress of later research. It is a mistake to imagine that printing established the text in the sense of finality, so long as the discovery of earlier and better MSS. revealed its imperfections; and it is a fortunate circumstance that these discoveries were often delayed until critics and editors were sufficiently advanced to appreciate them. Cratander published, in 1528, Cicero's Epistles 'ad Brutum' from a MS. at Heidelberg. The extant writings of Livy are due to several discoveries made at different times;—the *Codex Moguntinus* of part of the fourth decade, found in 1518 in the cathedral church of St. Martin at Mayence, which was assisted by the Bamberg MS. found by John Horion in 1615;—the *Codex Laureshaimensis* of the sixth century,* found in 1531 by Grynæus in Switzerland after its removal from Lorsch near Worms, and containing books 41 to 45;—and finally, Bruns' Vatican palimpsest of part of B. 91. The Aldine 'editio princeps' of Æschylus contained only fragments of the 'Agamemnon': a lacuna was left between vv. 301–1034, and again after v. 1129, which was followed by a mutilated part of the prologue to the 'Choe-

* The history and authorship of this MS. is curiously shown by the colophon, partly obliterated, 'Sûtberti épi de dorostat.' Suitbert was first a monk in Ireland, then an English abbot, and elected an apostle of the Frisians in 693. He preached for two years at Dürenstadt, until his removal by Pepin to Kaiserswerder. It is conjectured that he brought this MS. thither from Ireland, and that it afterwards found its way to Lorsch, and thence finally to Switzerland. (*Syllabus Codd. MSS. Livii, ex recens. Drakenborch. ed. Twiss, 1841, vol. iv. p. 436.*)

'phoræ.' Much as Turnebus improved other portions of Æschylus by the aid of his *Codex Ranconeti* from the library at Paris, this confusion was not remedied until Victorius—the 'Sospitator Ciceronis,' in like manner, from his having first had recourse to the archetypal codex of Cicero's letters—discovered an entire MS. which explained the origin of the defect. The restoration of Eutropius was postponed for forty years after Ignatius' first attempt in 1516, until Schonhovius, a canon of Bruges, made use in his Basle edition of the *Codex Gandavensis*. Commelin's edition of the Palatine MS., commonly referred to the fourth or fifth century, marked a new epoch in the text of Virgil; that of Diodorus Siculus, in 1539, showed only the last five books; but Henry Stephens added ten more shortly after from the Claromontane MS. lent to him by his friend and patron Fugger. Herodotus really owes his first respectable appearance to Gronovius, for the materials used by Valla appear to have been miserably disjointed and incomplete. The Ravenna MS. of Aristophanes was not discovered till 1794, by Dindorf, who attributes it to the eighth century; and three years later the learned Abbé Morelli unearthed from the library at Venice the parent copy of bb. 55–60 of Dion Cassius. We have alluded to the valuable discoveries of Niebuhr and Mai. The *Codex Bambergensis* of Pliny, written in the tenth or eleventh century, and published by Ludovic de Jan in 1831, is described by Sillig as having completely revolutionised the critical treatment of that author; and ten years afterwards the archetype of all existing copies of Tacitus' 'Germania' superseded the authority of all previous editions in the shape of the *Codex Perizonianus*. We shall not weary the reader with further instances; the above sufficiently show how tardy and fitful has been the recovery of classical authors.

The title of Mr. Forsyth's work defines the limited object of his able and interesting lecture, which does not embrace the subject of textual criticism. He has considered the history, not the relative authority of classical manuscripts. So far, however, as we have travelled with him over the same ground, we are the more pleased to find a general concurrence of results, since they have been arrived at independently, the preceding pages having already been in type before his book reached our hands. But we object to his definition of the words *authentic* and *genuine*. 'By authenticity,' he says, 'is meant that the original work was really written by the author whose name it bears; and by genuineness that the account it purports to give is *bonâ fide* and not a forgery.' (p. 7.) The distinction, on the contrary, is precisely the reverse, as Trench,

no mean authority, has clearly explained in his 'Study of Words,' where authenticity is made to refer to the correctness of the facts detailed, and genuineness to the authorship of the book containing them. With Mr. Botfield's own preface we are disappointed. We do not quarrel with the eloquent remark: 'Our public libraries are cemeteries of departed reputations; and the dust accumulating upon their untouched volumes speaks as forcibly as the grass that waves over the ruins of Babylon,'—which our readers will recognise as the language of Hallam.* But we must defend Mr. Taylor from the effects of a misquotation we have detected from his book, conveying a totally different idea of the value of these prefaces to that which he actually embodied in print. The original passage stands thus in its entirety:—

'All that is of any importance in proof of the genuineness and integrity of ancient books is to know that there are in existence several copies, evidently of older date than the first printed edition of the author; and that these copies, by their general agreement and by their smaller diversities, prove at once their derivation from the same original, and their long distance from that original; since many of these diversities are such as could have arisen only from many successive transcriptions.' (*Notes and Illustrations*, vol. i. pp. 304-5.)

An excellent summary of the results to be arrived at by the study of ancient MSS. But contrast with this the gloss of Mr. Botfield:—

'The Prefaces,' he says, 'now collected, derive their chief importance from the proofs which they afford of the genuineness and integrity of ancient books, by showing the existence of several copies evidently anterior to the first printed edition, which copies, by their general agreement, and not less so by their smaller diversities, clearly indicate a common origin.' (*Pref.*, p. vi.)

What is this but to transfer the authority of manuscripts to the first editions—or rather to their prefaces? We need scarcely observe that if the 'genuineness and integrity' of classical authors depended solely for proof on these productions, they would rest on a very insufficient foundation indeed. It needs no abstruse argument to show that the mere number of transcripts, indicating from their character a common origin, will not suffice to prove the genuineness of the archetype from which they are derived. Agreement from independent sources alone is conclusive, since evidence a hundred times repeated is consistent but cannot be termed a 'consensus' of authority. What becomes of the authority of 'various readings' contained in copies, however numerous, when their common parent

* Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 426.

is discovered? General agreement attests fidelity of transcription, but there is such a thing as consistency of error; and both 'general agreement' and 'smaller diversities' could occur equally as well in copies made from a spurious as from a genuine original.

The first printed editions prove the existence of certain works at certain dates, beyond which, for our present purpose, it is unnecessary to trace the history of MSS. Their chief value as regards their authority for the text, consists in the security afforded by printing against the corruptions inseparable from the multiplication of written copies. The check, it is true, was not sudden or simultaneous. 'For nearly a century afterwards,' says Mr. Botfield, 'and within the period during which the Prefaces appeared, MSS. and printed books circulated together, and were often confounded by having been indiscriminately cited.' The rudeness of the art of printing in its infancy, and the perfection to which caligraphy had attained at the hands of professional scribes, would naturally make the difference between a MS. and a printed copy less apparent than now. But the confusion is generally to be attributed rather to the loose statements of their authorities made by later critics and editors than to such intentional fraud as has been imputed to Fust in selling his prints as MSS., a charge which Hallam has satisfactorily disproved. . Some copies, no doubt, of the fifteenth century, like the Berne MS. of Cicero's 'De Officiis,' were taken from printed editions, and marginal notes still continued to be written on the printed pages by critics. But the danger of their being embodied into the text by copyists had now passed away. There were families of editions as there had been families of MSS.; but, henceforward, every copy that issued from the press bore its own history and date, and was safe from the possibility of undetected corruption, or of amateur emendations passing current as genuine portions of the text. The authority of MSS. was now separate and distinct, and the science of criticism began gradually to restrict itself to the assortment of existing documentary evidence. We are not receding from antiquity, but constantly approaching nearer towards it, from a juster appreciation of its memorials. The text of classical authors has been the laborious accumulation of centuries of criticism; and a long series of architects, building on the old foundations, but with materials hewn from other new-discovered quarries, have bequeathed to us more than was obtainable even to men of letters at a far less distant interval from the original author.

ART. IV.—1. *The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray.*
In twelve volumes (Popular Edition). London: 1871–72.

2. *Illustrated Library Edition of the Works of W. M. Thackeray.* In twenty-two volumes. London.

THE pure humourist is one of the rarest of literary characters. His nature is not content with detecting foibles, nor his pen with pointing them out for derision; his purpose is infinitely higher and nobler. The humourist must have emotions, nerves, sensibilities, and that marvellous sympathy with human nature which enables him to change places at will with other members of his species. Humour does not produce the sneer of Voltaire; it rather smiles through the tear of Montaigne. ‘True humour,’ it has been wisely said, ‘springs not more from the head than from the heart; it is not contempt, its essence is love; it issues not in laughter, but in still smiles, which lie far deeper. It is a sort of inverse sublimity; exalting as it were into our affections what is below us, while sublimity draws down into our affections what is above us. It is, in fact, the bloom and perfume, the purest effluence of a deep, fine, and ‘loving nature.’ Without humour, society would exist in Icelandic snows: wit, like the winter sun, might glint upon the icebergs, but they would not be plastic in his glance—calm, lofty, and cold they must remain. But humour is the summer heat that generates while it smiles—the power which touches dead things and revivifies them with its generous warmth and geniality. Wit engages and amuses the individual intellect; humour knits hearts together; is, in truth, in a broad sense, that ‘touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.’ Now the world may be regarded as being composed of three classes, viz, those of us who laugh, those *with* whom we laugh, and those *at* whom we laugh; and the tenderest solicitude is experienced by each unit of humanity lest, through some fortuitous circumstances, he should irretrievably find himself a denizen of the last-named class. To some of the first class is given the power of directing the laughter of others, and this power is current as wit; when to the faculty of originating ridicule is added the power of concentrating pity or pathos upon the subject, this may be styled humour. But the irony must be subjugated to the feeling. The heart must love while the countenance may smile. It will, then, be perceived, in view of these distinctions, how the humourist may assert a claim in all great and essential things superior to that which can be advanced by the wit. Humourists are the salt of the national intellectual

life. England, who occasionally claims a questionable superiority in some respects over other nations, may, in the growth of genuine humour, be allowed the pre-eminence, Germany approaching her perhaps in the nearest degree. What other literature, since the days of Elizabeth, can show such a roll of humourists as that which is inscribed with the names (amongst others) of Richardson, Addison, Steele, Prior, Gay, Smollett, Fielding, Sterne, and Goldsmith? Yet after the closing names of this galaxy a dearth was witnessed like that which immediately preceded their advent. It appears as though the soil of literature, having grown to its utmost capacity the product of humour, demanded time for recuperating its powers. During the past thirty or forty years another growth sprang up, and Hood, Lamb, and other inheritors of the marvellous gift have enriched the world with the perfume of their lives and works. Amongst the latest band of humourists, however, there is no name more remarkable or more justly distinguished than that which is now under consideration.

From the operation of various causes, the works of Thackeray have not hitherto enjoyed a circulation commensurate with their intrinsic merits. The sale of the best of his writings in his lifetime fell far short of the popular demand for the works of Scott or Dickens. But their hold on society, and the recognition of their permanent value and excellence, have gone on steadily increasing with each succeeding year, and very recently a new and complete edition of them has been issued, which is within the reach of all readers. At this period, then, it may be fitting to consider the life's work of this deepest and purest of modern English satirists.

It was in these pages that the first substantial recognition of the genius of the author of 'Vanity Fair' appeared: a quarter of a century has elapsed since then; but in the short period between that epoch in his career and his death, a rapid succession of brilliant works issued from his pen—a pen facile to charm, to instruct, and to reprove. These works have fully justified the terms of praise in which we referred to his first great fiction. Yet it would be difficult to name a writer of fiction of equal excellence who had so little of the inventive and imaginative faculty. Keeness of observation and a nice appreciation of character supplied him with all the materials of his creations. He wrote from the experience of life, and the foibles of mankind which he satirised were those that had fallen under his notice in the vicissitudes of his own career, or might sometimes be traced in the recesses of his own disposition. The key, therefore, to Thackeray's works is to be

found in his life ; and few literary biographies would be more interesting, if it were written with a just and discriminating pen. We would venture to suggest to his accomplished daughter, who has shown by her own writings that some at least of his gifts have descended to her by inheritance, that she should undertake a task which no one else can fulfil with so natural and delicate a feeling of her father's genius. Probably it might already have been attempted, but for the extreme repugnance of Thackeray himself to allow his own person to be brought before the world, or to suffer the sanctity of private correspondence to be invaded. Nobody wrote more amusing letters ; but he wrote them not for the public. As it is, even his birth and descent have not been correctly stated in the current works of the day. His great grandfather was in the Church, once Master of Harrow, and afterwards an Archdeacon. He had seven sons, one of whom, also named William Makepeace Thackeray, entered the Civil Service of India, became a Member of Council, and sat at the Board with Warren Hastings, some of whose minutes he signed. The son of this gentleman, and the father of our novelist, was Richmond Thackeray, also a Civil servant, who died in 1816 at the early age of thirty. Thackeray himself was born at Calcutta, in 1811, and was sent to England when he was seven years old. On the voyage home the vessel touched at St. Helena, where the child saw Napoleon Bonaparte. The black servant who attended him attributed to the ex-Emperor the most ravenous propensities. 'He eats,' said the sable exaggerator, 'three sheep every day, and all the children he 'can lay hands on.' The joke figured years afterwards in one of Thackeray's sketches. This early connexion with India left its mark in his memory, and the pleasant allusions to the great Ramchunder and the Bundelcund bank were suggested by the traditions of his own infancy. He inherited from his father (who died when he was five years old) a considerable fortune, part of which had fortunately been settled on his mother, who was re-married to Major Carmichael Smyth. The remainder was left at his own disposal, and rendered him an object of envy and admiration to his less fortunate contemporaries. The boy was sent to the Charter-house, where he remained for some years ; and here again the reader familiar with his works may trace a multitude of allusions to his school-days under Dr. Russell, then the master of that school. About the year 1828 he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was the friend and contemporary of Tennyson, Venables, John Mitchell Kemble, Charles and Arthur Buller,

John Sterling, R. Monckton Milnes, and of that distinguished set of men, some of whom had preceded him by a year or two, who formed what was called the Society of the Apostles, though he was not himself a member of that society. It must be confessed that at Cambridge Thackeray gave no signs of distinguished ability. He was chiefly known for his inexhaustible drollery, his love of repartee, and for his humourous command of the pencil. But his habits were too desultory for him to enter the lists of academic competition, and, like Arthur Pen-dennis, he left the University without taking a degree. At the age of twenty-one he entered upon London life; he visited Weimar, which he afterwards portrayed as the Court of Pumpernickel; and he was frequently in Paris, where his mother resided since her second marriage. His fortune and position in society seemed to permit him to indulge his tastes and to live as a gentleman at large. But the dream was of short duration. Within a few months he contracted a sleeping partnership which placed his property in the hands of a man who turned out to be insolvent, and the fortune he relied on was lost before he had enjoyed it. The act was one of gross imprudence, no doubt, and he suffered bitterly for it; but it is not true, as has sometimes been supposed, from his lively description of scenes of folly and vice, that he lost his money by his own personal extravagance. Thus then he found himself, at two or three and twenty, with very reduced means, for he had nothing to live on but the allowance his mother and grandmother were able to make him; with no profession, with desultory tastes and habits, and with no definite prospects in life before him. His first scheme was to turn artist and to cultivate painting in the Louvre, for he now resided chiefly with his relations in Paris. But in the art of design he was, in truth, no more than an accomplished amateur. The drawings with which he afterwards illustrated his own books are full of expression, humour, grace, and feeling; but they want the correctness and mastery of the well-trained artist. He turned then, with more hope, at the age of thirty, to the resources of the pen. But it is remarkable that all his literary productions of this, his earlier period, were anonymous; and his literary efforts, though not wanting in pungency and an admirable style, were scattered in multifarious publications, and procured for him but small profit and no fame. These years from thirty to seven-and-thirty, which ought to have been the brightest, were the most cheerless of his existence. He wrote letters in the 'Times' under the signature of Manlius Pennialinus. He wrote an article on Lord

Brougham in the 'British and Foreign Review,' which excited attention. But political writing—even political sarcasm—was not his forte; and when politics ceased to be a joke, they became to him a bore. Amongst other experiments he accepted the editorship of a London daily newspaper, called 'The Constitutional and Public Ledger,' but—like its namesake, which had been started and edited, a few years before, by another man of great literary genius, destined to achieve in after-life a more illustrious career—this journal lingered for ten months and then expired. The foundation of 'Punch' was a work after Thackeray's own heart, and he contributed largely to the earlier numbers. But it was not till 1841 that he really began to make his mark in literature, under the well-known pseudonym of Michael Angelo Titmarsh, a name in which the dream of the artist still haunted the fancy of the humourist. In the midst of these perplexities, with that genuine tenderness of feeling which lay at the bottom of all his sarcasms, Thackeray fell in love, and married a young lady who might have sat for the portrait of his own Amelia, but who was not better endowed than himself with the world's goods, and much less able than himself to battle with adverse fortune. But his domestic life was overclouded by a greater calamity than these, and the malady of his wife threw a permanent cloud over the best affections of his heart, which were thenceforward devoted to his children alone. Such was the school in which the genius of Thackeray was educated. It was not imaginative; it was not spontaneous; it was the result of a hard and varied experience of life and the world. It left him somewhat prone to exaggerate the follies and baseness of mankind, but it never froze or extinguished his love and sympathy for justice, tenderness, and truth. In 1847, when he was six-and-thirty years of age, he braced himself up, for the first time, for a great and continuous literary effort, and he came before the world, which hitherto had known him only as a writer of jests and magazine articles, as the author of 'Vanity Fair.' His style, which was the result of the most careful and fastidious study, had now attained a high degree of perfection. In the comparison which was naturally drawn between himself and Dickens, then in the heyday of popularity, it was obvious that in the command of the English language Thackeray was incomparably the master. His style was to the style of Dickens what marble is to clay; and although he never attained to the successful vogue of his contemporary, in his lifetime, it was evident to the critical eye that the writings of Thackeray had in them that which no time could dim or obliterate.

With this novel, then, so surprising in its frankness and in its knowledge of human nature, commenced a career which could know no repression. A mine of gold had been struck, and the nuggets were cast up freely by the hands of the hard and honest worker. In the writing of books admired by every hater of pretence, and the delivery of lectures which were as new in their style and treatment as his novels, the rest of the life of Thackeray passed away. The last fifteen years of it were years of success, celebrity, and comparative affluence. He had attained a commanding position in literature and in society, though it must be acknowledged that except in a very small circle of intimate friends, he rarely put forth any brilliant social qualities. How he impaled snobbery in 'Punch' and gave a new impetus to serial literature by his editorship of the 'Cornhill Magazine,' are facts too widely disseminated to be dilated upon. A most goodnatured editor, conscientious as well as kind, was Thackeray; but the work was not to his taste, and after a short period he relinquished it at a large pecuniary sacrifice. To that terrible person, the owner of a 'rejected contribution,' he was frequently most generous, breaking the literary disappointment with the solace of a bank-note in many instances. But he found it painfully difficult to say 'No' when it became imperative to reject would-be contributors, and fled from the field in despair accordingly. To a friend he said on one occasion, 'How can I go into society with comfort? I dined the other day at ——'s, and at the table were four gentlemen whose masterpieces of literary art I had been compelled to decline with 'thanks.' So he informed his readers for the last time that he would 'not be responsible for rejected communications.' On Christmas Eve, 1863, came the event which touched the heart of Britain with a genuine grief. The not altogether uneventful career of one of the truest and best of men was closed. When it was known that the author of 'Vanity Fair' would charm the world no longer by his truthful pictures of English life, the grief was what we would always have it be when a leader of the people in war, arts, or letters is stricken down in battle—deep, general, and sincere.

Postponing for the moment a consideration of what we conceive to be the leading characteristics of Thackeray's genius, a certain measure of insight into the author's mind may be gained by a glance at his works—premising that they are not taken in strict chronological order. First, with regard to his more important novels. The key with which he opened the door of fame was undoubtedly 'Vanity Fair.' Though other writings

of a less ambitious nature had previously come from his pen, until the production of this book there was no evidence that Thackeray would ever assume the high position in letters now unanimously awarded to him. But here, at any rate, was demonstrative proof that a new star had arisen. And yet general as was this belief no intelligible grounds were for a time assigned for it. The novelist himself always regarded his first work as his best; though we think that in this respect he has followed the example of Milton and other celebrated authors, and chosen as his favourite that which is not absolutely the best, though it may be equal to any which succeeded it. Probably the book was one round whose pages a halo had been thrown by various personal circumstances. But the famous yellow covers in which the 'Novel without a Hero' originally appeared were not at first sought after with much avidity. Soon, however, it became known that a new delineator of life was at work in society, and one whose pen was as keen as the dissecting knife of the surgeon. An author had sprung up who dared to shame society by a strong and manly scorn, and by proclaiming that it ought to loathe itself in dust and ashes. The world was not unwilling to read the reflection of its foibles and its vices mirrored with so much wit, originality, and genius. How account otherwise for the favour which the work subsequently attained, when it lacked as a novel many of those characteristics for which novels are most eagerly read? To the initial difficulty of a story without a hero, the writer had voluntarily added that of a lack of consecutiveness and completeness. It was probably begun by the author not only without a hero, but without a plot. We doubt whether any of his novels were written on a plan. Some of them evidently turned under his pen into something quite different from what he had originally intended. His mode of narrative consists in a series of pictures after the manner of Hogarth, but their popularity sufficiently attested their accuracy. There is no one character in 'Vanity Fair' which can be deemed perfectly satisfactory—not that the public always cares for that, preferring sometimes the most thoroughpaced villany (viewing authorship as a question of art) to the most superlative virtue. Becky Sharp, the unprincipled governess, has been as unduly detested as Amelia Sedley has been too lavishly praised. There is nothing in the earlier chapters to prove that Becky Sharp was naturally and entirely unprincipled and unscrupulous, and it was evidently the intention of the author to show that society might justly assume a great portion of the responsibility for the after-development of those qualities. With certain ground to work upon, and given conditions as adjuncts,

the influence of society on natures like Becky Sharp's would be to encrust them with selfishness and superinduce complete hypocrisy. If heroine there be in the novel it is this clever adventuress, and except on some half-dozen occasions it is scarcely possible to avoid a pity approaching to contempt for the character of Amelia Sedley, who is intended to personify the good element an author generally casts about to discover in concocting a story. Captain Dobbin is overdrawn, and one is well-nigh tempted to wish that he had a little less virtue and a little more selfishness. While we love him he has a tendency to make us angry. The most masterly touches in the volume are those in which the portraits of the Marquis of Steyne and of Sir Pitt Crawley are sketched. The aristocracy furnish the villains and the most contemptible specimens of the race, whilst the excellent persons come from the ranks of the middle class and the poor—their namby-pambyism, however, now and then reducing their claims to our regard. The author speaks for the most part in his own person, and herein lies one of the principal reasons for the success of the book. We feel the satirist at our elbow; he is not enveloped in thick folds in the distance; as we read his trenchant observations and withering sarcasms we can almost see the glances of scorn or of pity which he would assume when engaged in his task. Well might the world exclaim that this was no novice who thus wrote of its meannesses and its glory, its virtues and its vices. This novel lifted him at once, and justly, into the position of one of the ablest writers of subjective fiction. It is especially remarkable in connexion with 'Vanity Fair' to note the extremely little conversational matter in a tale of this great length; another proof that the strength of the author lay not in the conventional groove of the novelist, but in those other powers of Thackeray—rare observation, an acute penetration of motives, an abhorrence of sham or pretence, and an entirely new and genuine humour.

In 'Pendennis,' the next great work by Thackeray, there is not only some approach to a consecutive plot, but we are inclined to think finer drawing of individual character than in its predecessor. There is not so much brilliancy of writing, but there is a considerable advance in the art of the novelist. With all the graphic touches which took form in the features of Becky Sharp, Amelia Sedley, and Captain Dobbin, there is nothing in the earlier work to compare with the portraits of George Warrington, Helen Pendennis, and Laura. The hero Arthur is one who succumbs to the ordinary temptations of life, and has very little attaching to him of that romance in which a hero

is generally expected to be enshrined. Because it was so natural the book was not regarded at first as very successful: nothing could be truer to the original than the manner in which Arthur Pendennis is sketched, and his love passages with Miss Fotheringay, the actress, are naïvely related; but it was of course impossible to become inspired with the same feelings towards him as were excited by the chivalric heroes of Scott. A man who resorts in the morning to a bottle of soda water to correct the exuberant spirits of the night before is not calculated to awaken much personal adoration. He is too fallible, and the novel-reading community demands sinless heroes and heroines ere it consents to raise them to the lofty pedestal accorded to its greatest favourites. There is no exaggeration in a single portrait to be found in 'Pendennis;' all are true; are true to the minutest detail, and the author has simply acted as the photographer to his clients—he 'nothing extenuates or sets down 'aught in malice.' The early follies of Pendennis, and his university career—which was chiefly noticeable for splendid suppers and dealings with money-lenders at a hundred per cent.—are described with no sparing pen. The case is typical of thousands now, and is no credit to the youth of the universities. 'Only wild oats,' the apologists for undergraduate extravagance remind us; but there is no natural necessity that this particular university crop should be sown; many men, worthy men too, are compelled to go through life without the satisfaction of having ruined their friends by their follies. The result overtook Pendennis which righteously succeeds, we suppose, to dissipation and neglect of study. When the degree examinations came 'many of his own set who had not half his 'brains, but a little regularity and constancy of occupation, 'took high places in the honours or passed with decent credit. 'And where in the list was Pen the superb, Pen the wit and 'dandy, Pen the poet and orator? Ah, where was Pen the 'widow's darling and sole pride? Let us hide our heads and 'shut up the page. The lists came out; and a dreadful rumour 'rushed through the University that Pendennis of Boniface was 'plucked.' Yet though he fled from the University the widow went on loving him still, just the same, and little Laura hugged to her heart with a secret passion the image of the young scapegrace. So inexplicable and so devoted is the character of woman! The little orphan paid the debts of the dashing, clever hero. More sketches of society with its hollowness and pretence follow this revelation, and then we find Arthur in the modern Babylon soon to become the friend of George Warrington, who was destined to be his guide, philosopher, and

friend. The brains of our hero now became of service, and in dwelling on his intellectual labour Thackeray details the secret history of a literary hack, together with the story of the establishment of a newspaper for 'the gentlemen of England,' the prospectus of which was written by Captain Shandon in Fleet Prison. Brilliant indeed were the intellectual Bohemians who wrote for that witty and critical journal. There are no more interesting or amusing sketches in the whole of the author's novels than those relating to this paper, and the intimate knowledge displayed in the details of the schemes of rival printers and publishers was a part of the author's own dearly bought experience. Arthur is strangely consoled in his endeavours to live by the aid of literature by his uncle Major Pendennis, who assures him that 'poetry and genius, and that 'sort of thing, were devilishly disreputable' in his time. But success waits on him, and he can afford to smile at the eccentric officer. Were it not for the closing pages of 'Pendennis' we could almost feel angry with Thackeray for challenging our interest in Arthur. But the lesson he had to teach compensates for all disappointments. No stones are to be unnecessarily thrown at the erring, and the shadows in Pendennis's life are to teach others how to avoid similar errors. The unworthy often run away with the honours. The history of Pendennis closes with fruition for the hero, while the nobler character, George Warrington, suffers disappointment. But then the novelist justly observes:—

'If the best men do not draw the great prizes in life, we know that it has been so ordained by the Ordainer of the lottery; we own, and see daily, how the false and worthless live and prosper, while the good are called away, and the dear and young perish untimely. We perceive in every man's life maimed happiness, the frequent falling, the bootless endeavour, the struggle of right and wrong, in which the strong often succumb and the swift fail; we see flowers of good blooming in foul places, as in the most lofty and splendid fortunes, flaws of vice and meanness, and stains of evil, and, knowing how mean the best of us is, let us give a hand of charity to Arthur Pendennis, with all his faults and shortcomings, who does not claim to be a hero, but only a man and a brother.'

Passing by temporarily the lectures on the Humourists in order to preserve the chain of novels unbroken, we come to a work which is perhaps the most satisfactory of all Thackeray's writings, regarding them purely in the light of literary art. There are few productions in the world of fiction which exhibit the finish of 'Esmond,' for the author has not only drawn his characters with unusual skill, but delighted the reader with

repeated bursts of natural, unaffected eloquence, in language sedulously borrowed from the age of Steele and Addison. As regards style, indeed, 'Esmond' is an incredible *tour-de-force*, and is by far the most original of all his books. For the first time the author transplants us to that age which afterwards became of such absorbing interest to him that he could not tear himself away from it; so imbued was he altogether with the literature of the time of Queen Anne and George I. that at last he seemed to live in it. At his death he had another work in contemplation whose period was fixed in the eighteenth century. It is easy even to the uninitiated to discover that Thackeray wrote this history of Esmond, a colonel in the service of Her Majesty Queen Anne, thoroughly *con amore*. He revelled in his theme and in the associations it brought with it. Genial, witty Dick Steele and Mr. Joseph Addison are introduced to us, and we see them, along with Esmond, drinking the Burgundy, which, says Addison, 'my Lord Halifax sent me.' We are carried through portions of Marlborough's campaigns, and the spirit blazes with enthusiasm at the pluck which wrought such valiant deeds, and brought undying honour on the British arms. The avarice and ambition of the brilliant Churchill are forgotten as the plans of his consummate genius are unravelled. Esmond's career with General Webb is traced with intense interest, and the scenes become as real to us as they undoubtedly seemed to the author. The plot of the book is not of the happiest description, the machinations of the Jacobites being interwoven largely with the thread of the narrative. The hero loves in the outset Beatrix Esmond, daughter of a viscount, and the devotion he exhibits to the idol of his heart and his imagination is something extraordinary even in comparison with the loves of other heroes. Beatrix, however, was unworthy of it: homage she would receive, true passion she seemed incapable of returning. Self-willed to a degree, the noble nature of such a man as Esmond was as a sealed book to her. His gravest feelings she treated with levity, and at length her conduct with the Pretender broke the spell, and threw down from its lofty pedestal, once and for ever, the idol he had set up. Like the marble it was beautiful to the eye; like the marble it was cold and insensible to the touch. Finally Esmond contracts a union with Beatrix's mother, Lady Castlewood, still handsome and comparatively young, and who had always cherished the memory of Esmond as one whom she dearly loved in his youth. Her affection for him had never waned. The volume closes with their settlement on the banks

of the Potomac, in a calm and serene happiness. The autobiographer, in describing their Virginian estate and Transatlantic life, says :—‘ Our diamonds are turned into ploughs and axes for our plantations, and into negroes, the happiest and merriest, I think, in all this country ; and the only jewel by which my wife sets any store, and from which she hath never parted, is that gold button she took from my arm on the day when she visited me in prison, and which she wore ever after, as she told me, on the tenderest heart in the world.’ In reading ‘ Esmond,’ so cleverly is the story told, and with such ease and truthfulness, that the reader does not stay to note what a difficult task the novelist has set himself in venturing to deal with a plot more than commonly unattractive. Thackeray, however, is nowhere the slave of a plot ; and in sometimes deliberately fighting against conventional construction and probability, he has proved by his success in enlisting interest and sympathy that he wielded the pen of a master. The world can forgive its hero for not doing what ninety-nine heroes in a hundred perform, when his history is related with the fidelity and ability which distinguish ‘ Esmond.’ There are more characters carefully and vividly drawn in this book than are to be found in the entire novels of many popular writers ; and that pungency of Thackeray’s pen which cuts through individualities as sharply and clearly as the diamond cuts through the glass, is here in full operation. It was as superior to its predecessor as the latter was to almost all the novels of the time. In regard to historical portraiture it has never been excelled ; to read it once is to be struck with its eloquence and power ; to read it a second time is to be impressed with its fidelity and photographic accuracy.

Thackeray rose to the perfection of his art in fiction in ‘ The Newcomes ;’ and it is such books as this which show us what a fine teacher and instructor the novel may become in the hands of genius. In the representation of human nature this story is worthy of Richardson or Fielding. It is the *chef d’œuvre*, in our opinion, of its author. There is not lacking that infinite sarcasm observable in previous works, but the writer has touched more deeply the springs of human sympathy. Within the whole scope of fiction there is no single character which stands out more nobly for the admiration of readers to all time than that of Colonel Newcome. The painter of that portrait alone might well lay claim to an undying canvas. As faithfully and as naturally as though limned by the hand of Sir Joshua Reynolds himself the features of the old soldier appear before us. Having written ‘ The Newcomes ’ Thackeray may

be said to have shaken hands as an equal with the two or three great masters of fiction. If it be the province of the novelist to depict human nature as it is, it must be conceded, at any rate, that there was nothing else left for the author to do to entitle him to the highest honours of his class. Nor is it a little singular too that in the story just mentioned Thackeray has given us the best female character which has proceeded from his fertile brain,—Ethel Newcome. She comes to us as the sweet teacher of more goodness and religion than a whole company of preachers. We are inclined to agree with her cousin Clive Newcome that to look into her eyes would be almost too much for such unworthy imperfect creatures as men, and that she is one of that rare class of beings sent into the world occasionally to tell us that Heaven has not altogether forgotten us. What a story of society 'The Newcomes' is! First we have the Newcome family, with Sophia Alethea, whose mission and self-imposed duty it was 'to attend to the interests of the enslaved negro; to 'awaken the benighted Hottentot to a sense of the truth; 'to convert Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Papists; to arouse the 'indifferent and often blasphemous mariner; to guide the 'washerwoman in the right way; to head all the public charities of her sect; and do a thousand secret kindnesses that 'none knew of; to answer myriads of letters, pension endless 'ministers, and supply their teeming wives with continuous 'baby linen,'—all which she did 'womanfully' for nigh four-score years. Then we have the Honeymans, with the singular story of the Rev. Charles. Clive Newcome's uncles occupy a large portion of the narrative, and Sir Barnes Newcome appears and contrives to earn our unmitigated contempt. Grey Friars looms into view, with the hero Clive at school within its precincts. Good James Binnie is introduced, and honest J.J. Ridley. Electioneering contests, with all their humour, are portrayed, while the scheming members of society are also flayed for their snobbery. From the heartlessness of vampires and fools—the Floracs, the Kews, &c.,—we are pleased to hurry away and to light upon such passages of sweetness and beauty as this, where the Colonel on his arrival in England from India is welcomed by his little niece Ethel:—

'He took a little slim white hand and laid it down on his brown palm, where it looked all the whiter; he cleared the grizzled moustachio from his mouth, and stooping down he kissed the little white hand with a great deal of grace and dignity. There was no point of resemblance, and yet a something in the girl's look, voice, and movements, which caused his heart to thrill, and an image out of the past

to rise up and salute him. The eyes which had brightened his youth (and which he saw in his dreams and thoughts for faithful years afterwards as though they looked at him out of heaven) seemed to shine upon him after five and thirty years. He remembered such a fair bending neck and clustering hair, such a light foot and airy figure, such a slim hand lying in his own—and now parted from it with a gap of ten thousand long days between. . . . Parting is death, at least as far as life is concerned. A passion comes to an end; it is carried off in a coffin, or weeping in a post-chaise; it drops out of life one way or other, and the earth clouds close over it, and we see it no more. But it has been part of our souls and it is eternal. Does a mother not love her dead infant? a man his lost mistress? with the fond wife nestling at his side,—yes, with twenty children smiling round her knee. No doubt, as the old soldier held the girl's hand in his, the little talisman led him back to Hades, and he saw Leonora.'

The book has its love passages—in some cases sad and miserable. Chapters of pathetic interest abound, where the world is exhibited at its old tricks of topsy-turvy—Lady Clara loving Jack Belsize and being beloved madly in return, while her hand is sold to Sir Barnes Newcome, 'society,' forsooth, blessing the bargain. Clive married to Rosey Mackenzie, whom he loves in a way, though his real devotion belongs to his cousin, who is put into the matrimonial auction and knocked down to an idiotic member of the peerage. As for the marriages which 'have been arranged,' who has not heard uttered, as our satirist asks, 'the ancient words, "I " "promise to take thee," &c., knowing them to be untrue; and is there a bishop on the bench that has not Amen'd the humbug in his lawn sleeves, and called a blessing over the kneeling pair of perjurers?' Hypocrisy and humbug are succeeded by disaster in the novel. The grand old Colonel is ruined by the failure of the celebrated Bundelcund Bank, but when there comes in his need a cheque from one whom he had helped in days gone by, the bankrupt Colonel only exclaims, 'I thank my God Almighty for this!' and passes on the cheque immediately to another sufferer. The story rapidly progresses. The death of Colonel Newcome is told with a pathos almost unequalled, and dear old Grey Friars becomes once more the witness of a scene to be ever held in remembrance. After this sad incident the novel speedily ends, with the united happiness of the two children whom the Colonel had most dearly loved. It is one of the few books which we close with regret when we have finished them. Genial, generous, and noble in its sentiments, we seem almost to touch the mind of Thackeray while perusing it. It gives us full assurance that his mission was of far wider import than that of

a mere scourger of society. It is evidently written by a man who loves the world, though he hates its follies. He has scorn for its dissimulation, indignation for its oppression, smiles for its happiness, and tears for its woes.

In continuation of his previous novel 'Esmond,' Thackeray returned to the historical vein in 'The Virginians,' which follows the fortunes of the Esmond family after its migration to America. It was one of his characteristics that the creations of his art acquired so complete a reality that he could not part from them, and they continued, as it were, to live on, and reappeared in his later works long after the fiction which had given birth to them had come to a close. Thus his 'Virginians' grew out of 'Esmond,' and it is one of the pleasantest of his works. The course of true love pursues a devious way, and the follies of one character serve to set in bold relief the heroism of others. The fairer sex have no reason to complain of the treatment they receive at the hands of our author, and in this story two of their species are immortalised in a setting for which we shall be for ever grateful. But while we are interested in much love we are also admonished by much morality, though the moralising of Thackeray on all occasions is anything but offensive. He has the gift of so exhibiting foibles and weaknesses that there is no need for him to lash himself into a furious state of indignation, as the manner of some is; that calm, sneering smile is sufficiently effectual; heavy, clumsy weapons or bludgeons may make much demonstration, but it is the light, piercing touch of the pointed steel which is the most dangerous. Thackeray manages to find the one vulnerable point in our armour; he introduces the rapier of his sarcasm, and we are slain. There is no withstanding his weapon. Surely the world should be the better for the fearless work which this man accomplished! Honestly has he besought it to discard its deceit and selfishness, and who knows but vast results have followed the teaching of the life-long lesson? Does he not ask us, brother man, to be more true to ourselves, to our own nature; to drop the cloak which we perpetually wear when we step forth into the world? He would have man walk abroad upright, strong in his own virtue, and not ashamed to meet his fellows, as though in the great game of life he was determined to revoke through every trick in order to seize upon the stakes. And is it so very inhuman to help a friend or a brother that it has become so uncommon? Are the heavens always to appear as brass when the cry for help is raised? Harry Esmond Warrington 'in his distress asked 'help from his relations; his aunt sent him a tract and her

' blessing ; his uncle had business out of town, and could not, of course, answer the poor boy's petition. . . . My Lord and Lady Skinflint, when they consult in their bedroom about giving their luckless nephew a helping hand, and determine to refuse, and go down to family prayers and meet their children and domestics, and discourse virtuously before them and then remain together and talk nose to nose—what can they think of one another ? and of the poor kinsman fallen among thieves and groaning for help unheeded ? How can they go on with those virtuous airs ? How can they dare look each other in the face ? ' Brave writer ! these are manly words, but the world in great part still practises the selfish principle. It takes a long time to make it understand that a religious tract, though possibly very cheap, is not very filling to the hungry stomach, nor does it go far in clothing the shivering limbs. Cropping up here and there in his sparkling leaves, such are the lessons Thackeray would teach. In novels like ' *The Virginians* ' they are subordinate to the more leading purposes of the story, but human nature has changed little since the period when its scenes were fixed. Graphic pictures of American scenery abound in its pages, and celebrated characters of the reign of George II. appear on the stage. The philosophy of the novel may not be profound, but it is always plain and unmistakeable. If there be any failure perceptible, it is a failure possessed in common with the greatest writers and dramatists, who, in attempting to depict the men, the morals, and the manners of a preceding age, have never been able entirely to get rid of their own.

The remaining works of fiction produced subsequently to ' *The Virginians* ' are somewhat slight in their construction (with the exception of one to be named), but generally exhibit great power. The exception, as regards length and plot, is ' *The Adventures of Philip*,' a work worthy almost to take rank with any of those which are more widely known, on account of its extremely realistic pictures of life, and its depth of human interest. In the sketches of those ' who robbed Philip, those who helped him, and those who passed him by,' we come upon varieties of love, passion, and duplicity drawn with wondrous skill. The sad parts of the story are written with indelible ink, and all through that fine nervous sensibility which should distinguish the highest novelists is strikingly apparent. The same remark applies to that beautiful story of the ' *Hoggarty Diamond*.' Of the memoirs of that extraordinary youth Barry Lyndon, it is scarcely necessary to say more than that they are told with no diminu-

tion of vigour; all the later short stories of Thackeray, in fact, are written in English noticeable for its simplicity and purity. The wine is not so tart, does not sparkle quite so much, but it is mellow and there is greater body in it. What could more conclusively exhibit this than the story the author left unfinished, 'Denis Duval'? Here we have the last lines he ever wrote—lines which triumphantly dispose of the taunt that Thackeray was writing himself out. Of few can it be said that their later works exhibit a strength and genius undimmed by time. Yet Thackeray was one of these. The period of decadence had not set in with him. He had only just reached the top of the hill, he had taken no steps on his descent. To his powers of perception, and his possession of the critical faculty in no small degree, 'The Roundabout Papers,' the inimitable Paris, Irish, and Eastern Sketches, and his imitations of contemporary authors, bear ample testimony; while 'The Snob Papers,' burlesques and ballads, overflow with comic humour. As regards the authorship of ballads alone, we have no writer of *vers de société* at the present time who could be put into competition with him. 'Pleasantman X.' is famous; yet even Praed or Father Prout can show nothing better than 'Peg of Limavaddy,' 'At the Church Gate,' and 'Little Billee.' Novel, sketch, ballad, or essay, Thackeray has summed up in great part the lessons he would inculcate in verses which will be within recollection:—

'O, Vanity of Vanities!
 How wayward the decrees of Fate are;
 How very weak the very wise,
 How very small the very great are!
 'Though thrice a thousand years are past,
 Since David's son the sad and splendid,
 The weary King Ecclesiast,
 Upon his awful tablets penned it,—
 'Methinks the text is never stale,
 And life is every day renewing
 Fresh comments on the old, old tale,
 Of Folly, Fortune, Glory, Ruin.'

In noticing the various works of Thackeray thus briefly, we have purposely left the lectures on the Four Georges and the English Humourists till the close, as they belong to a new and entirely distinct class of effort. Probably this was the first occasion on which a writer assumed the lecturer and the critic in one. Those who were privileged to hear the author deliver his lectures in person will remember how he took the town by storm, and the same enthusiasm was manifested

when Thackeray came to Edinburgh and visited the principal towns in England and America, where the whole of the intellectual classes of the population flocked to hear him. To hear the opinions of a well-known literary man on his distinguished predecessors delivered *vivâ voce* was naturally attractive, and the imposing form of Titmarsh with his snowy hair has not yet passed out of the recollection of his auditors. We heard him on the age in which he was thoroughly at home. He had made that period in a manner his own by an intimate knowledge of all its leading spirits, and he appeared to strike a chord of self-satisfaction when he said, 'I knew familiarly a lady who had been asked in marriage by Horace Walpole, who had been patted on the head by George I.' This immediately takes him to the time of Johnson, Goldsmith, Steele, Pope, and Swift, and he is happy. He then goes on to talk pleasantly of the times and manners of the Four Georges, not sparing the gall of satire, however, when he deems it necessary to mix it with his ink. As a citizen of the time he thus describes the advent of the First George, and the facts of history but too fully justify the sweeping condemnation.

'Here we are, all on our knees. Here is the Archbishop of Canterbury prostrating himself to the head of his church, with Kielmansegge and Schulenberg with their ruddled cheeks grinning behind the Defender of the Faith. Here is my Lord Duke of Marlborough kneeling, too, the greatest warrior of all times; he who betrayed King William—betrayed King James I.—betrayed Queen Anne—betrayed England to the French, the Elector to the Pretender, the Pretender to the Elector; there are my Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, the latter of whom has just tripped up the heels of the former; and if a month's more time had been allowed him, would have had King James at Westminster.'

But foolish as the foreign gentleman was, he was astute enough to see through loyalty of this description. The bargain with England was that she wanted a Protestant puppet, and as George was not unwilling, for a consideration, matters were arranged. Though not without his faults, George I. had, as Thackeray points out, the countervailing virtues of justice, courage, and moderation. In introducing his immediate successor, the essayist sketches a memorable scene. An eager messenger in jack boots, who had ridden from London, forced his way into a bed-room in Richmond Lodge, where the master was taking a nap after dinner. With a strong German accent and many oaths, the man on the bed, starting up, asked who dared to disturb him? 'I am Sir Robert Walpole,' said the messenger. The awakened sleeper

hated Sir Robert. 'I have the honour to announce to your Majesty, that your royal father, King George I., died at Osnaburg, on Saturday last, the 10th instant.' '*Dat is one big lie!*' roared out his Sacred Majesty King George II., but that was how he came to be monarch nevertheless. The Second George was more wrongheaded than his father, and England was saved during many years of his reign by the strong will of that strange mixture of courage, dissoluteness, statesmanship, and meanness, Sir Robert Walpole, and by the good sense and tact of Queen Caroline. Brave the King undoubtedly was, but in and round his court there was the old sickly air of corruption, fed rather than suppressed by a sycophant clergy. The trenchant words of the great satirist are not a whit too strong in which to describe the godlessness and hypocrisy of the period. And when the sovereign died, some of the divines carried their cant behind the grave, and referred to their master as one too good for earth. They had crawled in the dust before his mistresses for preferment, and having got it, must of course pay for it somehow. Diving beneath the surface of society, Thackeray wisely says, 'It is to the middle class we must look for the safety of England; the working educated men, away from Lord North's bribery in the senate; the good clergy not corrupted into parasites by the hope of preferment; the tradesmen rising into manly opulence; the painters pursuing their gentle calling; the men of letters in their quiet studies; these are the men whom we love and like to read of in the last age.' With these classes pure and sound, kings and puppets may sport with impunity; the kingdom is safe; it is when the middle classes are corrupt and worthless that the foundations of society begin to break up. Pleasant gossip of the good but obstinate King George, the third of his name, is vouchsafed to us, with glimpses of his pure court—would it had always been so—within whose precincts many a battle was won over his opponents by the dogged monarch. Then we come to the period of his terrible malady, and in describing the closing scene of all, the essayist breaks out into a passage of touching eloquence, which we transcribe here as being in his most successful vein:—

'What preacher need moralise on this story; what words save the simplest are requisite to tell it? It is too terrible for tears. The thought of such a misery smites me down in submission before the Ruler of kings and men, the Monarch Supreme over empires and republics, the inscrutable Dispenser of life, death, happiness, victory. "O, brothers!" I said to those who heard me first in America—"O,

"brothers! speaking the same mother tongue—O comrades! enemies
 "no more, let us take a mournful hand together as we stand by this
 "royal corpse, and call a truce to battle! Low he lies to whom the
 "proudest used to kneel once, and who was cast lower than the
 "poorest; dead, whom millions prayed for in vain." Driven off
 the throne; buffeted by rude hands; with his children in revolt;
 the darling of his old age killed before him untimely; our Lear
 hangs over her breathless lips and cries: "Cordelia, Cordelia, stay a
 "little!"

"Vex not his ghost—oh! let him pass—he hates him
 That would upon the rack of this tough world
 Stretch him out longer!"

'Hush! strife and quarrel, over the solemn grave! Sound, trumpets,
 a mournful march. Fall, dark curtain, upon his pageant, his pride,
 his grief, his awful tragedy.'

The lectures on the English Humourists, a subject peculiarly adapted to the bent of Thackeray, commence with Swift, the genius who had a life-hunt for a bishopric and missed it. The bitterness of a generation of mankind seemed to be concentrated in that one spirit. We scarcely understand him now, or if we do, then genius is miserably weak and vulnerable in some point if strong as adamant in others. He did not succeed, and it was his constant habit, we are assured, to keep his birthday as a day of mourning. Yet there are some aspects in which we like to regard him. We like his utter scorn at times, his contempt for the tinsel, and the power of his eagle eye to pierce to the heart of things. He could also crush pretence, at once and effectually. A bumptious young wit said to him in company, 'You must know, Mr. Dean, that I set up for a wit!' 'Do you 'so?' said the Dean. 'Take my advice and sit down again.' Thackeray mistrusts the religion of Swift, and mentions as one of the strongest reasons for doing so, the fact of his recommending the dissolute author of 'The Beggar's Opera' to turn clergyman, and look out for a seat on the bench. But this master of irony varied so in his moods, that it is impossible to know whether this advice was not simply the result of that intense chagrin which possessed him, rather than of a deliberate recklessness of the good. That Swift suffered, mentally, more than almost any man history takes note of may be accepted, but it was partly due to the workings of an 'evil spirit.' It is justly said of him that 'he goes through life, tearing, like a 'man possessed of a devil. Like Abudah in the Arabian story, 'he is always looking out for the Fury, and knows that the night 'will come and the inevitable hag with it. What a night, my 'God! it was, what a lonely rage of long agony—what a vulture 'that tore the heart of that giant! It is awful to think of the

'great sufferings of this great man. Through life he always seems alone, somehow. Goethe was so. I can't fancy Shakspeare otherwise. The giants must live apart. The kings can have no company. But this man suffered so; and deserved so to suffer. One hardly reads anywhere of such a pain.' And this pain went through life—in darkness, rage, and misery he spent his days; no light broke through the starless night. The end came, and terrible is the story,—the witty, the eloquent, the gifted, the godlike in intellect, the devilish in heart, Swift passed away in a state not unlike that against which he had prayed in a letter to Bolingbroke, when he said, 'It is time for me to have done with the world, and so I would if I could get into a better before I was called into the best, and not die here in a rage, like a poisoned rat in a hole.' Pleasant gossip follows this sketch—gossip of Congreve and Addison, with wise critical remarks interspersed by the author, who may be said to have established a prescriptive right to the age of which he wrote. Somewhat too much, we are inclined to think, Thackeray made of Pope, though the executive ability of the young poet was of the most marvellous description. Poor Dick Steele, that bundle of failings and weaknesses, has a paper all to himself, and we rise from its perusal with our love for the kindly miserable sinner intensified. It was surface wickedness with Steele entirely: his heart was tender, and his character simple as a child's. For the genius and character of Fielding Thackeray had of course the highest admiration. Very few lines need be read before it is apparent that the modern novelist had studied his predecessor minutely. He quotes Gibbon's famous saying about Fielding with intense relish. 'The successors of Charles V. may disdain their brethren (the Fieldings) of England: but the romance of "Tom Jones," that exquisite picture of humour and manners, will outlive the palace of the Escorial, and the Imperial Eagle of Austria.' But here our pleasant reminiscences of the English humourists must end, and some observations of a general nature be made upon the genius of him who has bequeathed to us his thoughts and judgments on his illustrious predecessors.

The first characteristic which strikes the reader of Thackeray is unquestionably his humour. It does not gleam forth as flashes of lightning, rare and vivid, but is more like the ever-bubbling fountain, the perennial spring. It is a kind of permeating force throughout all his works, now lashed into sarcasm and anon dissolved in pathos. It is one of the great mistakes regarding this author that he is satirical and nothing else. No critic who thus represents him can have either studied his works or caught

the spirit and purpose of the man. He is one of the best of English humourists simply because his nature is sensitive at all points. What Carlyle has said of Jean Paul may be said of him. 'In his smile itself a touching pathos may lie hidden, a pity too deep for tears. He is a man of feeling, in the noblest sense of that word; for he loves all living with the heart of a brother; his soul rushes forth, in sympathy with gladness and sorrow, with goodness or grandeur, over all creation. Every gentle and generous affection, every thrill of mercy, every glow of nobleness, awakens in his bosom a response; nay, strikes his spirit into harmony.' It must ever be so. But when the first satirical papers of Thackeray were published the world had only seen one side of his humour. 'The Snob papers and burlesques, and the memoirs of Mr. Yellowplush, gave place in due time to a richer vein in more important works. The sparkling Champagne was followed, as it were, by the deep rich Burgundy. As Dickens was his superior in the faculty of invention, so was the former eclipsed by the greater depth of Thackeray's penetration. Truth to life distinguishes nearly all the characters of Dickens, those at least which belong to the lower classes; but this truth is the surface truth of caricature rather than of reality: Thackeray takes us below the surface; we travel through the dark scenes of the human comedy with him, he makes his notes and comments without flattery and with astounding realism, and when we part company from his side we wish human nature were somewhat nobler than it is. But his wit does not preclude him from being fair and just. He is ever scrupulously so, and to the erring kind and tender. It used to be said occasionally of his works as they appeared, 'Ah, there's the same old sneer'—so ready is the world to follow the course in which its attention is directed. Speaking of the maligners of Society, he says, 'You who have ever listened to village bells, or have walked to church as children on sunny Sabbath mornings; you who have ever seen the parson's wife tending the poor man's bedside; or the town clergyman threading the dirty stairs of noxious alleys upon his sacred business;—do not raise a shout when one of these falls away, or yell with the mob that howls after him.' Surely these are noble words to come from one whose intellectual current was set in the direction of contempt! With all his keen sense of the ridiculous and his scathing powers of invective, there is no one instance where for the sake of the brilliance of his satire he ever cast a slur upon truly philanthropic labour, or perilled his reputation for the worship of the pure and the good. If ever man's humour were useful to

instruct as well as to delight, it is that of Michael Angelo Titmarsh. When he laughs we know he will do it fairly—his eye wanders round all, and neither friend nor foe, if vulnerable, can keep out the arrows of his wit. His position, as a humourist, is certainly that of the equal of most of the wits of whom he has written, and one scarcely inferior to even Swift or Sterne.

A second quality that is observable in him is his fidelity. And to this we do not attach the restricted meaning that the persons of his novels are faithful to nature—though that they incontestably are—but the wide import of being true to the results of life as we see them daily. He does not allow the development of a story to destroy the unities of character, and in this respect he resembles the greatest of all writers. Take an example. At the close of 'The Newcomes,' instead of preserving alive the noble Colonel to witness the happiness of the family in its resuscitated fortunes, Thackeray causes him to die, and that in the humblest manner. With most novelists we could predict a very different ending, but one not so true as Thackeray has had the courage to adopt. Sorrow we may indulge that the death should thus occur, but we must acknowledge that it is more consonant with our daily experience than any other conclusion would have been, however pleasant as matter of fiction. The same thing is noticed in the character of Beatrice Esmond; we are first interested in her; then our faith is gradually shattered; and, finally, we are thoroughly disappointed by the catastrophe. The result is contrary to that which we expected; it is other than would have been given by most writers, but it is none the less true. Take the whole of his creations, let the test of fidelity be applied to each, and it will be found that the writers are very few indeed who have been so thoroughly able to disentangle themselves from the common method of adapting character to plot, or who have made their individualities so distinct, and kept them so to the end. To place him in comparison with other authors who are distinguished for their delineation of character as character—as witnessed at certain points or stages—is unfair both to him and to them. Conversations, with one, stamp individualities, and the test of their fidelity is the absence of contradiction in the outward forms of speech and action whenever the individuals are introduced: this was the life-painting of Dickens, for instance. With Thackeray the case is different. He does not depend so much on the conversational or descriptive recognition of character. He gives us more of their mind or heart than of their person. He does not

tell us what they look like, but what they are; and through all his novels they answer to the bent and the natural instincts we have been led to associate with them. It is this elevated form of fidelity that we would insist upon as pre-eminently to be noticed in Thackeray; and were it on this ground alone we should not hesitate to place him in the very first rank of novelists. In this essential particular, in truth, he has no rival. Others may excel him in various arts of fiction, but with this passport, even his superiors in minor detail will accord to him a perfect equality, if not a superiority, in the manifestation of the cardinal principle of novel-writing.

The subjectiveness of Thackeray is another quality which has greatly enhanced the value of his works. It is generally admitted that subjective writers have a more powerful influence over humanity than those of the class styled objective. It is natural, perhaps, that the external descriptions of circumstances or scenery should not move us nearly so much as the life-record of a breathing, suffering, rejoicing human being. Be his station what it may, we are interested in every individual of the species whose career is faithfully pictured. The author of 'Vanity Fair' is one of the few men who have been able to endue their characters with being and motion. When there were few writers who had either the courage or the gifts to be natural, Thackeray gave a new impetus to the world of fiction. So eminently subjective are his works, that those of his friends who knew him well are able to trace in them the successive stages of his personal career, and to show in what manner the incidents of his own life operated upon his novels. There are but few incidents in the whole series that were not drawn either from his personal history or the history of some one of his friends or acquaintances. This is, doubtless, one of the most influential causes of the reality of his stories. No stiff, formal record of events, dispassionately told, is to be witnessed. If the reader reads at all, he must perforce become interested in his work. There probably never were novels written in which there was so little exaggeration of colouring. His dear Harry Fielding has been his guide, but the author of 'Tom Jones' has been almost outstripped by his pupil. The latter has been able to throw away more effectually the folds of drapery in which character has generally been presented to us. In his model he was happy, for, previous to Thackeray, Fielding was the most subjective writer in the annals of fiction. One can understand the charm which those writings exercised over his successor, and the desire which he felt to construct his novels after the fashion of which he had become so greatly enamoured.

But the pupil has the greater claim to our regard in the fact that his work is such that not a line of it need be excised in public reading. He is Fielding purified. All the vivacity and the life-giving strokes which belonged to the pencil of the earlier master are reproduced in the younger, and the interest is also preserved intact. But with the later age has come the purer language, and Thackeray may be said to stand in precisely the same relation to the nineteenth century as Fielding stood to the eighteenth. The absence of exaggeration in Thackeray's drawing of character is very remarkable. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of his personages, there are not two which in any sense resemble each other. The faculty is very rare of being able to transfer the lineaments of common-place people in such a manner as that others will care to study them. Yet this is the result which Thackeray achieves, and without labour. Nothing transcendental, or that which is beyond human nature, is thrown in as a means of bribing the reader into closer acquaintanceship. As men passed Thackeray he observed them; as they interested him he drew them; but in doing so he felt that to add to the original would destroy the identity, and the consequence of his consummate art is that throughout the whole of his varied picture-gallery there is no portrait which bears the impress of falsity or distortion. To say the truth, and to describe what he saw before him, was always the novelist's own boast. There could be no nobler ambition for any writer, but there are few who have attained the perfect height of the standard.

Leading out of his subjectiveness, or rather being a broader and grander development of it, we come to the fourth great characteristic of Thackeray,—his humanity. That is the crown and glory of his work. And yet this man, who was sensitive almost beyond parallel, was charged with having no heart! Shallow critics, who gave a surface-reading to 'Vanity Fair,' imagined they had gauged the author, and in an off-hand manner described him as a man of no feeling—the cold simple cynic. It will be remembered that the same charge of having no heart was made against Macaulay; but its baselessness was discovered on his death, when it became known that 'the heartless' one had for years pursued a career of almost unexampled benevolence. So superficial are the judgments of the world! Against Thackeray the charge was doubly cruel; he was one of those men who are naturally full of sensibility to a degree. Those who understood him best know that it cost him an effort to subdue that part of his nature which hastened to sympathise with others. Selfishness was ~~as~~

foreign to him as insincerity. The man was true as the light of heaven to the generous instincts of his nature. To veil at times this side of his character was essential in order to give play to that satire which kills. If his mission was to exalt the good and the pure, it was also as decidedly his mission to abase the false. To do this he must necessarily appear severe. But who that reads him well can fail to perceive that the eye accustomed to blaze with scorn could also moisten with sympathy and affection? What man without heart could have written such passages as that episode in the 'Hoggarty Diamond'? Titmarsh is describing his journey to the Fleet Prison, accompanied by his wife:—

'There was a crowd of idlers round the door as I passed out of it, and had I been alone I should have been ashamed of seeing them; but, as it was, I was only thinking of my dear, dear wife, who was leaning trustfully on my arm, and smiling like heaven into my face—ay, and took heaven too into the Fleet Prison with me—or an angel out of heaven. Ah! I had loved her before, and happy it is to love when one is hopeful and young in the midst of smiles and sunshine; but be unhappy, and then see what it is to be loved by a good woman! I declare before heaven, that of all the joys and happy moments it has given me, that was the crowning one—that little ride, with my wife's cheek on my shoulder, down Holborn to the prison! Do you think I cared for the bailiff that sat opposite? No, by the Lord! I kissed her and hugged her—yes, and cried with her likewise. But before our ride was over her eyes dried up, and she stepped blushing and happy out of the coach at the prison-door, as if she were a princess going to the Queen's drawing-room.'

Or is there to be found in all fiction a scene more pathetic than the one describing the death of Colonel Newcome? To have written that alone would have deservedly made any name great. Though it is doubtless familiar to every reader, it will be impossible to illustrate fully the human tenderness of the author without quoting some portion of it here. The scene is at Grey Friars:—

'Ethel came in with a scared face to our pale group. "He is calling for you again, dear lady," she said, going up to Madame de Florac, who was still kneeling; "and just now he said he wanted Penderennis to take care of his boy. He will not know you." She hid her tears as she spoke. She went into the room where Clive was at the bed's foot; the old man within it talked on rapidly for a while; then again he would sigh and be still; once more I heard him say hurriedly: "Take care of him when I'm in India;" and then with a heart-rending voice he called out, "Léonore, Léonore!" She was kneeling by his side now. The patient's voice sank into faint murmurs; only a moan now and then announced that he was not

asleep. At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll, and Thomas Newcome's hands outside the bed feebly beat time. And just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face, and he lifted up his head a little, and quickly said, "Adsum!" and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called; and lo! he, whose heart was as that of a little child, had answered to his name and stood in the presence of The Master.'

The principal defect alleged against Thackeray is that he is a mannerist. But when it is considered that the same charge could be laid against every writer in the roll of literature with the exception of the few imperial intellects of the universe, it must be conceded that the charge is of little moment. All men, save the Homers, Shakspeares, and Goethes of the world, are mannerists. There is not a writer of eminence living at the present day who is not a mannerist. Tennyson, Browning, and Carlyle are all mannerists. It is impossible to quarrel with that which sets the stamp of individuality and originality on the literary productions of the intellect.

To assign Thackeray's ultimate position in literature is a difficult task, for nothing is less certain than the permanence of literary attractiveness and fame; but we think that his works will be read and as keenly enjoyed after the lapse of a century as they are now. Fielding has survived longer than that period, and weightier reasons for immortality than could be advanced in his case might be advanced in favour of Thackeray. If his works ceased to be read as pictures of society and delineations of character, they would still retain no inglorious place in English literature from the singular purity and beauty of their style. It is style even more than matter which embalms a literary reputation. To the faithfulness with which he spake the English tongue we believe future generations will testify. Whatsoever was good, honest, and true found in him a defender; whatsoever was base, unmanly, or false shrank abashed in his presence. A man with less pretence, less assumption, less sham never existed: he revolted from appearing that which he was not. His works were the reflex of the man, and like a shaft of light, which, while it pierces into the deepest recesses of dissimulation and vice, smiles benignantly upon those aspirations and feelings which are the noblest glory of humanity.

ART. V.—*The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. In two volumes. Vol. I. London: 1872.

THE time is evidently approaching for an honest and impartial consideration of the relations that have existed between England and Ireland for the long period of seven centuries. Party rancour and religious animosity have hitherto contrived to throw insurmountable difficulties in the way of such a task by falsifying the records of history; but the free access to our national archives now so wisely provided by the liberality of Government, together with the more tolerant spirit of the times, makes the work of successful misrepresentation almost impossible. There is nothing so painfully discouraging to the ingenuous student of Irish history as the one-sided vehemence with which the war of opinion, succeeding the war of conquest, has been carried into its chequered annals, rendering impartiality almost hopeless in the attempt of each party to enhance the guilt of its adversary, and to withhold the evidence of its own. How frequently atrocities, that might appear too monstrous in themselves to be either disguised or exaggerated, have been most dishonestly suppressed or wilfully misrepresented! In fact, the history of the past seems to have been always written on the principle of furnishing an incitement to fresh excesses instead of a warning against them. Happily, however, we have now reached a period of greater justice and humanity. England has not been afraid to make the most ample atonement in her power for past transgressions, and to repair the injuries inflicted by a long course of misgovernment. She has shown every indication of a desire to conciliate Ireland; she has been destroying, necessarily piecemeal, her ancient policy of coercion, and not a fragment of that penal code that once crushed millions now exists to keep alive the memory of past calamities. In her desire to bury in forgetfulness the exasperations of the past, she has even abstained from pleading the provocations by which her ancient severities might have been palliated, for it would have been easy to show that if Ireland has been the victim of English oppression, she has been far from a guiltless victim. This disposition on our part has been followed with almost un-deviating consistency for more than a generation, in the hope that if we could not reap an unbounded harvest of gratitude and confidence, we might at least obtain from the generosity of temper so often ascribed to Irishmen a frank and honest

recognition of our desire to do justice by the policy which now aims at equality of races and toleration of creeds.

The recent history of Ireland would seem, however, to show that it is almost too late for any repentance or reform on our part to win back her people; for, however purely wanton may be the wickedness of nursing an enmity for which there is no longer a plausible excuse, we are confronted at the present moment with the singular spectacle of almost a whole nation inventing new pretexts for keeping up the old hostility, trying to convince themselves that those who wronged them ages ago wrong them still, and demanding as the price of their allegiance or tranquillity concessions which are simply impossible, and which would only exasperate the evils under which they have suffered. We can make every allowance for the traces that centuries of misgovernment are apt to leave in the character of its victims as well as its authors, but we could hardly have expected that the animosities which once desolated an unhappy country should have struck such deep root in the soil long after their seed had ceased to be scattered over its surface, and after years of the most patient and painful effort for their eradication. The misfortune is that the animosities in question are purely unreasoning and undefined, and impossible to be reached, because they have no seat towards which our attacks can be directed, for England is simply regarded, without respect to any specific grievance, as an enemy with whom Ireland neither desires nor expects reconciliation.

It is not singular, therefore, that symptoms of a reaction should begin to appear in English society, that many Englishmen should turn away from Irish questions with angry weariness or contemptuous loathing, and that powerful and eloquent writers among us should begin to discuss the relations between England and Ireland in an entirely new spirit bitterly mortifying to Celtic pride. It is quite clear that the Irish people may hereafter expect to be criticised with far less consideration for their feelings than formerly, and their besetting sins handled with a freedom and severity to which they have never been accustomed; but they will only have themselves to blame if English writers of eminence should bring into prominence crimes and follies which many among us would have been inclined to bury in oblivion. It cannot be flattering to be reminded of their incurable divisions, their desolating feuds, their aimless turbulence, and their essential incapacity all through their history to make themselves an independent nation. Of course, it is quite another question how far the efforts of such writers may be at all beneficial, though we

should rejoice in their ability to break down the ascendancy which mischievous delusions have established over the minds of a susceptible people. It is quite impossible to calculate the extent or duration of the various misleading influences constantly at work in Celtic society.

The work of Mr. Froude upon the relations of England with Ireland is beyond all question the most eloquent book that has ever appeared on any portion of Irish history. It is not easy to put life into the dry bones of Celtic chronicle, or to impart interest to the prosaic weariness of the long story of our connexion with Ireland. But Mr. Froude has succeeded in producing a book which, bearing in every page the stamp of careful research, and attesting the literary skill and intellectual brilliancy of its author, must command universal attention. There is something extremely fascinating in the art with which he has presented the connected story of our relations with the sister-island, while he paints with such vigour of touch and truth of colouring the chivalry, gaiety, and fierceness which mark the Celtic character, lighting up in picturesque and vivid gleams the very image of ancient times. The touches that give such a reality never for a moment obscure the clearness of the record. The style of the work, which is fully equal to the best portions of his 'History of England,' is as much an element of his success as his thought. Readers are apt to be borne along unthinkingly by the powerful flow of a narrative, in which the language rises and falls, seemingly without effort, as if in necessary harmony with the changing theme. We cannot speak so decidedly for the judicial impartiality of the book. Indeed, we hardly expect to find in Mr. Froude the impartiality of Mr. Hallam, who abuses all parties with equal severity, or the impartiality of Sir James Mackintosh, who abuses nobody, for our latest English historian too often leaves the position of an umpire to become a disputant, and allows himself to be carried away by the passions of the ages he so vividly depicts. Yet we are free to confess that though at times his work displays some stronger trace of the advocate than the historian, it owes its existence to a sound and lofty patriotism, and to an honest and genuine regard for the Irish themselves.

The dominant principle that Mr. Froude carries into the consideration of our relations with Ireland for the last seven centuries, is what is known as the Imperial idea—that is, that a strong, bold, courageous race has a sort of natural right to invade the territory of weak, semi-civilised, distracted races, and undertake the task of governing them in the best way

possible, without any consideration for their rights or feelings. The conception is akin to the passion of the hour for men of blood and iron. We are taught that vigour and fortitude are to compensate always and in all circumstances for rapacity and faithlessness; that force of character must cover a multitude of sins; that the feeble are as bad as the false; and our admiration is claimed for the deeds of an Attila or a Tamerlane rather than for those of a Wilberforce or a Howard. This is the familiar philosophy of Mr. Carlyle, who glorifies force and justifies all its crimes. Mr. Froude is evidently one of his most ardent disciples, though we should be sorry to trace in his writings the deterioration of tone and sentiment so painfully obvious in the later writings of his master; the savage intolerance that has displaced the grim and not unkindly humour, and the cheerless uniformity of harshness and contempt that has established itself in the place of the old sympathies that relieved his sternest moods of indignation. We are hardly misrepresenting the relationship that exists between Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude, for it is not many years since the former likened Ireland to a rat and England to an elephant whose business 'it was to squelch the 'rat on occasion.' In his life of Frederic Wilhelm he tells us that just as when a man has filled the measure of his crimes, we 'hang him and finish him to general satisfaction,' so a nation like Poland, fallen into the depths of decay, must be disposed of by some similar process. The misfortune is, however, that though you can finish a man on the gallows, it is impossible to finish a nation in the same way. We shall presently trace the fruits of this teaching in the work of Mr. Froude. If we are to accept the historic guidance of either, we must submit to have evil turned into good at the bidding of genius, and the verdicts of history wantonly reversed, while the faculty of discerning the true from the false will be everywhere sensibly weakened. The doctrine of force is profoundly immoral, and opposed to every principle of English freedom, and to every generous impulse of sympathy with the oppressed.

We shall now proceed to examine the great leading principle which Mr. Froude attempts to establish in the opening chapter of his work. He strikes the keynote almost in his first sentence, contending that, in the case of nations as of individuals, there is no abstract or indefeasible right to freedom or independence:—

'A natural right to liberty, irrespective of the ability to defend it, exists in nations as much and no more than it exists in individuals. Had Nature meant us to live uncontrolled by any will but our own,

we should have been so constructed that the pleasures of one would not interfere with the pleasures of another, or that each of us would discharge by instinct those duties which the welfare of the community requires from all. In a world in which we are made to depend so largely for our well-being on the conduct of our neighbours, and yet are created infinitely unequal in ability and worthiness of character, *the superior part has a natural right to govern; the inferior has a natural right to be governed*; and a rude but adequate test of superiority and inferiority is provided in the relative strength of the different orders of human beings.' (Pp. 1, 2.)

We admit that individual right and national right are similarly conditioned in point of limitation. But, then, the right of each individual is limited by the corresponding right of every other individual, to whom he stands in any degree of social relationship. Therefore, no individual can exercise his own rights so as to trench upon, or injuriously affect, the rights of others. The solitary inhabitant of a wilderness may act as he pleases without any other restraint than that imposed by his own absolute will; but the moment he comes into the neighbourhood of other inhabitants of the same territory, each of whose rights is naturally as absolute as his own, the law of reciprocity is at once developed, namely, that no individual can have a right to damage or restrict any other individual's right, and a similar rule must exist in respect to any number of associated individuals relatively to each other. If this principle be incontestable in relation to individual rights, then it follows that the rights of neighbouring nations mutually control and limit each other to the destruction of our author's theory. Mr. Froude asserts that 'the superior part has a natural right to govern,' on the ground of men being 'created infinitely unequal in ability and worthiness of character.' But who is to be the judge of 'infinite' inequality? Has every man who deems himself superior in mental attainments or in moral character to his neighbour a right to subjugate him to his power or caprice? If no single individual either has, or can possibly have, any such right, then no number of individuals calling themselves a nation can possibly possess it in virtue of their mere aggregation unless a collection of cyphers can form a whole number from the mere fact of their being grouped together in a row. Mr. Froude asks, What constitutes a nation? and then proceeds to observe that 'the right of a people to self-government consists and can consist in nothing but their power to defend themselves.' What is this but to confound moral right with physical self-defence, and to represent them as one and the same thing differing only in name? But Mr. Froude fails to see that,

according to his own doctrine, which represents individual and national rights as identical, an individual, strong enough to overpower his neighbour and to deprive him of the power of self-government, acquires an *ipso facto* right of reducing him to slavery, solely in virtue of the weak wretch's inability to repel aggression. Thus Mr. Froude would justify every system of slave-holding known to history. The poet says:

‘Where'er a wrong exists a right is slain,’

but in this philosophy there can never be ‘a wrong’ in human society, so long as overpowering might exists on the side of the oppressor. The Middle Ages are sometimes described as barbarous, but still mediæval chivalry gloried in defending the weak against the strong, and in rescuing the distressed from the power of tyrants. But in the nineteenth century Mr. Froude carries us away back to those pre-historic ages when *ἀρετή*, *virtus*, was only another name for military valour, and propounds for our instruction and guidance the enormous dogma that ‘might constitutes right’—a tenet which he has himself characterised as expressing the morality of wild beasts and savages.

He imagines, however, that he is taking safer ground when he assumes that ‘the right to resist depends on the power of ‘resistance.’ But he is merely repeating the old ethical mistake of confounding moral right with physical power. It may not be wise, or prudent, or expedient to resist when defensive power is insufficient, but this misfortune can never affect the abstract question of right, which depends entirely on the fact whether a wrong has or has not been committed by the aggressor. Morality of this order, if generally accepted, would untie the hands of all the most ambitious and encroaching Powers of the world. France would have a right to absorb Belgium, Germany Holland, and Russia Turkey. The only check upon the aggrandising propensities of nations would be the dread of disturbing the balance of power, which makes outside nations interfere on the first encroachment which intimates the intention on the part of a great State to absorb or reduce to dependence a weaker neighbour. But Mr. Froude withdraws all the moral checks at present in existence.

There may be a case, however, in which a stronger Power is justified by the principle and duty of self-preservation in absorbing a weaker or in reducing it to subjection. If the territory of the weaker community should be so situated as to form a *point d'appui* for a hostile Power beyond its frontier, so as to threaten the independence of the stronger

Power, and if the inhabitants of the weaker country refuse to enter into friendly relations with the stronger to insure its safety from foreign invasion, a state of circumstances may arise which would justify the annexation of the weaker country as an imperative measure of defence. The maxim *Necessitas non habet legem* would certainly justify compulsory occupation, since nations, like individuals, are entitled to employ extreme measures for the protection of their national life, though in other circumstances these measures might be unjustifiable on the ground of general morality and international justice. Now this has been the relation of Ireland towards England ever since the sixteenth century, when the rupture between the English Crown and the Court of Rome took place; and, at the present day the possession of Ireland is indispensable to our Imperial existence. Even if we had not annexed Ireland to the English Crown long before the period of the Reformation, the events of the sixteenth century, preparing the way for desolating wars between the Catholic and Protestant Powers, must have compelled us to hold Ireland. Nations are slow to wait till their enemy attacks them with overwhelming power. If Ireland had been allowed to become French or Spanish, it would have involved the aggrandisement of our enemies to an extent that would have enabled them to impair our own security or to threaten our very national existence. We keep Ireland now under the same government with England for precisely the same reasons which made the Northern States of America coerce the Southern into reunion, and for the same reason that made England in past days seek a union with Scotland which for generations was the *point d'appui* from which the French threatened an invasion hostile to our liberties and our religion. This is the true and incontrovertible ground upon which the retention of Ireland as an integral and inseparable portion of the United Kingdom can be thoroughly justified. We have no need for the immoral and self-contradictory theories to which Mr. Froude has recourse, as if at the present day the common sense of mankind could ever receive the savage dogma that might constitutes right, and that aggression becomes sanctified in proportion to its crushing force.

Yet when Mr. Froude leaves his ethical discussions and proceeds to describe the actual course of the relations that existed for centuries between the two countries, we cannot but admire his rapid and comprehensive narrative, and especially his admirable portraiture of the Irish character. In his contrast between the conditions under which Scotland and Wales

became portions of the Empire, and those which marked the incorporation of Ireland, he does full justice to the bravery of the Irish and their splendid military services, not only to England's enemies abroad but to England herself. 'Yet,' he says—

'In their own country, in their efforts to shake off English supremacy, their patriotism has evaporated in words. No advantage of numbers has availed them; no sacred sense of hearth and home has stirred their nobler nature. An unappeasable discontent has been attended with the paralysis of manliness: and, with a few accidental exceptions, continually recurring insurrections have only issued in absolute and ever disgraceful defeat. Could Ireland have but fought as Scotland fought, she would have been mistress of her own destinies. In a successful struggle for freedom she would have developed qualities which would have made her worthy of possessing it. She would have been one more independent country added to the commonwealth of nations, and her history would have been another honourable and inspiring chapter among the brighter records of mankind. She might have stood alone; she might have united herself, had she so pleased, with England, on fair and equal conditions, or she might have preferred alliances with the Continental Powers. . . . Again, could Ireland, on discovering like the Welsh that she was too weak or too divided to encounter England in the field, have acquiesced, as the Welsh acquiesced, in the alternative of submission, there was not originally any one advantage which England possessed which she was not willing and eager to share with her. If England was to become a great Power, the annexation of Ireland was essential to her, if only to prevent the presence there of an enemy; but she had everything to lose by treating her as a conquered province, seizing her lands, and governing her by force; everything to gain by conciliating the Irish people, extending to them the protection of her own laws, the privileges of her own higher civilisation, and assimilating them on every side, so far as their temperament allowed, to her subjects at home. Yet Ireland would neither resist courageously, nor would she honourably submit.'

We commend this telling passage to the special attention of those Irish Nationalists who deem it the height of patriotism to keep Ireland still irreconcilable that she may be for ever a thorn in the side of England. The Netherlands threw off the yoke of Spain, Greece wrung its independence from Turkey, and Italy from Austria, but Ireland failed utterly in all her struggles for independence. According to Mr. Froude, she never fought but one good battle in all her history, and that was on the bloody but fatal field of Aughrim. He may well say that

A nation which at once will not defend its liberties in the field, nor yet allow itself to be governed, but struggles to preserve the independence which it wants the spirit to uphold in arms, by insubordination and anarchy and secret crime, may bewail its wrongs in wild and weeping

eloquence in the ears of mankind, may at length, in a time when the methods by which sterner ages repressed this kind of conduct are unpermitted, make itself so intolerable as to be cast off and bidden go upon its own bad way; but it will not go for its own benefit.'

We think that Mr. Froude has given a very fair and candid statement of all the various difficulties, so curiously complex in their character, that so long opposed the establishment of English civilisation in Ireland, while he has not failed to expose the harshness and cruelty often exercised by the conquerors. His picture of Irish society during the only period when the country was in full and ample possession of all the privileges of Home Rule, namely, towards the end of the fifteenth century, is really appalling. It was the time when 'the free right of every one to make war upon his neighbour at pleasure was the *'Magna Charta of Irish liberty;'* when 'strife and bloodshed were the sole business of life; and those of them took highest rank, and rose most to favour in song and legend, who had slaughtered most enemies, and burnt and harried the largest number of homesteads.' Mr. Froude has explained the failure of all the early schemes of English colonisation by the great assimilating power which belongs to the Irish race, for generation after generation of settlers was rapidly absorbed into Celtic families. He is equally just and sagacious in ascribing general failure to the vacillating policy of England.

'England tries coercion till impatience with the cost and a sense of the discredit produce a hope that coercion is no longer needed or a belief that it has been a mistake from the beginning. Conciliation follows, and compromise, and concession and apology. The strain is taken off, the anarchy revives, and again, with a monotonous uniformity, there is a fresh appeal to the sword.'

Thus, age after age, Ireland suffered at once from her comparative weakness and from her long separation from England, till in modern times a more wise and liberal policy determined that the weaker country should be no longer degraded or the stronger unjust.

We now approach the period of the Reformation when, unhappily for their respective interests, the two countries took different ways, the Irish, by immediate instinct, throwing themselves on the Roman side, though, as Mr. Froude informs them, 'their tendency in all England's quarrels to take the opposite side might have reminded them that it was England which first riveted the Roman yoke upon their neck.'* We

* It is *apropos* to the present subject to mention that Father Burke, a Dominican friar, took Mr. Froude lately to task in New York for

are now walking on ashes that ill conceal the fires below. The reign of Queen Elizabeth is the 'beginning of modern Irish history.' The question is presented for consideration at this point, whether liberal-minded Englishmen are wrong in the opinion they have expressed for more than a generation that religion became in Ireland henceforward a political watch-word, in whose name a government, which degraded while it trampled on human nature, perpetrated every outrage on ancient liberty and the rights of conscience. Mr. Froude holds very decided opinions upon this whole subject. Whatever view we may form of Elizabeth's policy towards Ireland, we must acknowledge the general fidelity of the fearful picture our author has drawn of the long-continued severities by which that policy was carried out.* Mr. Froude holds that

stating that Pope Adrian had authorised Henry II. to undertake the conquest of Ireland. He declared the story in his opinion to be 'from beginning to end a thumping English lie.' Mr. Froude replied, 'If the story is a thumping English lie, it must be a Norman lie, and that is a sad thing for a Burke to say, because there is no purer Norman blood anywhere than that of the Burkes of Ireland.' What can we think, however, of the character or modesty of the monk who can deny the genuineness of a Bull which has been recognised again and again by the popes themselves? Pope John XXII., in 1319, sent a copy of it to the King of England to remind him of the terms on which his predecessor had obtained possession of Ireland. The Bull is published by Baronius from a copy in the Vatican library. No Roman Catholic writer of any credit now denies its genuineness. Lynch, the author of '*Giraldus Cambrensis*,' who wrote in the seventeenth century, was the first to deny it; but his recent editor, the Rev. Matthew Kelly, a Maynooth Professor, admits that he was wrong. Its genuineness is also admitted by Lanigan, Malone, and many other Catholic writers.

* Attempts have been made by some writers in Irish newspapers to convict Mr. Froude of grossly misrepresenting historical facts relating to several periods of Irish history. We have examined most of the communications that have appeared on the subject, and we can honestly affirm that the charges, urged with such a reckless disregard for all the decencies of literary life, are in the main utterly groundless. Mr. Froude has made a few slips, but they do not affect the general spirit of the book. Even Father Burke, his American antagonist, has the honesty to say: 'He is one of the most learned men of our time, and I will add that he has brought to the study of Ireland a singular fearlessness and a true Anglo-Saxon candour.' It is utterly unworthy of Mr. John P. Prendergast to assail with such vehement abuse a gentleman who speaks of himself in terms of the highest respect, while he commends 'the impartiality and candour' of his work on '*The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*'—a work, of which, notwithstanding, Mr. Froude

the Catholics, by the necessity of their situation, made themselves liable to disabilities, for so long as the Pope claimed a right to absolve them from their allegiance, and they on their part refused to repudiate his pretensions, the Queen of England was entitled to regard them as no longer her loyal subjects. The problem presented to her was no doubt of a complicated character. To have left religion alone would have been equivalent to a declaration that there should be no Protestants in Ireland at all; it would have furnished an argument for indulgence to her Catholic subjects at home; while the Irish, from the nature of the case, would have been in league with all her enemies at home and abroad. The doctrine that no Catholic could without sin submit to a heretic sovereign, Mr. Froude tells us, was the root and foundation of all Ireland's woes, and made toleration impossible. The lines of the two creeds were identical with the lines of loyalty and disloyalty. 'Therefore,' to use Mr. Froude's words, when he is afterwards referring to the Penal Laws—

'The utmost stretch of toleration cannot reach to the endurance of a belief which makes rebellion a duty, and teaches temporal obedience to some other sovereign as an article of faith. No government need keep terms with such a creed when there is power to abolish it. To call the repression of opinions which had issued so many times in blood and revolt, by the name of religious persecution, is mere abuse of words; while, at that time, the best minds in England really believed that, besides its treasonable aspects, the Roman Catholic religion was intellectually degrading and spiritually poisonous.'

We have thus given, almost in his own words, a tolerably full and accurate summary of Mr. Froude's ideas generally approving of England's religious policy towards Ireland, and the question is now fairly submitted for consideration, whether they can plead any historical or moral justification, and whether they are likely to find acceptance in the free and tolerant atmosphere of the nineteenth century. The question is not whether Queen Elizabeth, or any other English sovereign, was

has the candour to say, 'that it left in his mind an impression precisely 'opposite to that of Mr. Prendergast himself.' Mr. Prendergast has not convicted Mr. Froude of historical misrepresentation on a single essential point. Mr. Froude takes considerable pains to tell the true story of the proposal made by the Irish Government in the last century to inflict a shameless mutilation upon the unregistered priests, with the view of brushing aside the mistakes and exaggerations of Plowden. Actually Mr. Prendergast devotes more than a column of a Dublin newspaper to show, not how Mr. Froude misrepresented the story, but how he might have misrepresented it!

justified in crushing rebellion, or in punishing murderers or traitors. There had been no less than three descents of the Spaniards upon Ireland during Elizabeth's reign, and she was not only perfectly justified in keeping 'the back-door of her kingdom'—as Ireland was then called—shut in the face of her enemies, but in quelling the constantly recurring revolts of her subjects with all needful severity. She was also fully justified in putting traitors and conspirators like Ballard or Babington to death in England, whether they had committed crimes or had only conspired to commit them. There was nothing of religious persecution in any of these acts, even though they might be proved to have had their origin in religion. The question is simply, was Queen Elizabeth justified in forcing Protestantism on the Irish people, and in proscribing their ancient religion by edicts of law? If so, we cannot see how Mr. Froude should condemn Philip II. of Spain for trying to crush the Reformation in the Low Countries, or the Inquisition for plying its dreadful severities in the interests of Romanism in all Catholic lands. We all execrate the tyranny of Spain, that would have crushed the spirit of freedom and the love of truth, but we are equally bound to condemn the religious persecutions of Elizabeth. What was wrong in Spain cannot be right in England. We are quite prepared to admit all that Mr. Froude has advanced to show the persecuting spirit of the Roman Catholic Church; and it is quite justifiable and proper on his part to remind Catholic writers who declaim against Elizabeth's severities and the iniquity of the penal laws that 'in Catholic countries the laws against Protestants were more severe than any code which either England or any other Protestant country has enforced against Catholics,' though, as he reminds them, with a touch of sarcasm, 'Catholic writers express neither regret nor astonishment at such persecutions, but reserve their outcries for occasions when they are themselves the victims of their own principles.' We are prepared further to avow that the severities of our forefathers ever since the Reformation might be fairly traced to the memory of Mary's persecutions, the St. Bartholomew massacre, the Irish massacre of 1641, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Spanish Inquisition, and that the Catholic clergy were specially obnoxious in all Protestant countries because they were regarded as the members of a vast confederacy leagued together for the desolation of the whole Protestant world. Mr. Froude might perhaps say that no æsthetic spirit of freedom, such as exists in modern society, could have maintained its ground against the dark perjuries and violence of the reactionary interest. We beg to

express our dissent from this theory, and to maintain, on every ground of justice and expediency, our belief in the doctrine of toleration. The Catholics have been intolerant and persecuting; but are we not to be better than they? Are we to follow their example in denying or palliating massacres and proscriptions? Of course, the principle that men are to be judged according to the sentiments of their own time has much to say in its favour. But there is a danger that it may be carried too far. We know how circumstances produce an almost boundless effect upon opinion, but there is something permanent in morality that circumstances cannot affect. Now it is not profitable or safe that the power of circumstances should be strengthened and the abiding element in morality should be depreciated or overlooked, so that the historian should suffer right and wrong to melt into each other, as if no real distinction could be maintained. No amount of statesmanship on the part of English sovereigns, or of courage and skill on the part of English generals, should be allowed to win forgiveness for cruel oppression, for either contempt for the rights or for utter callousness for the sufferings of others. Natural as it might be for a Protestant Government to hate that religion that threatened destruction to the liberties of Protestant kingdoms, the sufferings of Ireland during Elizabeth's reign are not to be excused or justified on any principles of justice or necessity.

Mr. Froude does not deny that Elizabeth proscribed the mass, though he says that in no Catholic country in the world had so much toleration been shown to Protestants as had been shown to Catholics in Ireland. The Act of Uniformity was the law of the land, but 'Elizabeth never attempted to enforce 'it beyond the Pale; and within the Pale, by the Catholics' 'confession, it slept after the few first years.' Now, according to Mr. Froude's principles, she ought to have killed every Irishman in the country who did not turn Protestant; and if she had succeeded, he would have pointed to her success as amply justifying the strong proceeding. But, according to his own account, the laws against the native religion were in practical abeyance; priests and friars inundated the country, the mass was everywhere celebrated, and yet the English power was not overthrown. The question then arises, If the laws in question had never been passed at all, would the result have been at all different? Could Elizabeth not have held Ireland without proscribing and persecuting its religion? Mr. Froude thinks that Elizabeth was justified in punishing those who held that rebellion was a duty commanded by the Pope; but it was

plainly persecution to punish them for a theory; for, what is it but to punish people because we infer from the nature of some doctrine which they hold, or from the conduct of other persons who hold similar doctrines, that they will commit a crime? If the crime be actually committed, let it be punished; but to punish for a theory that may lead to crime is religious persecution, else no such thing has ever been heard of in the world.

It is not necessary to discuss the question as to whether persecution ever succeeds. Speaking of one of the penal laws, Mr. Froude says, 'the Act succeeded in England, and has therefore been little heard of;' but 'its companion Act failed in Ireland, and has therefore been held up as an example of 'the folly and ineffectuality of religious persecution.' Much, perhaps, might be said on both sides. The Roman Catholics often say that to do its work persecution must be thorough. They usually point to France as the most complete example of successful, because thorough, persecution; for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, did undoubtedly turn back France from following the example of Germany and England, and extinguished the power of the Protestant party in France. It may be also said that persecution succeeded in Spain and Italy; and Mr. Froude refers to England and Scotland as further instances in point. It should be remembered, however, that the repressive laws in all these countries were backed by the sympathy of masses of the people. There was marvellously little persecution in Great Britain at all for the repression of Romanism, for other influences, such as the power of nascent Puritanism, with all its spiritual appliances, were at work to decide its Protestant character, and the national spirit did more to crush the Catholics and establish the Church of England than any peculiar view of theological tenets. But in Ireland there was no native movement in the bosom of Romanism, and no Puritanic fire in the heart of the imported Anglicanism to support the action of the Government.

Happily, the world is now too wise, after the long darkness of human errors, to return to the old principles of proscription and intolerance. The liberal policy of England, by permitting sects to divide and multiply at pleasure, is the only secret to disarm bigotry and break the power of fanaticism, without weakening the influence of religion. We could not now think of persecuting Catholics, even though the authorities of their Church have never recanted the principles of intolerance.

Even English Catholics have not been ashamed to avow them.* But the Catholic Church has utterly lost the power to bring heretics into danger. All the political agencies on which the Church of Rome depended are wrested from her grasp, and she finds herself in danger of being reduced to a mere spiritual influence. 'A new era,' says Dr. Manning, 'now opens, in which the Church is to be borne to power by the democracy.' Ultramontanism may certainly still work mischief in Europe, but it will hardly ever again renew the old annals of bloody intolerance. Still, it is a matter of just surprise that, with the knowledge that an appeal to force is no longer possible, the Catholic Church should not try to convince the world that she never held the doctrines of intolerance, and proclaim herself, what Montalembert in his moments of enthusiasm held her to be, the very citadel of toleration and freedom. The time was when Catholic laymen thought it necessary to excuse the old persecutions, as Dr. Lingard excused those of Mary, and when liberal Protestants were generally disposed to believe that the Church of Rome had improved more than she chose to avow; but Ultramontanism seems now to regard all such concessions as a criminal weakness, and, with the Syllabus as the code of modern Papalism, there is reason to fear that intolerance is still regarded as a dormant right which slumbers with the weakness and awakens with the power of Rome. If this be so, the reaction is already seen in the published works of a historian so distinguished as Mr Froude.

We are greatly indebted to our author for his powerful and graphic description of the appalling massacre of 1641, which was a desperate effort on the part of the native race to root out the English name and the Protestant religion from Ireland. We are doubly grateful to Mr. Froude for referring us to the indisputable evidence on which the story rests—no less than forty volumes of sworn depositions lying in Trinity College, Dublin—not to speak of the contemporary narratives of credible and competent eye-witnesses; for Catholic historians like Lingard ignore the massacre altogether, as if such a thing

* Some years ago, Dr. Manning edited a volume of *Essays*, in one of which Mr. Edward Lucas condemns Count de Montalembert's ideas of liberty of conscience, and says:—'A denial of modern notions respecting freedom of conscience, coercion on behalf of religion, and 'peculiar privilege, as it is called, are right Christian principles.' It is hardly needless to remind our readers how the 'Paris Univers' in 1851 commended executions for heresy and sanguinary wars against its professors.

had never occurred, and others, like Dr. Curry, give us for history—to use the words of Mr. Hallam—‘a tissue of misrepresentation and disingenuousness.’ It is a very unpleasant fact that, wherever the credit or interests of their Church are concerned, there is a most active temptation on the part of such writers to unfaithful statements and unfair conclusions, and where the judgment of history cannot well be controverted, it is quietly set aside. Sometimes, great efforts have been made to destroy the records of such crimes. Bishop Bonner burned the evidence of the Commission that inquired into the state of the English monasteries; and equally good care was taken to destroy the records of the St. Bartholomew massacre in most of the State-paper collections of Europe, when it became necessary to explain away what had once been defiantly acknowledged and defended. Happily, our records are intact. The same ideas that prompted the massacre of 1641 may prompt the lie that disowns it. But it is altogether in vain to ignore the evidence of an event which was annually commemorated for a century afterwards by the Irish Protestants. Mr. Froude, as he begins his thrilling narrative, may well ask, ‘When will the Irish Catholics, when will the Roman Catholics, learn that wounds will never heal that are skinned with lying?’ Let us hurry past this frightful transaction with a single extract:—

‘In a fortnight, with the exception of the few places mentioned as having escaped, every town, village, fort, or private house belonging to a Protestant in the six counties and in Down and Monaghan was in the hands of the insurgents, while the roads were covered with bands of miserable fugitives dragging themselves either towards Dublin, or Derry, or Carrickfergus, pursued and harassed as they went by bands of wretches, who were hunting them like starved jackals. Murder, when the spirit of it has gone abroad, becomes a passion, and man grows more ferocious than a beast of prey. Savage creatures of both sexes, yelping in chorus, and brandishing their skenes; boys practising their young hands in stabbing and torturing the English children—these were the scenes which were witnessed daily through all parts of Ulster. The fury extended even to the farm-stock, and sheep and oxen were slaughtered, not for food, but in blindness of rage. The distinction between Scots and English soon vanished. Religion was made the new dividing line, and the one crime was to be a Protestant. The escorts proved in most cases but gangs of assassins. In the wildest of remembered winters the shivering fugitives were goaded along the highways stark naked and foodless. If some, happier than the rest, found a few rags to throw about them, they were torn instantly away. If others, in natural modesty, twisted straw ropes round their waists, the straw was set on fire. When the tired little ones dropped behind, the escort lashed the parents forward, and the children were left to die. . . . Some were driven into rivers and drowned, some hanged, some

mutilated, some ripped with knives. The priests told the people that "the Protestants were worse than dogs, they were devils and served the devil, and the killing of them was a meritorious act." . . . Two cowboys boasted of having murdered thirty women and children, and a lad was heard swearing that his arm was so tired killing that he could scarce lift his hand above his head.'

The numbers slaughtered were at first greatly exaggerated, because—as Mr. Froude remarks—'the Catholics in their first triumph were as eager to make the most of their success as the Protestants to magnify their calamity.' The priests returned the number killed in their parishes as 154,000, but Sir William Petty reduces the number to 37,000, which is, perhaps, still too high a figure. The blood spilt in this fearful massacre was not washed out till Ireland had lost nearly six hundred thousand lives. When Mr. Froude comes to describe the storming of Drogheda, eight years after, he sees in it, like his master, Mr. Carlyle, a fearful spectacle of retributive justice. The slaughter of the garrison can never be justified, and over it no sophistry or hero-idolatry can ever throw a veil, but we can sympathise with the spirit of the remark that 'history, ever eloquent in favour of the losing cause—history, which has permitted the massacre of 1641 to be forgotten, or palliated, or denied—has held up the storming of Drogheda to eternal execration.' The true spirit of Mr. Carlyle speaks out in the sentence: 'Happier far would it have been for Ireland, if forty years later there had been a second Cromwell before Limerick.' Here is no 'rose-water surgery.' Certain it is that the horrible events of 1641 and the following years, while the forces of England were employed in a different struggle, were regarded by the men of that generation as a sufficient justification of the reaction that followed ten years later.

We have now reached a point at which we are obliged to consider the causes that account for our failure to identify Ireland in interest and affection with ourselves. Mr. Froude has summed up, at the close of his first book, certain principles which, if acted on at the close of the civil war, would in his opinion have put an end to the degradation, disunion, and discontent of the country. We cannot, however, approve the policy that would sanction 'a complete subjugation of the native faction untrammelled by articles of capitulation,' or the 'resolute exclusion of a Catholic hierarchy, and stringent laws, stringently enforced, against the introduction of priests from abroad'—for it would have been as unjust as it would have been impossible of execution; but we can heartily sup-

port the opinion that if the following measures, together with Catholic emancipation, had been adopted and worked into the governing system of the country, the wrongs of Ireland would long ago have become a thing of almost forgotten history :—

‘Entire toleration of all Protestant communities and an effective system of national education; sharp penalties against absentees; a legislative union of England and Ireland; the abolition of the Irish Parliament, the separate government and the separate bars; and a complete naturalisation of all classes of Irish as English citizens.’

But, unhappily for her own peace, England refused the union which Ireland sought, destroyed her manufactures, ruined her trade by the most intolerable restrictions, incurred the odium of the penal laws, and demoralised the people by a system of misgovernment, which worked Protestant and Catholic alike into a state of common exasperation and eventually of common revolt.

Mr. Froude occupies a large portion of this volume in showing that the responsibility of the failure of England to convert or conciliate Ireland rests with Irish Anglicanism. There has been nothing ever written that sets the sins of the old Episcopal Establishment with such terrible distinctness before our eyes. If we are to credit our author, the Anglican Church was not only for ages a religious nullity, destitute of all reforming activity, but pursued a course that made the conversion of Irish Catholics impossible. His hatred of one Church is only to be surpassed by his hatred of another; and to both he is in the main unjust. He makes too little allowance for the difficulties of the work, for he must remember that Romanism was not in Ireland, as in England, an alien and antagonistic power, the threatening shadow of a concealed enemy, but warmly identified with all the traditions of its national history; that Ireland had no dawning life of literary culture, like the nations that received the Reformation; that it was no civilised or orderly community, but sunk in the most deplorable barbarism; and that there was no Celtic Luther to come forth out of the bosom of Irish Catholicism to meet the imported Protestantism of England. Yet it must be fairly confessed that no wise or liberal measures were ever taken to recommend the Reformation to the people, even though it must necessarily have been distasteful for a time, as the religion of those strangers who fought in mortal strife for their inheritances. Mr. Froude draws a curious picture of bishops, six years out of their dioceses, and delegating their authority to women, of clergymen holding nine cures without any thought of pastoral responsibility, and of other clergymen of immoral lives; and, some-

what sarcastically, remarks in answer to the suggestion that these were exceptional cases:—‘Such exceptions should have ‘ceased to be possible before the prelates of the Church took ‘on themselves to punish others for doing work which their ‘own officials could leave undone; work, it may be said, which ‘it was impossible in the nature of things that they could ever ‘discharge effectually.’ While in 1728 there were as many as 3,000 Catholic priests in Ireland—about the same number as at present, with a population four times larger—there were only 600 clergymen of the Church of Ireland, with incumbencies so poor that eight, nine, sometimes twelve or thirteen cures of souls, hardly sufficed to make up an income of 100*l.* a year. And this, as Mr. Froude says—

‘When the hierarchy were zealous for their own privileges, clamorous against Dissenters, in possession of all the wealth of the ancient sees, so rich that when they went to England they required separate vessels to carry their horses and servants to Holyhead, with sufficient influence over their peers and leading gentry to perpetuate the disabilities of the Presbyterians and drive them by swarms into exile.’

The great crime of Anglicanism was, in fact, its persistent policy of dividing the Protestant interest by persecuting the Presbyterians, who were then more than half of all the Protestants of Ireland, and, in Mr. Froude’s opinion, ‘incomparably the most earnest in their Protestantism.’ He says: ‘The only Protestants who could make any impression on the ‘Catholic peasantry were the Presbyterians, and it was in them ‘the strength of Irish Protestantism lay.’ Mr. Froude seems to think that Anglicanism was at best but ill-fitted to grapple with Romanism, especially as, after the time of Laud, it assumed more and more of that Anglo-Catholic form, which, as it intensifies and widens, usually recedes more and more from the principles of the English Reformation. ‘The more ‘robust forms of Protestantism furnish no converts to Popery.’ The Presbyterians certainly never mingled with the native races, or yielded to that enormous assimilating power which Mr. Froude attributes to the Celts, so as to adopt their manners or usages or religion. And they created the prosperity of Ulster, which itself created the wealth of the very Church that proscribed them. They held at the Revolution the advanced garrison of English power, and saved England half the labour of reconquest by their share in the defence of Derry; and yet, when efforts were made after the revolution to secure for the Presbyterians religious equality, ‘it was not only ‘opposed, but opposed with a bitterness of animosity which ‘only the remembrance that the parties to it were ecclesiastics,

'or under ecclesiastical influence, enables us even faintly to 'understand.' The story that Mr. Froude tells us is almost incredible. The Huguenot or the Palatine refugee might enjoy the liberty of authorised worship, but Presbyterian assemblies were without the protection of the law, and Presbyterian ministers were liable to arrest and imprisonment for holding meetings. In some places Presbyterians were compelled to serve as churchwardens, and to take certain official oaths contrary to their conscientious convictions—a grievance all the more intolerable that the Roman Catholics were exempt from it. They could not teach an ordinary school, or hold a commission in the army, or a municipal office. They were forbidden to be married by their own ministers, and they were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts as guilty of fornication because they were so married.* Now, to exclude Presbyterians from the public service at a time when the succession to the English throne was challenged and insurrections were taking place in Scotland in the interest of the Pretender, was as politic as to cut off one's right arm before entering into conflict. But the impolicy of these proceedings had a yet wider scope; for we hesitate not to say, with Mr. Froude, that it was owing to the infatuated conduct of the Government and the bishops (most of whom were Jacobites) that Ireland was so long a disorganised and distracted community. The bishops were allowed systematically to crush or repress the only healthful influence in the country, 'the only living and vigorous power 'in antagonism to Popery,' and thus to weaken Protestantism in the presence of its most formidable enemy. The bishops drove the Presbyterians to America. Mr. Froude asserts that after the Irish Parliament declined in 1719 to repeal the disabilities of the Dissenters,

'The Protestant emigration recommenced which robbed Ireland of the bravest defenders of English interests, and peopled the American

* A century later—as if to show the spirit of Anglican ascendancy—a law of the dark ages, dead for centuries, was portentously revived, and virtually, if not ostensibly, on the ground that marriage is a sacrament, and that a sacrament can be administered only by a 'mass-priest,' it was authoritatively declared to be the law of England that there are no clergymen in the country but those possessed of episcopal ordination. This was in 1840. A great agitation arose, and was only allayed by the Dissenters' Marriage Act of 1844, which demolished the coign of vantage behind which the revived superstition found its first constitutional shelter. Yet, be it never forgotten, it was one Irish bishop who originated the controversy, and another Irish bishop, the Primate of Ireland, who sustained the expense incurred in bringing it to an issue.

seaboard with fresh flights of Puritans. Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade. Many more were driven away by the first passing of the Test Act. The stream had slackened in the hope that the law would be altered. When the prospect was finally closed, men of energy and spirit refused to remain in a country where they were held unfit to hold the rights of citizens; and thenceforward, till the spell of tyranny was broken in 1782, annual shiploads of families poured themselves out from Belfast and Londonderry. The resentment which they carried with them continued to burn in their new homes; and in the War of Independence England had no fiercer enemies than the grandsons and great-grandsons of the Presbyterians who had held Ulster against Tyrconnell.

Mr. Bancroft relates that the first voice raised in America for dissolving all connexion with England was not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The most wonderful thing of all was the desperate hatred of Presbyterians displayed by such patriotic churchmen as Swift and Berkeley; and the jealousy entertained by churchmen like King, who feared that Irish Protestantism would become wholly Presbyterian—a jealousy which, as Mr. Froude remarks, divided those who, united, might have prevented the second civil war, and might have made unnecessary the second series of confiscation; and the spent force of which has been shown in our own days in the disestablishment of Irish Protestantism, which, had it taken Presbyterianism within its limits, might have defied the malice of its enemies for another century.

Unhappily, the Irish Church lost its opportunity. A recovered nation might have been the prize of a faithful Church, thinking more of its duty than its dignity, and aiming, above all things, at closing the gulf that so long separated her from the Catholic people. Now she stands face to face with a system that seems to have a vigorous and immovable hold upon the nation, and though she is now in a position to use all the flexible and unfettered energies of Dissent, she will find it hard to keep her ground or cope with the untiring zeal and transcendent energy of the Catholic clergy. Let us hope that her Christianity will become more influential and pervasive now that it is divorced from politics and statesmanship.

Mr. Froude has not given much prominence to the great mistake of policy committed by the English Government in withholding education from the Irish people. It is true that, nominally, the Anglican clergy were charged with the work of education, but the Government made no adequate provision

for the purpose, and bishops like Bramhall were opposed to the education of the Irish on the ground that they were 'a barbarous, degraded people, unworthy and incapable of civilisation.'* But the love of learning is a real motive power in Ireland, and, in spite of tremendous difficulties, the priests and monks did supply the people with some kind of instruction. The English Government, however, committed the unpardonable mistake of abolishing all the monastic grammar-schools and all the Catholic primary schools, without supplying any schools of its own to minister to the intellectual wants of the people. The result was that colleges were established abroad for the education of the priests and the Catholic gentry, and the primary education was almost wholly neglected. Mr. Froude has not sufficiently dwelt upon the impolicy of English statesmanship in this matter; for though intended to make the Catholic Church powerless in Ireland, the penal statutes against home education had only the effect of throwing the laity more completely into the hands of the clergy, who thus became the sole authority over three-fourths of the country, and thereby naturally tended to become dominant in its civil and political affairs. A university at home would have liberalised the minds of laymen and clergymen, and tended to place them on an intellectual equality, but the effect of English policy was to lower and displace the lay element and relatively augment the ecclesiastical power in the social system of Ireland. Thus the various penal policies, through a misapprehension of their nature and force, led to results exactly contradictory of those intended. It has been said that the Jesuits, by their promotion of education, actually helped on that very movement of the European mind which their whole system was an organised conspiracy to repress. And if the English Government had allowed the Catholic Church to provide an education on its own terms at a time when the Anglican Church could not or would not undertake the responsible task, the history of Ireland might have been very different at the present hour. For the ignorance of a people is not the best security for its virtue or repose. It is the ignorant and unthinking that are always the tools of designing ecclesiastics or demagogues; and if the English feared that education might have made the Irish dangerous, by enabling them to act in concert, we should like to know of any concert so perfect as that which skilful and daring leaders

* Reid's 'History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,' vol. i. p. 176.

establish by their influence over multitudes incapable of thinking for themselves.

No part of Mr. Froude's work is more painfully instructive than that which records, with honest impartiality, the intolerable restrictions which the ignorant jealousy of the English Parliament imposed upon Irish trade and manufactures. Industry after industry was strangled in its birth or so shackled as to die eventually of inanition. It will be well for Englishmen to understand all the political and religious bearings of this policy in the relations between the two countries. At the Restoration the only direct trade that Ireland was allowed to retain was with France, Spain, and Portugal, as if, says Mr. Froude, England wished to force her, in spite of herself, to feel the Catholic countries to be her best friends. But it was only the beginning of a policy which for ever blighted the hope of Ireland becoming a prosperous Protestant country. Twenty thousand Protestants, as we have seen, left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade, and the continuance of the impolitic restrictions kept away from the country those swarms of Protestant artisans whom Catholic persecutions were driving out of France. Mr. Froude may well say that the short-sighted selfishness of England placed an all but insurmountable barrier in the way of Ireland becoming a Protestant country, for 'with an Ireland united to England and restored to trade and industry, the Catholics would have sunk before the superior vitality of their vigorous and thriving rivals.' Our statute-book affords many choice specimens of legislative folly and of officious and ruinous interference with the industry of nations, but the impolicy of restrictions on Irish trade, many of which were only removed about a generation ago, is quite unrivalled. We have all now, however, learned wisdom by grave experience, except the Home Rulers, who are Protectionists to a man, and who have not been afraid to hint that the success of their experiment would be followed by a revival of all the artificial expedients and exploded fallacies of a restrictive system.

The exceedingly graphic and interesting chapter which Mr. Froude gives us on Irish smuggling, furnishes us with a very vivid idea of the social demoralisation wrought by these restrictive laws among all classes of the people at whose expense they were devised. A contraband trade sprang up all round the coast; four-fifths of the Irish fleeces were carried annually to France; and English clothiers found at length, to their cost, that they could be undersold by the French. Smuggling is not one of those crimes that Irish human nature has ever regarded with an instinctive abhorrence. To discern its

criminality requires some knowledge of the relations of civil society, a clear perception of the injury done to the fair trader, the necessity of enforcing the duties which supply the public revenue, and the demoralisation which necessarily results from an illicit traffic. But the destruction of the woollen trade by English jealousy was an event that at once exalted every evasion of an iniquitous law into a virtue. Persons of all ranks in society, including even magistrates and judges, were identified more or less directly with the illicit traffic, so that Mr. Froude might well say 'the very industry of the country was organised upon a system which made it a school of anarchy.' A large portion of the peasantry were trained to live in a state of open and habitual contempt of the laws, and to brave their utmost vengeance, while profligate and disorderly habits, and the destruction of regular industry, kept pace with the expanding growth of the forbidden trade. Smuggling, moreover, promoted a close and pernicious connexion between Ireland and France, providing shelter in after times for French privateers, inundating the country with cheap wine and brandy, and opening a convenient way for the passage of priests and soldiers in the interest of the Pretender. The romantic stories of Morty Sullivan and his Irish clipper, of Daniel Mahony's human 'fairies,' of Sylvester O'Sullivan, schoolmaster and informer, and the bullion-robbery of Ballyhige, told by Mr. Froude with inimitable skill and graphic power, are all illustrative of the natural effects of cruel and impolitic legislation. Laws are quite useless in such circumstances to repress smuggling.

We have not yet seen, however, the worst effects of the destruction of Irish trade and manufactures. The people were thrown back upon the land as their sole resource. But the Irish landlords found it their interest to stock mountain and meadow with cattle and sheep, for they were fully alive to the profits of wool-smuggling and the still existing trade in salt meat and butter. The peasantry, however, wanted to till the lands. The landlords bound them by leases and covenants not to plough or break up the soil; and it was not till a dreadful famine had swept away thousands of the peasantry that Parliament at length consented to allow five acres out of every hundred to be devoted to tillage. The concession was very meagre; but the peasantry began by-and-bye to take the law into their own hands. Mr. Froude gives us a chapter on the cattle-houghers, who succeeded in driving the stock-breeders out of Connaught, but who, merging afterwards in the Whiteboys, became a very formidable organisation, spreading over the

four provinces, resolved that if they could not recover the land for tillage, they would make it a barren possession to its owners. We find here as yet no notice of the tithe insurrections—perhaps Mr. Froude reserves it for his second volume—but the condition of the peasantry was made still worse by the habit of exacting tithe exclusively from tillage-lands, and not from grass-lands. Thus, the rich Protestant grazier paid no tithe at all, though the clergy made a powerful effort to wrest it from him, and the poor Roman Catholic occupier of three or four acres was compelled to pay it. The protracted and disgraceful outrages of the Whiteboys and other bands, which in succession desolated Ireland, had their origin, for the most part, in the exaction of tithes. The country was convulsed by the attempt to crush these outrages; laws of the most unheard-of severity were passed; but as no attempt was made for three generations to deal with the causes out of which they sprang, this severity only gave them a darker shade of atrocity.

It is an interesting fact that one of the first measures passed by the Irish Parliament of the Volunteers was a patriotic but ill-contrived effort to open the lands of Ireland to universal cultivation. It was deemed wise, by holding out factitious encouragements, to make amends for the partial and unjust restrictions by which England had fettered the industry of the country. The results of the experiment were ultimately most prejudicial. For, in imitation of English policy, very high bounties were granted on the exportation of corn and other raw produce. This led to an extraordinary extension of tillage, and the poverty of the peasantry incapacitating them from taking large farms, the landlords were obliged to divide their estates into very small portions. Thus, the measure led naturally to the enormous and rapid multiplication of the agricultural population of Ireland, till, before the famine, a quarter of a century ago, it actually rose so high as eight millions. Thus, increased husbandry brought no blessing, and increased population only marked the progress of misery.

It is a weary task to recite the story of the oligarchical faction which ruled Ireland in the eighteenth century. It came into power when the Catholic party, by its support of the House of Stuart, had excited against it the fears and hatreds of the friends of liberty, and it kept that power by fostering distrust and animosity after those causes had disappeared. There never was a faction so richly endowed with all the qualities that could insure to its possessors the hatred of a nation, for it always paraded its contempt for the

dearest interests of the country, and seemed to take a pleasure in letting the Irish feel of how little weight in its deliberations was the consideration of their happiness. Notwithstanding his defect of sympathy for the Celt, Mr. Froude has exposed with great severity the chief errors of the English administration during the last century. To promote the prosperity of Ireland was not its idea of duty, for the poorer the country could be kept, the less was the likelihood of its being troublesome:—

‘England governed Ireland for what she deemed her own interest, making her calculation on the gross balance of her trade ledgers, and leaving her moral obligations to accumulate, as if right and wrong had been blotted out of the statute-book of the universe.’

‘The spirit of the seventeenth century was dead. Protestantism had spent its force, or survived only among the Presbyterians, whose bitterness over their prolonged disabilities was stronger than their loyalty. Public spirit, pride in the glorious empire of which they were permitted to be a part, had no longer an existence in the minds of the Irish colonists; or, if they recognised that they possessed a country, it was to thank God they had a country to sell.’

Meanwhile, the political degradation wrought by the penal laws lowered the moral dignity of the people. Moral restraints had little influence in a country so circumstanced, for the masses of the people eagerly grasped at any immediate gratification within their reach, and, reckless of consequences, plunged into every excess. This was the period that was so distinguished by the ferocity of Irish duels, by the hereditary feuds of the native people, by abductions, gambling, hard drinking, Rapparees, and Tories. Mr. Froude supplies us with a most picturesque account of the various phases of Irish society during this exciting period. The readers of Irish novels will remember the amusing accounts of abductions which we were always taught to regard as the most romantic episodes in Celtic life. Mr. Froude, however, puts these atrocious and disgusting crimes in a very different light:—

‘Another set of young gentlemen of the Catholic persuasion were in the habit of recovering equivalents for the lands of which they considered themselves to have been robbed, and of recovering souls at the same time to Holy Church, by carrying off young Protestant girls of fortune to the mountains, ravishing them with the most exquisite brutality, and then compelling them to go through a form of marriage, which a priest was always in attendance, ready to celebrate. The High Church party in the English and Irish Governments could not bring themselves to treat a sacrament as invalid however irregularly performed, and the unfortunate victims were thus driven, in the majority of instances, to make the best of their situation, and accept the fate from which there was no legal escape. In vain Parliament passed bill

upon bill making abduction felony, and threatening penalties of the harshest kind against the officiating ecclesiastics. So long as the marriages themselves were regarded as binding, the families injured preferred to cover their disgrace, and refused to prosecute. The heroes of these performances were often highly connected. Political influence was brought to bear for them, and when convicted, which was extremely seldom, the Crown pardoned them. The priests, secure in the protection of the people, laughed at penalties which existed only on paper, and encouraged practices which brought converts to the Faith, and put money in their own pockets.'

What a picture has he drawn, from unimpeachable contemporary records, of the brutal ferocity, the utter disregard of human and divine laws, and the selfish perfidy which cankered at that period almost every class of Irish society! 'Irish ideas' certainly prevailed; but they made the country a hell upon earth. Mr. Froude laments the almost complete paralysis of authority that prevailed over the whole country, and says the medicine Ireland needed at this time was not concession, but 'the forgotten hand of Cromwell.' We can hardly think so. The hostile legislation of England had to a large degree impoverished and demoralised the country. The better plan would have been to dry up the springs of Irish evil by just legislation. Measures of harshness and severity may have been rendered temporarily necessary by the irregular habits of the people, but they have too often proceeded from the impatience of rulers, resorting to coercion as the shortest method, and attempting to do at once, and by violence, a work of improvement which time and legislation alone can effect, and a general well-directed change in national sentiments and habits.

Mr. Froude furnishes us with an interesting account of the rise of that patriotic movement, which subsequently reached its culmination in 1782. It was altogether a Protestant, and not a Catholic movement. The merchants, squires, and professional men—the very classes on whom Protestant ascendancy depended—had become impatient of the restrictive system, which left Ireland the least-favoured nation of the earth, even for their English trade; and this struggle for free-trade and independence, the benefits of which they reserved for themselves, made them feel the importance of conciliating the Catholics. What was at first policy afterwards became liberality. As our author well puts it:—'So long as the Protestantism of the 'Irish patriot lasted as a real principle, he endured the injuries of his country as a lighter evil than compromise with his old enemy. As the century waned away, community of injury created a sympathy of resentment.' Thus again the English

Government made it impossible that Ireland should become a Protestant country. But a new system of government was now introduced for the purpose of thwarting or extinguishing the patriotic movement. It was to corrupt where Ministers could not defy, and to demoralise the political intelligence of the nation by means of the Pension List. The effect was to create the trade of political agitation as the surest avenue to advancement and wealth, for it was only too common—as Mr. Froude tells us—for agitators to create a party in the country by denunciation of the hereditary oppressor, and then, having become dangerous, to betray the wretches who trusted in them, and to sell their services for title or promotion, or, grosser still, for bribes or sinecures. It is exactly at this point that Mr. Froude leaves us, at the close of his first volume, where he describes the anxiety of the Irish Commons to unearth the guilty secrets of the Pension List. The curtain drops on the year 1749.

In drawing these observations to a close, we hesitate not to repeat what we have often said, that Irish misery and discontent have been mainly owing to the long delay of the Union, which would have made Ireland and Great Britain a homogeneous nation, and rendered the penal laws unnecessary and impossible. If there had been no sea between the two countries, there would never have been an Irish difficulty at all; but, even with some leagues of water still between us, if the Union with Ireland had been carried at the time of the Union with Scotland—the Catholics being at that period in no position to resist, and the Protestants warmly resenting their exclusion from the Parliament at Westminster—the story of the old confiscations and wars would have been an almost forgotten tradition. Ireland would thus have been spared the bitter experiences of the eighteenth century, and her people would not have been left helpless in the hands of the great proprietors who divided all the patronage of the country among them, and intercepted every benefit to the nation. The natural and necessary consequences of the Union, however, did not immediately follow its enactment, because it was still incomplete and unequal. But, under the influence of an enlightened liberalism, England has, during the present century, assimilated all the institutions, rights, and privileges of Ireland to her own, and even by her church and land legislation, greatly exceeded the standard of her own home-statesmanship. Nothing but the power of misrepresentation now stands in our way. We know how the Nationalists of Ireland have received these healing measures. They see in them a powerful obstacle to the triumph

of their separatist views, for if the peasantry should become content with their secure position and their growing prosperity, there will be no possibility of arraying the ranks of disaffection against the Government in any formidable numbers. They have accordingly misrepresented the character especially of the Land Act in the most shameless manner, declaring that it was only effective when it trampled on the constitutional rights of the people. They feel it necessary to resist with all their malignity and power the healing process which Ireland is now unconsciously undergoing, for otherwise the trade of patriotic agitation will come to a premature end. It would seem, indeed, as if Home Rule were now employed as a cry to make Ireland wholly unmanageable, so as to force the dismemberment of the United Kingdom; but should strong measures ever become necessary to maintain the integrity of the Empire, the responsibility will surely rest, not upon that liberal statesmanship which has laboured for more than a generation to place Ireland on a platform of equal rights with Great Britain, but upon the wicked and factious perversity of Irish agitators, who would turn benefits and blessings into materials for insult, defiance, and rebellion. No clamour will ever induce us to compromise the claims of the Empire, or the permanent interests of the Irish themselves, who, as Mr. Froude has so eloquently shown, have never at any period been able to govern their own island. Towards all projects of separating the Empire into its component parts, and thus reducing it to a second-rate State, by placing what might at any time become an independent or hostile republic on our western shores, we must always remain sternly and implacably hostile. We will not grudge Ireland the utmost development of municipal independence for which she is qualified; we may even honour and sympathise with the genuine sentiment of Irish nationality, making every allowance for its little extravagances, and neither expecting nor desiring that all Irish institutions should be forced into the same mould with our own; but the two countries are bound together by natural ties which we can never undo for a mere fiction of the Irish fancy, and till nature is changed, geography readjusted, and history reversed, they must ever continue one indivisible community.

We confess, however, our inability to believe that the cry for Home Rule will be of very long duration. Irish Members of Parliament may for a time find it convenient to run with a popular sentiment, however mistaken or injurious in its effects, just as the Roman Catholic priests, though the servants of a church which opposes nationality everywhere on principle,

will not separate themselves from a movement, which, with the true instinct of their calling, they find to be backed by national sympathy. But it will be no more long-lived than the old Repeal agitation. Special circumstances have revived the old cry under a new name. The large legislation of the last few years has given a stimulus to all kinds of agitation, and in Ireland especially stimulated that very restlessness which it was designed to allay. But Home Rule carries within it the seeds of its own dissolution. Whatever hold it possesses at present on the popular mind, it owes to the old Repeal Associations and to modern Fenianism; and none know better than its more constitutional leaders that a Federal Constitution, on the Austro-Hungarian model, having no historical basis, and satisfying no rational political aspiration, is utterly without interest for any influential class in Ireland, still more for the mass of the people. Home Rule, then, is utterly impossible from the want of agreement among its ostensible promoters, and, above all, from that want of mutual confidence which has always distinguished alike the politicians and the traitors of Ireland. Meanwhile, everything has changed for the better but the social feeling and the moral tone. The country is rapidly advancing by the side of England, in all the elements of national comfort and prosperity. Parliament has done much to rectify England's position in the court of international opinion. It has proved itself real master and actual ruler of this Empire; it has allowed no prescription, no monopoly, no tyranny of interest or class, to stand in its way; but it has at last reached the limit of its power, for it cannot change the nature of people and things. But so long as the people of Ireland wish to indulge their passionate discontent, for which they can no longer plead any solid justification, they will have no right to complain if they fall into the hands of historians like Mr. Froude.

The book before us, which would at any time have attracted particular notice from its subject and its authorship, possesses special interest from the fact that the eloquent writer has been lately engaged in enlightening American opinion on the subject of English rule in Ireland by means of a course of lectures delivered in the principal cities of the United States. Perhaps some Englishmen may have hardly relished a literary enterprise, otherwise so patriotic and praiseworthy, on the ground that it seemed to betray too much of a sensitive and obsequious deference to the opinions of the American people; but if Mr. Froude has succeeded in imbuing the minds of educated Americans with a just idea of the relations of Eng-

land with Ireland, so as to discountenance the unjust advocacy of Irish pretensions by the mass of their politicians, he will have conferred a real benefit not on Great Britain alone but on America itself. It was also his design to influence the Irish themselves, who have hitherto believed in the existence of grievances because they found the Americans so ready to believe in them, and if he can only succeed in changing American convictions on the subject he will have struck a serious blow at the root of Irish disaffection. The immediate result of Mr. Froude's labours was, of course, to rouse the impatient fury of the Irish-Americans, who found an eloquent though unscrupulous spokesman in a Dominican friar named Burke. We are inclined to believe, however, that his mission to America will be conducive to a better understanding between the two countries. The old spirit which made disputes and controversies not only possible but dangerous is rapidly passing away; the new generation of Americans have begun to forget the traditions of dislike to England, which two wars generated and endless criticisms helped to keep alive; and a favourable hearing is now accorded in the United States to any Englishman of repute who wishes to vindicate his country from misconceptions prejudicial to her fame. It is chiefly owing to the Irish immigration, with its inevitable effects upon party politics, that the feeling of the masses of the American people towards this country has hitherto been anything but friendly; but there are already indications that the influence of the Celtic element is greatly on the wane. For the Irish immigration, even if maintained at the old rate, will form in future a smaller proportional part of the whole American population than formerly. What was a powerful leaven when there were twenty millions, will be less important when there are forty or fifty millions. Besides, the native Americans are now more than ever tired of having their policy imposed by Irish demagogues, and in most matters the fact that the Irish go one way is enough to send the rest of the people another. The destruction of the Tammany Ring, which was mainly directed and supported by the Irish of New York, together with the exposure of its stupendous frauds, only completed the discredit that had already fallen upon them from the constant social tyranny they have been exercising for years without stint or scruple over all classes in the Empire City. Mr. Froude, therefore, addressed his eloquent appeal to the Americans at a most favourable juncture, and whether they were influenced in any degree by his historical reminiscence that, at the period of their great Revolutionary

War, the Catholics of Ireland sympathised with England as the Protestants of Ireland sympathised with the colonists, or whether they felt the force of the argument or the cogency of the illustration, that England was obliged to hold Ireland under the same Government with herself for exactly the same reasons that made the Northern States coerce the Southern into reunion, it is generally admitted that his lectures have made a profound impression upon American society. Let us hope that they will tend to increase the cordial understanding that ought to exist between two countries that are bound together by the ties, not alone of a common kinship, but of a commerce the most vigorous and important in the world, and that find an additional bond of union in the circumstance that they are the only two States in the world that are at once powerful and free.

ART. VI.—1. *Report from the Select Committee (H.C.) on Salmon Fisheries, with Minutes of Evidence.* 1869–70.

2. *Salmon Fisheries Amendment Bill (H.C.),* No. 1. 1872.

3. *Salmon Fisheries Amendment Bill (H.C.),* No. 2. 1872.

THE irrepressible character of the Salmon Fishery question has long been proverbial, and since the comprehensive inquiry instituted throughout England and Wales by the Royal Commissioners in 1860, which was the epoch of a great revival, the perplexity of the subject has not much diminished. The new lights which then gained a conspicuous place in the government of fish may burn more and more brightly. Still there has been much hope deferred. The sanguine predictions of teeming rivers and propagations, indefinite and infinite, of the *salmonidæ*, have not been verified. The reforming hand of the Legislature must go a little farther before any striking effects can be produced.

In this statistical age, everybody who intends to think seriously about any class or interest begins by asking the numbers and capabilities of the people requiring his attention. The statistics of the value of our salmon fisheries are considerably coloured by the imagination. In England, where most of the rivers are now under the management of Fishery Boards, the practice is to make a guess at the end of each season how many fish have been caught. But those who catch most tell least. The Big-Endians—that is to say, the net fishermen, and especially the lessees of the several fisheries

in the tidal waters, who are always supposed by the Little-Indians to be gorged with illicit plunder—generally decline to satisfy the inquiries of the water-bailiff; whereupon that gentleman proclaims them in contempt, and with due regard to the safety of his own theories and predictions appraises them out of his own intuitions. Having thus arrived at some good round numbers, all the items are added—the fact and the fancy well interlarded; and putting a value of ten shillings—quite a sacrifice at the money—on each fish, the reckoning is complete. All similar totals being thrown together, and well burnt in the crucible, the shining gold runs out at last, firm and well rounded for popular use. Guided by this arithmetic, we are assured that the English and Welsh Salmon Fisheries are worth 90,000*l.* a year. As to the Irish and Scotch, there is nothing definite. Some years ago an experienced witness, to oblige a committee who craved for figures, said the Irish Salmon Fisheries were worth 300,000*l.* a year; and this estimate has often been quoted, but never verified. The Scotch Salmon Fisheries seem to have been guessed at 200,000*l.* a year. All these figures are more or less fanciful. In England it is the arithmetic of the future that most people think of.

Another question, preliminary to enlisting the attention of men of business, is whether the object is to make salmon cheaper. On this point the less that is promised the better. Half a century ago salmon was often sold on the river bank, near a good fish-trap, for three halfpence a pound, being a perishable commodity, and the railway not being then open to Manchester and London. But now, who that can buy beef and mutton will ever grudge to pay for such a fish the standard prices of those articles? The appetite of inland towns for this pride of the rivers is insatiable and abysmal—bottomless as the Bay of Portugal. No fruitfulness of the rivers can ever hope to satisfy it; and by all the canons of the political economists, if the market is unlimited, prices will be kept up. All that can be held out on this head is, that the greatest number possible of fish shall be forthcoming, and distributed on the greatest happiness principle.

The knowledge of the politics of fish is rather a peculiar subject, and is in few hands, though every river has its little legislators. Every village produces a few youths who in early life betray a proclivity to fishing or to shooting, and gravitate insensibly towards one or other of those pursuits. One takes to the woods and the other to the water; and after a rough career settle down into gamekeepers or gamepursuers. The same instinct under happier auspices is developed in the

country gentleman, stripped of all evil accompaniments. He who takes to the water is usually conceded to be of the highest order of sportsmen. The contemplative mood and musing eye mark him out from other men. No man is wholly to be despaired of who takes to fishing, which in its best sense means angling, and that implies inexhaustible faith, good temper, self-reliance, and perseverance. Virtues like these are the inseparable attendants of the fisherman's life. Those who take to shooting, hunting, deer-stalking, pig-sticking, tigers, and elephants; may have much variety of exercise, constant excitement, and boisterous glee; but such pastimes are enjoyed almost always in company, and require close and vigilant attention to the business in hand. The adept in the contemplative man's recreation is not afraid of being alone, or of standing long and persistently in an attitude of trustful expectation. His pleasures are tranquil and refined. While his outward eye mechanically follows the vibrations of the fly, his inward eye is roaming over distant fields; he is revolving the mutations of fortune—is busy with reviewing the past and the present—he is solving intricate problems in science, finance, politics, theology, and casuistry. Though it must be confessed that the farther he allows himself to wander in speculation, the less likely he is to land a good fish. The sudden and abrupt dip of his fly into deep water recalls him at once from those still greater deeps in the world of thought where plummet never sounded. No wonder that a fascination of a peculiar kind surrounds the angler's art, and when the noblest of fish is concerned the pleasure is exquisite. Even according to Isaac Walton, who obviously knew very little about it, the salmon is the king of fish. The salmon angler views with royal complacency the simple pleasures that wait on the perch, the chub, the dace, the gudgeon, the trout, and the pike; but give him the fearful joy of tearing along banks, and floundering among boulders, led by a thin, whitey-brown line attached to a thirty pound salmon. Sun and moon may alternato, and tell the wondrous tale how the noble encounter ends, but nothing that stirs this mortal frame can be compared to these lucid intervals in his long passages of inaction.

The fisherman is born, not made. He lives and moves in his own little world, the envy and pride of his brother mortals. Not that he is without some small infirmity, which must, however, be drawn gently from its drear abode. Can it be true that these sedentary or stationary habits breed a slight—only a very slight but graceful—tendency to disputation and to

brooding over inward sorrows? His insight into natural history is intuitive and infallible. Others may, by painful steps and slow, add precedent to precedent, and extract by the rules of the Baconian philosophy some recondite generalisation; but the angler scorns these dilatory and circuitous methods. His knowledge is the emanation of his inner consciousness. He learns by flashes of thought as he wanders along his favourite banks. His mind is the haunt of ingenious theories. A theory is ready to account for everything, and the theory of each man is better than the statistics of any other man. From one solitary fact he can evolve far-reaching inductions. If facts arise of stubborn complexion, so much the worse for the facts. There are some unfathomable mysteries associated with the angler's art, especially with the salmon angler, which have perplexed generations and still remain inscrutable. But no living angler has much doubt that he has solved all those insoluble problems. Great indeed would be the misery of life, if there were not some open questions. What is it that causes the salmon to go back and forward between the sea and the upper parts of rivers? If it is to breed and nothing else, why should some, nevertheless, be found at other seasons of the year going up, and especially going up months before the breeding season comes round? Why should salmon always return to their parent river; and why are their stomachs always empty when caught with the fly? Why do some of the fry hurry down the river to the sea in the spring months, and the rest remain?—and why does the female parent wait behind the male as if to convoy them? What is the *status* of the bull-trout, the sea-trout, the sewin, the yellow-fin, the orange-fin, the blacktail, the whitling, the smolt, the parr, and the grilse? Whether is it better to fish up the stream or down, and what is the ablest strategy in throwing round a corner? What is the salmon about when he is at sea, and where does he go? Is it to become a dainty dish to the porpoise, the grampus, the seal, the dogfish, and other baleful monsters which seem to have no final cause? Why do so few fish return alive to the river from which they started, seeing that each fruitful mother supplies 18,000 to 30,000 eggs? Why is it that every fish that breaks the line at the critical moment never weighs less than fifty pounds? If it were not for the uncertainty and inscrutable character of these problems, the angler would be truly unhappy. They serve to recoup his spirits at the social hearth for the privations of his unsocial mornings. The pent-up musings of the day are discoursed, and many a tale varnished with a glowing eye, across the wal-

nuts and the wine. Dogmas and paradoxes are the counters with which he deals. If any incredulous or unsympathetic auditor were to doubt the conclusiveness of the evidence for the doctrine that the salmon invariably returns to the river in which it was bred, the issue would probably be reduced at once to a question of personal veracity, with the usual summary consequences. While it is rude and uncalled for to cross-examine much of the evidence for current beliefs and traditions about salmon, it is both refreshing and instructive to hear so many interesting particulars about the inhabitants of the deep, where there is no eye to see and no ear to hear. No one can leave the society of anglers, after watching the vivacity and point of their triangular disputations, without being pleasantly impressed with the depth and variety of the subject, and the second sight required to fathom it.

But if there is a slight tendency to dogmatism, we may hint also in timid language at the imperfect sympathies existing between anglers of different haunts. Each is of a domestic turn, and can scarcely enter into the interests of other localities. Even in his own river he is scarcely a clubbable man. In most of the fishery boards of this country, though there may be a hundred members, barely a dozen can muster, even at an annual meeting. This may arise from the enormous development of brain caused by solitary reflection, which overinforms its tenement of clay, and hence that coarse and worldly wisdom that binds together people of the same interests, and almost taught the agricultural labourers to form a union, has little place in the angling temperament. Rival theorists are often rather unsocial. There is no league offensive and defensive, no clink of coin for missionary enterprise. Each thinks it is the nation's business to fight his battles, and, if it don't, so much the worse for the nation. Even his best friends too often incur his suspicions.

The angler shines in his natural history, but there are also sorrows and grievances to harass and oppress, and these lie heavily at times on his soul. The Legislature has much to answer for in its stolid and scornful indifference to his wants and desires. Not that there are not statutes enough on the subject. On the contrary, few subjects have attained so frequent and conspicuous a place on the Statute Roll as fish. From the time of *Magna Charta*, during the early Edwards and Henrys, many high-sounding and sweeping denunciations and curses were, after the fashion of the time, launched at the head of persons who destroyed the brood of fish and gave them to swine to eat. There is a chain of statutes following in

solemn procession one after another, which it is good for the eye to see. But somehow there has been a conspiracy on the part of the public to ignore and nullify all that is wise and worthy of remembrance in these very statutes. A disgraceful oblivion has long overtaken their clear manifestoes. The mould of antiquity has grown over those early memorials of honest indignation against poaching and unseasonable killing and destroying. But it is not merely that old statutes have ceased to be in vigorous activity; up to the last there has been a strange misreading of all that was best in them, and an improvident repeal of their salutary enactments. Twelve years ago an ignorant impatience sprang up of the multiplicity of these statutes. Some who disliked the trouble of thinking about anything clamoured for a total repeal. Such are they who every day demand that the whole law of England shall be printed on a small piece of parchment, and carried in the waistcoat pocket. In the Salmon Fishery Act of 1861 such views were acted on, and much evil has come of it, and much more is now silently ripening with years. All this has vexed and disquieted the learned hierophants who dispense the mysteries of fishery law, and the angler groans heavily as he thinks on what he might have been.

In order to gain a clear view of the present situation of our salmon fisheries, let us first see the way in which the fish are found in a state of nature, before positive laws begin. This is the quickest way of understanding all the rights and wrongs of our subject. Many persons content themselves with knowing only a few of the superficial facts and guessing at the rest, under the impression that there are intricacies and byeways which life is too short to thread. This confessing and avoiding of the subject is, doubtless, one of the main reasons why fishery legislation proceeds with such difficulty, and why obvious evils, so simple of treatment in themselves when understood, remain long unredressed, and a meritorious class of persons interested in the subject are left still lamenting.

Let us take the case of an ordinary river frequented by salmon. The estuary of the river more or less widens as it merges in the sea, though in a few cases, such as the Tweed and the Cumberland Derwent, the river debouches into the sea abruptly. In all cases, the salt water ebbs and flows in the lowest part of the river proper. The instinct of the salmon leads it into the river, ascending from salt water to fresh, and it can only propagate its species by going to the rough gravelly beds of the upper fresh waters, where it ploughs a nest for itself and buries its eggs, which are hatched some hundred

days thereafter. It is an accepted fact that this fish cannot breed in the sea, and, if it is debarred from getting into a fresh water stream when the spawning time arrives, there can be no reproduction. Some people believe, though it need not be believed, that the fish breeds once every year. It is enough to say that at certain times of the year the great mass of the fish breed, and they generally breed about the same time each year, the three months most usual being November, December, and January. In the other months the fish are going gradually up towards the breeding-beds; in the months of February, March, and April, the old fish, after spawning, are coming gradually down the river towards the sea. About April and May in each year the young fish are coming down the rivers also, on their first visit to the sea. But it is said they do not all come down together; the weaker ones remain on the breeding-grounds till the following spring.

It thus appears of vital consequence to the fish that the old fish should get access from the sea to the upper parts of rivers in order to breed. For some weeks after the breeding season the old fish are in an unseasonable state, and can only become recruited and fit for the market by accomplishing their return from the rivers to the sea. In like manner, the young fish, though born in the upper parts of fresh water rivers, cannot live long if confined to the place of birth. At a certain age they take a yearning to get to the sea, and if prevented, they sicken and die; whereas, if they are allowed to get down where they want to be, they grow, it is said, at the rate of a pound weight a month, and in a few months more are themselves endowed with the instincts of adult fish and return to the upper waters to breed. There is thus a constant migration going on between the sea and the upper waters, owing to one cause or another. The old fish go up to spawn and require to come down again to recruit. The young fish come down from the upper waters in order to live and grow in the salt water, and, having lived a few months there, they again want to go up in due season to propagate the species, and so the order of nature revolves. There is no time of the year during which this travelling does not go on. The numbers vary in different months. The time at which a fish leaves the sea and proceeds towards its ultimate destination is somewhat uncertain. It may hang about the mouth of a river for weeks or months. It may trifle and dally when it has once entered the river, lingering in deep pools, hesitating to jump over obstacles, watching the weather, and moving in a mysterious way. Still the general characteristic

of the fish displays itself in one or other phase during each month of the year.

It may be enough to dispose of this primary characteristic of the salmon in travelling to and fro between fresh and salt water by saying that it is the instinct of the fish. This would be generally accepted as an exhaustive explanation. But it is far too simple to satisfy the fishermen, who are fertile in framing theories and in solving the inscrutable. The grey fathers of their commonwealth give out that the reason why the salmon leaves the salt water for the fresh is to get rid of the sea-lice. Then, when asked to account for its return to salt water, they with equal certainty affirm that when the fish has been some time in fresh water, maggots are bred in its jaws and gills, and, in order to get rid of the maggots, it must go back to the sea. This kingly fish has thus a sorry time of it. It is driven from pillar to post by a demoniac phrensy, like the fabled heifer in the Greek play, which was persecuted over the whole earth, and lived all day long scouring the plains tormented by a gadfly. It is true that there are other enemies than the sea-lice, which are said to account for the salmon leaving the deeps of the sea for the rivers. The porpoise, the seal, the grampus, and dog-fish, are the mighty hunters from whose persecutions they are glad to take refuge in narrow rivers. Whichever way we take it—whether the parasites, or the persecutions of other fish, or both, or other secondary causes join—the salmon lives a life of protracted torment, and it takes many long agonies to mature such highly prized food for our table.

It almost follows, from the above account of the constant migrations of the salmon between salt and fresh water, that all the salmon that frequent the sea must at some time or other go up a river to get at the fresh water and the beds of gravel. Hence the upper riparians allege that the stock of fish cannot be kept up, if there is an unlimited power of capturing fish at the mouths of rivers; in other words, that the tendency to overfishing at the mouths of rivers must be jealously watched and checked. At this stage, however, there is a departure between rival theorists, and two schools of river politicians here diverge. The upper riparians hold to the theory that of all the salmon extant at any given moment those that are in the sea are more or less on their way to the upper rivers. Hence they argue that if a certain percentage are caught at the mouth of a river while the fish are *in transitu*, this is so much deducted from the numbers that would infallibly pass to the upper waters, and would, or might, or ought, to be caught there. In short, that the captures of the estuary fishermen are so much taken

out of the capital stock of the upper waters. The estuary fishermen, however, answer to this that, though it may be true that no salmon can be bred except in the upper waters—which implies that the parent fish must first get to such waters—yet it does not at all follow that the fish caught at the mouth of the river would ever go to the upper waters if left alone. In support of this view, they argue that the fish will not enter rivers except at certain times and in certain states of water, no matter whether the road is open or not. That while the fish are so waiting or wandering about the estuary, following up and down with the tide for weeks or months, they become the prey of enemies—the porpoise, the grampus, the seal—and, if they are not then caught, they will never be caught at all. That what is caught at the mouth of the river at these times is not a loss to the upper riparians, but is merely rescued from monsters of the deep, and thereby saved to society; and that thousands of fish, if not caught in some convenient way before they enter a river, become a dead loss, and hence, when fixed engines, such as bag-nets and stake-nets, are used to catch these fish, there is no appreciable loss to the river at all. On this ground, the tidal fishermen are at variance with the upper house on an important doctrine.

What the salmon does in the sea from the time it first visits the sea, and at each season when it returns from spawning, is one of the mysteries about which fishermen maintain endless controversies. All admit that the fish must be in search of food, but how far it goes into the deeps in quest of it none but those endowed with second sight can explain. The fish, when caught at sea, are generally not deficient in the stomach, for sand-eels, *crustacea*, and small fish denote how they live. Some affirm that the fish do not go far from the coast, and that they have feeding-grounds on slimy shores not in any way connected immediately with the rivers from which they emerge. In proof of this, it is said that on the Scotch coast salmon have been regularly caught plentifully in bays, thirty or forty miles distant from any river mouth. It is enough, however, for us to know that the salmon hails from the sea, and, hugging the shore, makes for some river or other sooner or later. Again, all agree that when the salmon is in the sea it is in the best possible condition for the market. Indeed, those, whose interests are exclusively in tidal fisheries, go so far as to say that the fish is always more or less sickly and peckish when it gets into a river and is moving up, that it refuses food, and declines rapidly in condition while in the fresh water, and that

at last it becomes wholly unseasonable and unfit to be eaten. The inference from all this is, that the fish that are caught in fresh water, and about which the anglers go into such raptures, being scarcely fit for food, ought not to be caught at all, but left solely or chiefly to breed, as Nature intended. And hence that the anglers, driving as they do their very wretched and unnatural trade of molesting the sick, deserve small consideration at the hands of the Legislature, in comparison with the legitimate and natural business of tidal fishing. Other tidal fishermen, however, altogether make light of the achievements of the angler, and are indifferent how much and how long he plies his craft. They profess to be satisfied that he can at best with all his arts make little impression on the stock. They care not whether he should be allowed to angle all the year round, and are ready to concede at once that very boon which anglers twenty years ago and since have often looked forward to somewhat timidly, as a good beyond their reach.

It is in considering the various stages of the life of a salmon that we see how its difficulties arise, and the consequent difficulties it causes to the Legislature. In the first place, if it be conceded, as it must be, that the great mass of the fish breed during three or four months of the year, and during that time they are more or less deteriorated in condition, especially for some weeks after the spawning, it is natural that a close time should be declared by the Legislature, during which it should be unlawful for any person to catch a fish even in his own waters. This is almost self-evident; and the only doubt now is, whether the close time should be uniform or variable. All ways have been tried. Not to speak of the remote times, Scotland for about forty years tried a uniform close season, till a few years ago it had the season varied to suit different rivers. In Ireland the same result has been arrived at. In England, before 1861 there was variety of seasons, all too short; but the Act of that year made one uniform season. Now again the tendency is to vary it, and Mr. Dodds and other legislators include a power to do this as part of an amending Bill. Not only is an annual close season necessary to permit the breeding of the fish, but a weekly close season has also been found expedient, so as to allow the fish to have a chance of distributing themselves over the upper waters. This practice, which existed in Scotland six centuries ago, was introduced into Ireland in 1842, and was also adopted in England and Wales in 1861. The size of the mesh of nets also makes a perpetual close season for young fish. This state of things is now represented by the following table:—

	ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	TWEED.	IRELAND.
Annual close time not less than .	154 days.	168 days.	153 days.	168 days.
Begins and ends .	fixed 1 Sep. to 1 Feb.	varied 21 Aug. to 24 Feb.	fixed 15 Sep. to 14 Feb.	varied 15 Sep. to 1 Jan.
Weekly close time .	42 hours	36 hours	36 hours	48 hours
commencing .	Saturday noon.	Saturday 6 p.m.	Saturday 6 p.m.	Saturday 6 a.m.
Angler's close season commencing .	fixed 1 Nov.	varied 1 Nov.	fixed 30 Nov.	varied 1 Nov.
Mesh of Net (smallest) .	fixed 2 inches.	fixed 1½ inches.	fixed 1½ inches.	varied 1½, 1½, 1½.

Such being a short view of the round of a salmon's life and the theatre of its appearance, and it being clear that all the salmon frequenting a river must at some time or other be passing up and down, a man has only to erect a barrier or trap in the bed of the river, if he wants to catch them all. This is precisely what occurred to our ingenious ancestors; and it is out of this very obvious stratagem that most of the grievances of a salmon-river take their rise. The owner of each piece of land abutting on the river has, in England and Ireland at common law, the right to catch as many of the valuable fish that pass his door as he can with the aid of his hands or any implement that his hands can wield. He may use a net or a fly, or, as the natives sometimes still successfully do at Bridgewater, may dip a clothes-basket in the muddy stream where a fin is seen projecting above the surface. But this is a tedious process, and the experienced man, who wants to save time and money, erects a wall or barrier across the narrow part of a river nearest the tide, having in its structure fish-traps, coops, or cruives. It is true this requires the consent of his neighbour proprietors, or some grant of the Crown; but he manages to dispense with his neighbours' consent by first asking permission—then toleration—then a little longer time—then a promise to remove the weir—until at last he turns round and claims it as a right. By artful encroachments, specious promises, delays, and threats most of the best salmon rivers have been obstructed by some fixed apparatus, whereby all the upper riparian owners are put very much at the mercy of him who has, rightly or wrongly—with or without culpable neglect on the part of his neighbours—acquired the key of the river.

If the whole of a river and its tributaries, from the source to the sea, belonged to one owner, it is easy to see how he would manage the salmon fisheries and turn them to account. He would do as he does with his rabbit-warren or his poultry-yard, his flocks or his herds. He would make a convenient pound where he could at command collect his stock and review it. He would erect a fishing-weir near the limit of the tide, and perhaps a bag-net further out, and catch every salmon that passed up. The bailiff, sitting in his fish-house, would keep a certain proportion of the catch of each day for market, and let the rest go up the river to breed. A very small proportion indeed would stock a river, seeing that each female fish has about 20,000 eggs. Two or three men, living an easy life, would manage a vast river and its tributaries with economy, and every fish would pass through their hands. No close season would be necessary, and no nets. If there were anglers, enough fish would be passed up to amuse these gentlemen also. This river-farm in Utopia would yield plentifully its noiseless and self-supporting flocks.

But as England is not Utopia, and no model salmon-farm is possible here, owing to the minute subdivision of property and the clashing of interests, the necessity of legislation to regulate the rights of each is obvious. If each were to do what he liked, each would erect a weir or try to stop all the fish and drive them into his own trap, regardless of his neighbours, and regardless of the future, for a fish in the hand would be worth twenty in the river. And it is plain that he who could contrive to get his fishing-weir nearest the sea would cut out all his competitors higher up. What is the law to do in these circumstances? The great object of the law must be so to restrict all the interested parties that the total result may be as near as possible the keeping up of the same stock of fish as our prudent farmer of an entire river in Utopia would make it yield. This and no other must be the sole object to be kept in view. All owners must thus be more or less restricted, in order to secure as near as possible the ultimate aim of keeping up an adequate stock of fish proportioned to the capabilities of the river. Now, it is here that the quarrels and feuds of the little community begin. All those interested are tied together in one common property, which cannot be severed by a ring-fence into separate and independent portions. The fish cannot be put in stalls—cannot be tethered in fields—cannot be inclosed in hutches, or ear-marked like the sheep on a borough pasture. In order to live and prosper they must have the range of the whole common from end to end—from

the sea to the sources of the smallest rivulets. The water must be continuous in volume, and not intersected by impassable partitions. If one owner stops their migration the whole machinery is deranged; not only the next owner but all others must suffer—both those above and those below the obstruction. The proprietors are all bound together by nature in a community. The peer may have a large part of the tidal waters as a several or exclusive fishery; the public may earn their daily bread by fishing up to the boundary, which is, however, a permeable boundary, adjoining his several fishery; and higher up the river squires of high and low degree may form in line, each on his own rood of ground. But each and all must suffer alike by any one of them transgressing, more especially by that one who has the greatest natural advantages in point of situation creating a weir across the river. When the property along the banks and in the river is subdivided into small patches, the expense of catching fish is enormous. Each must keep his own apparatus and his own gillies, and must keep within his own ground. This is, however, only an inevitable result of the glorious independence each owner of land in this country delights in: each works in his own way, with his own weapons, and each takes his chance in the great wheel of fortune.

Now, in endeavouring to compose the differences that exist between the owners of salmon fisheries in a river, one great and leading line of demarcation is conspicuous. All the owners of fisheries in the upper part of the river are very much in one boat, and all those who fish in the lower and tidal waters are in another boat. The public fishermen have rights only in the tidal fisheries, and their interest is thus far identified with the lower division only. Now, the upper riparians complain that they do not get their fair share of the fish. Such is the way in which they generally put their case. They assume that somehow or other they are entitled in a state of nature to a share of the fish. This is, of course, a figurative expression, for in a state of nature each would simply catch as much as he could by any ingenious moveable instrument to be devised; but as to the share bearing any proportion to what the other competitors would catch, or as to any means of adjusting the proportions, there is and never was any certainty or fixed ratio. What each would catch would depend very much on his position in the river and the number of pools or fishing-stations accessible to him, and the industry he exercised, those situated lowest in the river having generally the greatest natural advantages, and thus being

more likely to succeed. But though the upper riparian generally puts his case as if he were entitled to 'a fair share,' it will be found, when closely examined, that he bases this claim mainly on the fact that it is he who breeds all the fish. Now, on this point the lower proprietor replies, 'It is a mere delusion that you breed the fish; they breed themselves; they cause you no injury. You spend not a penny upon them. You can no more help the fish breeding than you can help the sun shining, or the rain falling, or the river flowing. The water flowing over the land is not yours, nor are the fish found therein yours, though the soil beneath them be exclusively yours. You have merely a right to take some of the water as it passes over your land, and nothing more. The water flowing, with all that is in it, is a perpetual servitude on your land.' To this the upper riparian rejoins: 'If I don't breed the fish, they, at all events, cannot breed except on my lands. I can exclude them from coming on my lands. I can kill them when there, and I can let poachers kill them.' This again provokes a retort from the lower proprietor: 'As to your preventing the fish from coming on your land or into your waters to breed, your power to exclude them is doubtful. The law, if it does not already do so, should at least be made to prevent you spitefully doing this, seeing that it is not to benefit yourself, or to prevent injury to yourself, but merely to injure your neighbour or somebody else. As to your killing or encouraging poachers to kill the fish when they come into your waters, that is merely a threat to break the law, for the law already says neither you nor anybody else shall kill them during close time.' These retorts press hard upon the upper riparian. He has put his case on the wrong ground. He misstates his position when he says he has a right to a fair share of the fish, and that if he does not get that fair share he will destroy or wink at others destroying the breeding fish. What he should say is, that, as his property is inextricably bound up in common with the property of those below, he is entitled to have a free access secured to all fish that will come to his lands, as they would have come in a state of nature; and this implies, that no obstruction by weirs or by overfishing shall intercept all the fish as they pass up and down. This seems to be the key to what he should demand, and what he is entitled to have. Until that is secured he has not all his rights. At present, this ultimate object not being secured, all the proprietors are at sixes-and-sevens. Every man's hand is against every other man's. Each,

knowing that it is all a lottery, seizes the present good and cares nothing for the future; for he knows that any little self-restraint he can exercise will have no effect on the sum-total, so long as others cannot be compelled to exercise a like self-restraint. Each is jealous of his neighbour, believing that every fish caught elsewhere is so much profit or amusement taken out of his own portion. The upper riparian can scarcely sleep in his bed for thinking of the inordinate captures of the nets in the estuary—all at his expense, and to his own undoing, as he quite ingenuously persuades himself.

While the upper riparian has substantial grievances against the lower fishermen, the latter also have their criticisms upon him. They say he wants to reverse the order of nature for his own exclusive enjoyment and profit; that Nature causes the fish to ascend the river from the sea, and must have intended the tidal fishermen to catch them most plentifully, more especially as the fish are best suited for the market before they pass from the sea to the river; that the upper riparian repines because Nature has placed him where he is; that it is a mistake for him to think that more fish will come to him in a sound state if everybody is prohibited from fishing in the estuary, for fish will only go up when they please, and no commandment of men can drive them. And if there were no fishing in tidal waters, no more, or at least few more, fish would pass up than now do. Why, then, should he indulge in these unavailing murmurs at the decrees of Providence? Again, the tidal fishermen say that if they catch most fish they also supply the great mass of the funds for preserving them. Under the present system Fishery Boards derive all the funds for preserving the fish from taxing those who fish, and the tidal licenses supply four-fifths of the total proceeds of the year. This is a sufficient return for the natural advantages of their situation, and ought to console their less fortunate brethren who sit on the lower form.

It must be apparent from the above recital that if we are to aim at a state of nature, the great and commanding object of all legislation must be to secure at all hazards a free passage between the sea and the upper waters, so that the fish may follow their instincts. They must have their highway open at all times; at least, during those times when they are most active. Nothing less than this can ever restore peace to the little college or community of owners. If the Legislature has not done this, and cannot do it, then farewell to all hope of prosperity. If fish are not allowed their free course and to range

over their natural breeding-grounds, how can the stock increase? At present there is great over-crowding at certain points, and a wholesale exclusion at certain other points which are the most eligible of all for breeding. If the fish are excluded from three-fourths or two-thirds of the natural breeding area, it requires small wisdom to draw the conclusion that by maintaining this exclusion you are losing three-fourths of the chances of capture. Now, the great and radical vice of the English salmon fisheries is, that the fish have by artificial obstructions been excluded from three-fourths, or at least two-thirds, of their natural breeding-grounds. It is true that there are no very reliable statistics on this point, but this is a fair estimate of the extent of ground lost.

Till these vast domains fit for the abode of salmon are reconquered, it is vain to expect a 'fair share' of fish to anybody along the whole line. This is the great outstanding grievance of the salmon fisheries, in comparison with which all the others are trifling. Indeed, nearly all the other grievances have been already redressed, but this remains all but untouched. The only question is, whether it is capable of being redressed. If it is not, then any further expectation of improvement in most of the fishery districts may be abandoned at once, and need vex the Legislature no more. If it is capable of redress, then, when it is grappled with and overcome, all that legislation can do for the fisheries may be said to be done. They may be safely left thereafter, with the help of a few additional pains and penalties, to look after themselves. Nature will do the rest.

In 1861 the Legislature acted in a peremptory way with the owners of English fishing-weirs—that is to say, those fixed structures that were used exclusively for stopping and catching fish. It ordered a gap, one-tenth of the width of the river, to be made in the deepest part, at the owner's expense, without any compensation, however ancient the weir. This was all but ruin and confiscation. But it was done, and cannot now be undone. The same thing was done in Ireland, but not in Scotland. Such weirs did two things: they stopped all the fish passing up, and also caught such as would go into their traps. Now, fishing-weirs did not obstruct the passage of fish more than ordinary mill-dams; yet while both properties were acquired in precisely the same way, by the same arts, and deserved alike the same protection from the Legislature, one was confiscated, the other was left entirely untouched. What was the reason of this favouritism? These mill-dams will repay a closer study.

If any person has the curiosity to consider the nature and use of a mill-dam or weir—one of the familiar objects in rivers—he will find that it affects the existence of salmon in the river in the following very intelligible manner:—A mill-dam is a solid wall, whether of wood or stone or wattling, built across the bed of the river, having for its object to pond the water and raise it to a high level. When thus raised to a high level a channel, or mill-race, called the head-race, is excavated, in order to divert more or less of the impounded water and conduct it to some convenient spot where the mill is situated, the wheel of which is turned by the weight of the water falling from its artificial height in the race or channel. After passing over and turning the wheel, the function of the water is discharged, and it then passes away down another mill-race, called the tail-race, into the original channel of the river. Between the place where the dam or weir is constructed and the place where the diverted water is restored to the river there is a distance sometimes of a mile, but more generally half-a-mile or a quarter of a mile, and in a few cases the mill-wheel is close to the dam, and so the necessity of a mill-race is avoided. But in all cases, if the mill-dam is above three feet high—and in general it is six to twelve feet high—the fall of water from the top of the dam into the bed of the river below is so abrupt and violent that salmon cannot jump over it. The salmon has only a limited mechanical power of propulsion, by means of its tail; and though in peculiar circumstances it may jump five or six feet, still a dam is a serious obstruction where it exceeds three feet perpendicular, and has no deep water immediately below it. It may be said, therefore, that the great mass of mill-weirs form an impassable obstacle to the ascent of salmon, and the usual consequences ensue. The fish must return from whence they came, or leap in the air—fifty at the same moment, when the spawning-time is near at hand—or lie, as they often do, waiting in vain for an opportunity of surmounting the obstacle. If driven to desperation they spawn as best they may, and root up each others' nests for want of room. Not only does the ordinary mill-dam obstruct the passage of the salmon upwards towards the breeding-grounds—which is the main and irreparable mischief which it causes—but the head and tail-race are also collateral sources of mischief in the following way:—During the low state of the river the fish travelling up the river pass up the tail-race, where the millers' men are sorely tempted by the sight, and the old fish coming down the river, as well as the smolts on their first visit to the sea, are diverted and im-

prisoned and undone by the head-race and the wheel under or over which they seek to pass.

The best salmon rivers in England, with one or two exceptions, are all choked with these mill-dams, which occur at frequent intervals. Each and all are built much after the same cheap pattern—as an impervious wall across the bed of the river, bank to bank, of one uniform height. It is here that the great trouble of the salmon fisheries now centres. Most of the other evils have been overcome, or, with a few slight additions, may be overcome. But as to mill-dams, the evil is as rampant as from the first. The hand of the law and of the Legislature has not yet been lifted against this evil, and yet the time has come for fairly grappling with it; otherwise, salmon fisheries must remain a byeword and a jest.

In considering whether any and what alterations can be made in mill-dams, so as to permit the easy passage of fish, it must be remembered that mill-dams are not exclusively used for grinding corn. No doubt in mediæval and later ages they were used for little else, and were on a very small scale. But for about a century back, not only have the corn-mills increased in size and in their demands on water power, but factories of all kinds—for cotton, wool, silk, leather, iron, and so forth—have all taken advantage of the cheap motive power furnished by a great salmon river. When a mill is set up for the first time, it is true that, unless the owner buys up or steals a march on all opposition, he cannot stand. But everybody knows how in rural places rights of property spring up by silent and insensible usurpation. Such is the history of every mill-dam set up on a salmon river; not only mill-dams exist, but navigation and other dams have been made under Acts of Parliament, and no precautions have been used and no terms imposed for the purpose of preventing unnecessary injury to the passage of salmon. The result is, that nearly all our best salmon rivers are in a hopeless plight, owing to these dams and vested interests, which here and there and everywhere impede the progress of the king of fish, as he seeks to range the valleys free. No wonder that our angler is disquieted in soul, and prays heartily to Jupiter to come and help him.

Nearly every river has its history of the rise and progress of the usurpations of the mill-owners. One gentleman fifty years ago told with much pathos the story of the river Dart. At present that fine river, as all salmon anglers know, is closed against salmon by the Totnes Weir. He told how from time immemorial there had been in the top of that weir a gullet six

feet wide and two feet deep, for the express purpose of letting the salmon over it. But when the weir was washed down and rebuilt in 1790, the gullet was closed up. The owners had promised to restore it, and repeated and broke their promises. A champion upper proprietor took the opinion of Chitty, the great lawyer, who told him what was his remedy. Attempts were made to go to law, but he could not make a common purse, and the chapter of accidents left the weir untouched, and so it remains to this day. Other rivers have the same tale to tell; like the Tees and the Lune, the Cumberland Derwent, the Ribble, and the Eden. Great battles were fought in the last two rivers about sixty and eighty years ago, and the two last were victories against the weir-owners. The Wye had a great weir between Ross and Monmouth, which was fortunately given up about sixty years ago. All the rivers illustrate the disastrous effect of building even one high weir in a salmon river, and the magical revival caused by its sudden demolition. Indeed, the result in either case is generally a sum in simple subtraction and addition.

Though the mischievous effect of high and obstructive weirs has been known as long as salmon have existed, it has only been within the last forty-five years that the correct mode has been perfected, of making a fish-passage over such weirs without interfering with the use of the weir for mills. The old idea embodied in the earliest statutes of Scotland, and also acted on and referred to by the earliest English statutes, was that there was to be left in all weirs a gap of such size that a three-year old pig might turn round in it without touching the gap with her snout or tail. Later Scotch statutes seem to adopt a gap of five or six feet as the standard measure for a fish-pass. For about five centuries this kind of gap was obviously treated as the only known and proper measure for a fish-pass. A weir now existing on the river Derwent near Workington has from time immemorial possessed a gap of this kind still existing in the middle of it; no other example of the same kind is believed to exist in England. The weir is about four feet high, and would be a serious obstruction without this gap, but the gap meets the difficulty fairly. But, however well a gap of five or six feet wide may have suited the old weirs or dams used some centuries ago, it would be inapplicable to the modern weirs, which are erected much higher and often with perpendicular faces down stream. As many of the mills are too large for the river, and are often short of water, so large a gap, even if the violent rush of the water were no objection, would be unsuitable, on account of the quantity

that would thereby escape. Probably it was owing to the general belief which prevailed until recently, that nothing would suffice to enable salmon to pass over a weir unless a gap were made of five or six feet wide in its structure, that the old statutes on the subject have been so little observed. If it was universally believed that such a gap would ruin the weirs for the purposes of the mills, this explains the extraordinary toleration shown for such weirs, notwithstanding so many statutes have forbidden them to be made so as to hinder the passage of fish. All that, however, is now past. Though the ancients knew not how to make a sufficient pass without interfering with the supply of water to the mill, this problem has been solved by the moderns and made equally applicable to the highest and most obstructive weirs extant.

The discovery (for it deserves to be called an important discovery) of the fish-pass, which is now capable of letting fish so easily over mill-weirs or navigation-weirs without abstracting water from the mill or navigation, is due to the late Mr. James Smith, of Deanston in Scotland, who had a mill-dam on the river Teith, near Stirling, and who, like many other millers, took great interest in watching the habits of salmon, when jumping at his dam and trying to get over it. He thought of several plans in order to facilitate the passage of the fish without hurting his mill, and he did what most beginners do who have engaged in this problem—he made an inclined plane on the down-stream face of his dam. His dam was about ten feet high, and he made an inclined plane about 240 feet long on the incline, having its head cut below the top of the dam. His own account of the result is highly interesting, for it throws light on mistakes constantly made, with the same results, even to this day:—

‘I found that the water, in consequence of being allowed to flow without any check down the inclined plane, acquired so great a velocity at the bottom that no fish could stem it; and that whilst it acquired this great velocity, it had, by its rapidity, become so small in depth that there was not sufficient of water to cover the salmon unless when there was a flood in the river. When I found from experience that this did not suit the purpose, and when I saw the salmon attempting to get up and constantly thrown back, I immediately set about to consider some mode to insure their passage, and I commenced by making some experiments with loose boards. I drove spikes into the jointing of the paving, and rested the boards across on them, and placed them somewhat in the form of steps one above another. When I first began to do this, I put in only a few boards at the bottom with a view of trying the effect of them. It was then in the spawning season, when the fish were very desirous to run up, and the river was in about an

average state of water. A few hours after I had put down these boards, I found a number of salmon on the different steps, some on the first step, some on the second, and some on the third; and they were making repeated attempts to ascend the channel farther, but were generally forced back in consequence of the great force of the water. I then had a continuation of the boards made to the very top up to the notch in the dam, and I found that the fish ascended with apparent ease. The steps were about eight feet from one to the other, and they did not go right across the channel. Each alternate board came from the opposite side, and they ran about two-thirds across. There is a pool and an eddy at each to assist the salmon to ascend. By having this kind of ladder it is possible to reconcile the interests of salmon fisheries and the interests of the owners of the mills. By the opening at the head of the ladder being lower than the general surface of the dam, if there is any water at all to spare from the flowing of the mills, it is quite sure to come down the channel and stair.'

This discovery of the salmon stair or fish-pass, about the year 1827, formed a new epoch in the history of salmon fisheries in this country, and furnishes the key to what remains to be done. Yet, strange to say, there is so little general enlightenment on the subject, that it has, even at this day, all the freshness of novelty. The fish-pass of Deanston being a success, the proper way of proceeding for those interested was to analyse the structure and its various parts, and endeavour to discover the general law which made it a success at Deanston, and which would likewise make it a success elsewhere. The first difference between this inclined plane and Smith's stair was, that in one case the velocity of the water had no check, and in the other it had a check. The laws governing the velocity of water are universal, and are founded on the law of gravitation, which is the same in all the rivers of the world. The salmon has only a limited mechanical power in moving through water. It cannot propel itself up a perpendicular spout. It cannot jump beyond a certain height. If the velocity of the water against which it swims exceeds its own counter power of propulsion, it can no more advance than a steamer can go up through an American rapid in like circumstances. But when once the velocity of the water in its descent from a high to a low level is reduced so as to be less than the locomotive power of the fish working against it, the difficulty is overcome. And this is the main object of a salmon-stair. The question as to the best mode of moderating the velocity of water in descending from a high to a low level within a given space, and with the least expense, is partly a scientific question, and is the kind of question for a Cambridge Wrangler to solve, from his knowledge of the laws of falling bodies.

Now that it is solved, the greatest difficulty seems to have attended the adoption of the solution. It was many years before the Deanston Pass had even an imitator. It is true, that soon after and probably contemporaneously, a solitary pass, having many points similar, was made in the Ribble. But it was not till about twenty-five years afterwards that the new idea was taken up and turned to account in Ireland—at Ballisodare, Collooney, Galway, Portlaw; and in many more places in Ireland since that time the principle has been sufficiently understood and successfully put in practice. In England, the subject of fish-passes was scarcely known until after the Commissioners' Report on Salmon Fisheries in 1860. But the crudest notions then prevailed. Many supposed imitations of the Irish pass, which was borrowed from the Deanston Pass, were made by amateurs, and scarcely one hit the right proportions. One gigantic blunder at Conway Falls long deterred more of such attempts. There was zeal, but no knowledge of the mechanical laws which governed the matter. Even up to the present time, attempts are constantly made by small artifices with planks and sluices to produce the same effect as a well-proportioned pass. But it is impossible to cheat the law of gravitation. A compact though small column of water from a high to a low level sufficiently slow for fish to navigate, can only be obtained out of the thin overflow of water in ordinary mill-ponds in one way—namely, by making the inlet or point of departure about a foot below the level of the pond above and leading it down through successive pools.

Most of the fish-passes erected after the year 1861 failed, because the pools were not of proper size, had too great a fall between each other, had no inlet made below the top of the dam, and had the outlet in the wrong place. The volume of water in a river is ever varying; but as most mill-dams are so arranged as to work the mill at the lowest state of water, which usually lasts only three summer months, it follows that during all the rest of the year there is abundance of water flowing over the top of the dam, and not used for the mill. In order to get the greatest possible practical value out of this overplus, it is essential to form the inlet of this pass a little below the crest of the dam, and a very small aperture or notch, not exceeding two feet square, and most frequently not exceeding one, or half a foot square, will suffice to work a fish-pass, and keep the pools always full for the largest fish. The effect of making a notch or aperture of this size in ordinary dams is merely to lower the level of the water in the mill-pool above from one quarter of an inch to one inch. This difference is,

during the existence of the overplus, altogether inappreciable. But the head of water, which is the only valuable thing to the mill, as Smeaton and his successors demonstrated, can be kept up to precisely the same height as before the notch was made, by simply running along the top of the weir a thin bar of wood or iron, nearly the same thickness as the difference in the level of water caused by the notch, namely, one quarter of an inch, or one inch, in thickness. The bar compensates for the notch, and leaves the head of water unaffected. When, however, the water in the mill-pool falls below the top of the dam in summer weather, as fish do not then move, the notch may be shut up, and the water is then not affected any more than if no notch existed. By this plan the head of water need never be interfered with at any time, and so no injury to the mill can possibly occur. When the pass to which the notch serves as an inlet is at work, the overplus water feeds the pass and is not wanted for the mill. When there is no overplus, the water being excluded altogether from going into the pass, the supply for the mill remains untouched. Therefore in neither state of things can the mill be affected.

All this seems clear to the lowest capacity. All the engineers are unanimous on the subject. But the situation is this: Though the millowner cannot dispute these scientific facts, he is nevertheless lord of the soil. He is slow to believe what he has hitherto successfully disputed. He can resist the touching of a stone, or the moving of a spadeful of earth. His consent is necessary, for there must be a small and infinitesimal displacement of soil or stone in order to make a pass in this way. The millowner is entire master of the situation; and this is the main source of all the difficulty. Until a statute gives the power to some court or constituted authority to enforce the construction of such a pass, no advance can be made. This is the dead-lock out of which the salmon-fishery owners now seek to be extricated. Notwithstanding all the morbid fancies, and sometimes extravagant claims, made by the salmon angler—notwithstanding that he often erroneously asks, what no laws can secure him, his ‘fair share’ of the fish—notwithstanding his imperfect sympathies with his brother-anglers, and his want of worldly wisdom in leagues of self-defence—notwithstanding his forgetfulness that self-help is often the only passport to justice—notwithstanding that he often prays overmuch to Jupiter; yet it cannot be denied that here he has an unanswerable claim in this matter upon the Legislature. The day is past in all other fields of improvement—in all sanitary reforms, where the mere obstructiveness

and apathy of one man can stamp out a public industry and prevent a large body of proprietors from reaping the natural fruit of their own property, he himself all the while being beyond the reach of loss or injury. The value of the mill may be trifling in comparison with the great fishery interests on which it forms a perpetual servitude; and yet though no injury can possibly result to the dam, the prosperity of the fisheries, to which a highway for fish over that dam is essential, is left by the Legislature entirely at the miller's capricious disposal. Can any practical mind defend such a state of the law?

The subject of this well-founded grievance has often been inquired into by Parliamentary Committees; but owing to the want of knowledge of a definite plan of fish-pass, no Committee, previous to the discovery of Mr. Smith, of Deanston, could throw light upon it. It is also to be lamented that the Parliamentary Committees subsequent to that date have only dealt in safe generalities, instead of conveying to Parliament an outline of the requisite details. Unless some details are added as to the *modus operandi*, people are in effect told nothing at all, and the subject is not advanced. The Committee, which was presided over by Mr. Dodds in 1869-70, was the first which effectually grappled with this question, and brought to light and kept steadily in view the main essentials to an efficient pass, and the obstacles to its adoption. But, unfortunately, the report of that Committee contains the same serious blemish as its predecessors. It seems to dispose of the subject by a few general flourishes, instead of giving Parliament some intelligible details such as practical men can understand and apply. Owing to the vague and shadowy terms of that report much of the good effect produced by the evidence collected has been lost, and unless persons were to read all that evidence they are not helped by the report itself to any precise or vivid impression of how the difficulty of arranging a satisfactory fish-pass is to be met.

It is also to be regretted that the English Act of 1861 misconceives the subject of fish-passes, and by stating a constant run of water as the only criterion is altogether misleading, not to mention other wanton injuries it causes to mills. The Scotch Bye-laws of 1868 also fail to show much insight into the subject, and mislead by erroneous admeasurements, as the result has fully shown. The authors of the Tweed Act of 1857 show total error and bewilderment, and confound the height of a dam with the head of water kept up, not knowing that it is quite consistent with the latter that a small notch

may be made in the crest of the dam. Engineers, however, are now beginning to demonstrate this result. On the Wharfe some recent fish-passes recall attention to the right conditions; and on the Tees, it is said, the right rule has been recently applied. An efficient fish-pass will soon become, if it has not already become, matter of common knowledge, and as easily made as any agricultural implement. The cant hitherto current that no rule can be laid down, and that we must choose between milling or fishing, and cannot have both, is for ever exploded, and deserves no more attention than a mediæval superstition.

The mode of constructing sufficient fish-passes over all weirs being now ascertained and well-known to practical men, the only question is, what is the Legislature expected to do? The salmon angler cannot, it is said, expect the Government and the national purse to pay for his private amusement; but the least the Legislature can do is to alter the law so as to make it possible to have fish-passes over all the dams which now obstruct the passage of fish. The first thing is to take away from the millowner the present power of obstruction which he possesses as owner of the dam. It is sufficiently established that a fish-pass made over, through, or round his dam cannot possibly do injury to him, and must necessarily do much good to all the owners of fisheries above and below the dam, and thereby must increase the public food and the employment of the public fishermen. These are sufficient reasons for legislative interference. Another vital point is that the Legislature shall provide some expeditious and inexpensive mode of settling once for all the difficulties of detail that will arise out of the form of the fish-pass. The millowner may, if a plan is suggested to him, prefer some other plan. If the east end of his weir is fixed upon for the site, he may prefer the west, or the middle, or one of the banks. He may want the inlet higher or lower, or smaller, and allege apprehension of damage, if his suggestions be not adopted. All these objections, and even prejudices, should be fairly considered and disposed of by hearing both sides, and deciding which is sound and which is delusive, which is honest and which is frivolous. He should have an appeal to a court of law, if the decision should be wrong; for the height or position of the inlet of a fish-pass may clearly involve a question of legal right, unless carefully guarded by prescribing conditions for its use. Owing to the want of such an expeditious mode of solution, fatal delay and obstruction have hitherto prevailed. The Act of 1861 gave a certain limited power to the

Secretary of State to authorise third parties to make fish-passes, if no injury was done to the mill. But this last qualification gives rise to the whole difficulty. No administrative officer, however high his station and influence, can adequately dispose of the objections that arise. If there is a difference of opinion—one opinion being as good as another—a resort to a court of law or equity can alone settle it. Hence, during the last *five years* only *sixteen* fish-passes have been approved by the Secretary of State; and even in those instances it does not appear that the making of the fish-pass was other than voluntary. The appointment of some court to dispose of such disputes was urged for Scotland, in 1865, by Mr. Grant Duff; for Ireland, by Mr. Wingrove Cooke; and has often been urged for England. Whether it be the County Court, the Petty Sessions, or a superior court of law or equity, or a special court improvised for the purpose, this mode of solution of these complicated embarrassments seems the only one adapted for the work; and after the experience of the Tithe and Copyhold and Inclosure Commissions can be made to work well.

It is true that still another point of importance bearing on the erection of fish-passes is the expense. It seems to be universally admitted, except (by some blunder) in Ireland and the Tweed, that where the owner of an obstructive mill-dam has not acquired a legal title to maintain such obstruction to the prejudice of his neighbours, he, and he alone, should bear the expense of a proper fish-pass, and no option should be allowed to him in the matter. On the other hand, where the owner has acquired a legal title to keep his dam as it is, and however injurious it is and may have long been to his neighbours, opinions are divided as to who should bear this expense. Some recommend that the expense shall be equally divided between the owner and the Fishery Board of the district. In Ireland and on the Tweed this expense is thrown on the Fishery Board entirely. In Scotland the expense is thrown on the owner of the dam entirely. In deciding legal rights appertaining to mills, courts of law do not pry minutely into the antecedents of the right; but the Legislature may well think twice when settling who should bear the burden of this incidental expense. It does seem inequitable, after millowners have, not by straightforward purchase, but entirely owing to the good-nature, apathy, or ignorance of country gentlemen, indirectly acquired a technically legal right to keep up their mill-dams, so as permanently to injure all the fisheries above and below, that the very persons so unconsciously injured should

have to buy back the very rights which a court of law by a legal fiction—and a legal fiction the reverse of truth—assumes that they gave away gratuitously. If, however, we assume that where the title to use the weir has been legally acquired the Boards must pay the expense of rendering it innocuous by making a fish-pass, the money will not be difficult to find. It is true all Boards are suffering from that universal complaint, deficiency of income. They cannot go to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for an advance; but they can mortgage their license duties, and they ought to be able to increase these duties for this special purpose. Even if there be no other ready way of raising the expense by loan, they might get powers to set up a bag-net at a convenient place, and apply the proceeds for a few years towards completing their emancipation. If once the requisite power of making and settling the form of a fish-pass over all weirs were given, country gentlemen themselves, for their own interest, would advance the money. What has deterred all persons hitherto from lending money for such purposes has been the knowledge that unless the dams nearest to the sea are first made passable, all expenditure on dams higher in the river is comparatively fruitless. This would be different if the Fishery Board could systematically clear their river by beginning with the lowest dam, and so proceed upwards. The investment would then be profitable. New energy would, at all events, be restored to all Fishery Boards; and, what is of no small importance, there would be the satisfaction that Parliament had done for this long-vexed class of Her Majesty's subjects all that legislation can do. Self-help would then be a more familiar practice than hitherto. Parliament has already done a good deal at the public expense to favour the owners of fisheries and help them to supply our markets with a favourite food. In 1861 the Government appointed inspectors for the express purpose of aiding them with good advice and experience, so as to restore the value of their fisheries, and apply the new views of management to a neglected subject. Though this boon was at first conceded only for three years, successive Governments have annually continued it, until every country gentleman now knows as much as he is ever likely to know of the subject. Such a boon no Government has vouchsafed to the breeders of poultry and cattle, or to market-gardeners, who also supply our markets. Every farmer would be glad to multiply food at high pressure, if enlightened and instructed by able professors sent out by the Government to teach them the most profitable way.

The Government has also acted liberally towards fishery-owners by appointing and maintaining special commissioners to settle once and for ever the legality of fixed engines and fishing-weirs and fishing mill-dams, which had so long been an intolerable burden on all the rivers. No man could tell whether and to what extent these fixed engines were legal, and hence no justices of the peace could enforce many of the enactments of the Salmon Fishery Act of 1861, owing to the defendants setting up what is called a claim of right. All these questions are now set at rest, and can never more disquiet the upper proprietors. They now know the length and breadth of the mischief. The illegal engines have been weeded out and removed, and certificates and plans of all the existing legal engines are registered with the clerks of the peace, so that every one can readily ascertain whether any illegality is or will hereafter be committed. Those engines which have been certified as legal are in no instance a very serious obstacle to the regeneration of the salmon fisheries.

The following table gives the leading result of the labours of the Special Commissioners up to April 1872:—

	Legal.	Illegal.
Poke nets and stream nets (Solway)	—	5½ miles.
Putchers (Severn and Parrett)	14,629	12,149
Putts (Severn)	659	1,424
Stake nets and V weirs	14	76
Stop nets (Severn, Wye, Usk)	103	172
Hods (Cumberland)	—	230

Total cases decided up to April 1872, 656. Of cases within the jurisdiction *two-thirds* were declared illegal.

Total notices of appeal, 45.

Notices withdrawn	22
Judgments affirmed	19
Judgments reversed	2
Appeals pending	2

Not only should fish-passes be made compulsory in the manner explained, but the additional grievance from the mill-races should now be redressed. In Ireland and Scotland, including the Tweed, the owner of a mill can be compelled, at his own expense, to put and maintain gratings across his mill-races to prevent salmon being diverted and imprisoned, and often clandestinely killed. Engineers like Telford and Jardine told Committees of Parliament fifty years ago, and others have told many a Committee since, that these gratings can be put so as not to obstruct the flow of water, merely by widening the mill-races for a few feet at the place where the grating is put.

Yet up to this day, the mill-owners in England and Wales have successfully in this, as in other cases, resisted undertaking such work and small expenditure on the old plea of ruin and confiscation.

Nearly all the other difficulties attending the restoration of the English salmon fisheries have been cured except the making of fish-passes and gratings. Pollution of rivers is undergoing a separate solution. The annual close season in Scotland and Ireland is longer by a fortnight and is made variable; this the English close season, by a few slight amendments of the law, may be made to imitate. The weekly close season ought to be forty-eight hours, as in Ireland; and, indeed, it would be sound policy to extend it from Friday night at 9 P.M. to Monday morning at 6 A.M., a period of fifty-seven hours, as a set-off against the tendency to tidal overfishing. Boards of conservators ought to have ample powers of repairing fish-passes, for they are the waywardens of the fish, and their bailiffs should, as in Ireland, have power to traverse the banks of all waters frequented by salmon. Boards of conservators ought to have the power of making bye-laws on a few subjects within certain limits, as sanitary authorities have in all parts of England. Mr. Dodds' Bill on the subject of bye-laws and fish-passes carefully provides for all the leading difficulties of the position, and protects mills as well as fisheries from arbitrary, unnecessary, and frivolous interference with each other. Mr. Dillwyn's Bill, though an offshoot from Mr. Dodds' Bill, and borrowing many good points from it, yet shows a very imperfect appreciation of the necessities of the case as regards weirs and fish-passes. There has been much misapprehension as to the constitution of Boards of Conservators. Mr. Dodds, in working out the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1870, proposed to make the boards elective. At present the vast numbers of gentlemen nominated and *ex-officio*—in some cases exceeding a hundred—are only a dead weight on the working powers of the body. All the work is done by one or two persons. It would be better to restrict the number to about a dozen working members, and get at the right men by election. At present, nearly four-fifths of the funds are obtained from the license duties paid by the tidal fisheries, and these should be fairly represented on the board. Mr. Dodds proposed to give a clear majority of two-thirds to the representatives of the upper fisheries, while Mr. Dillwyn seeks to leave the boards much as they are, only 'adding more to that which hath too much.' The mode of electing boards of conservators is, however, not a very important matter, and

may be fairly left to find its level. Ireland is divided into seventeen fishery districts, the members of the boards being chiefly elected, and these work well. Scotland some years ago was parcelled out into 120 fishery districts, but only thirty of them have boards; and, though all the Scotch fisheries are in private hands, few persons take the trouble to enforce the law. In England there are thirty-seven fishery boards, but several good rivers are still left to look after themselves. In Ireland, the license duties and percentage valuation assessment for 1871 amounted to 8,865*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* The anglers were 2,787, and paid 2,787*l.* as license duty. In England and Wales, the license duties yielded, in 1871, 6,266*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* The anglers were 1,616, and paid 1,240*l.* license duties. In Scotland there are no returns.

Though the proper regulation of the salmon fisheries has vexed the Legislatures of England and Scotland for six centuries, and of Ireland nearly as long, it can scarcely be said that all the bearings of the subject had been explored until very recently. The discovery of the salmon-stair forty-five years ago, and which is only now beginning to be understood, was the turning-point, which enabled the Legislature to do all that legislation can do. The Legislature cannot do more than enable those chiefly interested to help themselves. After providing adequate machinery, by which these little communities may make a common purse so as to repress each individual's enormities; and, above all, by giving them the short and easy way now proposed, of throwing open all the breeding places which Nature has provided for salmon, but which, from want of timely discovery and easy redress, had been inadvertently closed, we may safely predict the speedy arrival of the time when a Salmon Fishery Bill will cease to be an annual trial of the legislative temper.

ART. VII.—*State Papers preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. English Domestic Series: 1639-41.*

TRADITION—for, alas! those honoured historians, Hallam and Macaulay, must now be reckoned as of the past—imputes to them an indifference to the study of unprinted stores of information. Of such master-minds, however, it is not for us to reason; a mere student may well content himself with a declaration of that ancient antiquary, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, that 'records and other exotic monuments of antiquity

'are the most ravishing and satisfying part of human knowledge.' Yet even so rapturous an authority was not wanted to impress on us the value of this class of information, after a two months' sojourn in the Rolls Office, spent by the kind permission of Sir T. Duffus Hardy, and with most generous help from the late Mr. John Bruce, in examining the 'domestic series' of papers relating to the years 1639-41. It may have been because the transactions therein recorded are among the most critical, of the most critical portion of our history; or perhaps the feeling arose from the gradual process of the study; yet it seemed, while day after day we turned the documents leaf by leaf, that the very events themselves that produced the call of the Long Parliament, November, 1640, had been placed before our eyes, and that we had seen King Charles, in the summer of 1639, leading his disorderly train of courtiers and their followers, equally undisciplined, against the Scotch Covenanters; so quickly to retreat, even at the sight of 'old, little, crooked' Lesly and his well-drilled army. Seen too how the King, recoiling to make his second attempt, and calling for aid on that man of 'deep reach' and daring counsel, Strafford, summoned the Short Parliament of 1640; and dispersed it, lest the House of Commons should interfere with his darling project, the subjugation of Scotland.* Though the picture of England during the summer of 1640 afforded by those papers, is of necessity but disjointed and full of petty detail, still it exhibits the King's fated obstinacy, the perplexity of his Ministers, and the misery of all; to a degree far beyond any printed story of that year; and shows that the call of the Long Parliament brought no remission to the anxiety and unrest that Charles inflicted on his subjects. Even the very habit and passion of that eventful time seemed to dwell amid those bundles of torn and yellowed documents. The fevered yet imperious touch of Strafford's pen, and the sneaking, crawling writing of the elder Vane, alike bore witness to an inevitable antagonism between the men, and bespoke its result; even the 'gallows-mark' figured

* The King attributed that dissolution of Parliament to a quarrel with the Commons about supply, and historians accept that assertion; but his true motive seems to have been because, as we learn from an intercepted letter in the Rolls Office, 'our parliament this day (5 May, 1640) are about to petition His Majesty to hearken to a reconciliation with you his subjects of Scotland.' A statement confirmed by Mrs. Hutchinson, *Mem.*, ed. 1863, p. 90; see also Oldmixon, ii. 148, and Baker's *Chron.*, p. 458.

on their official letters, to warn loiterers of their fate, if they did not 'hast, post, hast,' attuned the mind in accordance with the past. Nor was the teaching power of these documents confined merely to sympathetic suggestions such as these. New and striking illustrations are afforded of those influences that swayed the destiny of Charles I. Among the well-known causes of his overthrow, was rage provoked by priestly tyranny. And the 'madness of the people' will not be thought strange when it is known, that to the mutilation and imprisonment of the victims of ecclesiastical wrath, the Privy Council sought to add the fire round the stake.

The State Papers for the year 1639 show that this desire was seriously entertained; and that the Government wished to rekindle the flames of Smithfield, not for the benefit of one high in social position, but to conquer the recusancy of a common stonemason, by name John Trendall. The evidence of this intention lies in an application made by the Privy Council for a lesson in the art of burning heretics in a legal way. And they turned naturally to that minister of religion who last performed this feat—to Richard Neile, then Archbishop of York, who, when Bishop of Lichfield, had ordained the burning of Wightman, April, 1614, by command of James I. That act of ministration Neile seems to have performed with conscientious gaiety of heart; nor had an intervening quarter of a century, in the least, dulled his ardour to burn a heretic again. Writing to tell Laud, that 'a copy 'of the certificate made to his Majesty of Blessed Memory, 'whereupon the writ to burn Wightman issued forth,' had been duly forwarded to the Council, 'there being now the like 'occasion of proceeding against one Trendall,' the archbishop adds, that Wightman's execution 'did a great deal of good 'in this Church, and that the present times do require the 'like exemplary punishment.' Hardness of heart is but the natural growth of despotic power; it is the confident security of the holders of that power, in the year 1639, that is so remarkable in Trendall's case: as it is evident that they were far more desirous to burn somebody, than careful what that poor body was to be burnt for. A more inoffensive 'blasphemous heretic' than the stonemason could not be. Trendall was simply a Nonconformist. He held that 'our Saviour 'Christ was head and Lord of his Church;' therefore, his conscience disapproved of creeds, and forbade his attendance on episcopally ordered worship. And though he asserted that 'Christ's ordinances were not in our Church;' still it was proved that he prayed for the King in becoming lau-

guage. Trendall also denied the 'holding of conventicles,'—admitting, however, 'that he conversed at divers peoples' houses, that sent for him;' and it would seem that he availed himself of this privilege, by preaching continuously for five hours at a stretch.* These were Trendall's offences: and to them he added that of obstinacy: for he deemed the command, 'fear not ye the reproach of men,' to be more sacred than the injunctions of the Council Board. So he was thrown into the Fleet Prison; if possible, he was to be burnt at the stake.

To appreciate fairly this proposal, we must revert to the precedent set by Archbishop Neile in his condemnation of Wightman, April, 1614. Being consulted on that occasion, the 'King's attorney and his solicitor' made no doubt 'but that the law was clear to burn a blasphemous heretic;' and Wightman's fate received approval, also, from Archbishop Abbot and Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. The sanction, however, of one eminent legal authority of the time was not solicited, as King James 'did not much approve' a reference of the question to Sir E. Coke, 'lest by his singularity of opinion he should give a stay to the business.'† But this wretched precedent of that ill-favoured reign did not apply to Trendall. His blasphemy consisted in preferring the authority of the Lord Jesus to that of my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. He was not a Unitarian; Wightman was: a form of heresy at that time so offensive, that his doom was held even by Thomas Fuller, who usually enjoyed a Christian frame of mind, to be a sacrifice acceptable to God.‡

How or when the stonemason was released from prison, we do not know; this, at least, is certain, that the Long Parliament came soon enough to save him from the fire. But if Trendall thus disappoints a horror-loving reader, we are indebted to his recusancy for a marked illustration of the temper of the King's statesmen just before the outbreak they provoked; and for the following graphic description of the last occasion when the stake was used in England as a defender of the faith.§

Wightman, it would seem, was sent by King James for

* Statement and Depositions, dated 27 July, 1639. Rolls Office.

† Correspondence between Archbishop Abbot and Lord-Chancellor Ellesmere. (*Egerton Papers*, 417, 448.)

‡ Fuller's 'Church History,' book x. p. 64 (ed. 1656).

§ Archbishop of York to Sir D. Carleton, 9 August, 1639. Rolls Office.

judgment to Neile, as Bishop of Lichfield, because the heretic was of that diocese. The bishop accordingly, with the aid of 'many able divines,' proceeded against him, 'in a legal way in Consistory Court,' and pronounced the sentence in Lichfield Cathedral. 'I myself began the business,' the archbishop writes, 'with a sermon and confutation of his blasphemies . . . the other divines each confuted one of the parts of the "ten several heresies" * that were charged against him.' Wightman, however, remained obdurate; and so, the bishop read the sentence against him, denouncing him as a 'blasphemous heretic, to be accordingly certified to the secular power.' This was represented by his Majesty's writ to the sheriffs of the county of the city of Lichfield, directing them to burn Wightman, 'as a heretic.' They obeyed the command; 'and he being brought to the stake, and the fire scorching him a little, he cried out that he would recant; the people hereupon ran into the fire, and suffered themselves to be scorched to save him.' But the flames got the poor madman at last. On Wightman's 'being brought into the Consistory, to declare his recantation . . . he blasphemed more audaciously than before; and his Sacred Majesty being informed of his behaviour,' renewed 'the writ for the burning of him, which was sent down,—executed, and he died blaspheming.'

'The novelty and hideousness' of this sight provoked such popular displeasure, that King James forbore from again resorting to the stake and faggot; † and so again in 1639, Laud, knowing what had occurred near his own palace, and the warning it gave of coming storm, perhaps, shrank from attempting to relight the Smithfield fires. For while the scheme for burning Trendall was on foot, the following picture was submitted to the archbishop's notice of the pent-up fury of his victims:—

'Being accidentally to visit one in Bethlem, coming home I met Brownists and Anabaptists, I think at least two hundred, with Eaton's corpse . . . they answered such as met them, demanding who that was to be buried, that it was one of the Bishops' prisoners. When they came to the grave, they—like so many Bedlams—cast the corpse in, and with feet instead of spades, thrust in the mould till the grave was almost full; then they paid the grave-maker for his pains, who

* Namely, those of Ebion, Cerinthus, Valentinian, Arrius, Macedonius, Simon Magus, Manes, Manichæus, Photinus, and of the Anabaptists. Fuller's 'Church History,' book x. p. 64.

† Fuller's 'Church History,' book x. p. 64.

told them he must fetch a minister; but they said he might save his labour.*

And the impression this spectacle made on Laud's emissary will seem to us yet more singular than was that incident to him. He perceived that a new danger awaited the politic system of allowing heretics 'to waste themselves away silently 'and privately in prison;' and that their final reappearance in the streets, when dead, might cause results even more awkward than their release alive. Actuated thus, he reminds the archbishop that one Mrs. Traske has been his prisoner for the last eleven years, having been 'committed for keeping 'Saturday for her Sabbath.' And evidently Mrs. Traske's strength was 'to sit still;' for the archbishop's informant reports, almost in a tone of vexation, that refusing alms, she had lived contentedly on bread and water for many a year; nor 'will she relent, or petition to be set free, or even go out 'to take the air, saying it was not for her.' Nay, 'she takes 'up sharply all who speak against authority,' as it was 'God's 'will that she should be imprisoned.' Mrs. Traske, however, 'grows aged and melancholy;' and struck by the inconvenient publicity just then given to the corpse of 'one of 'the bishops' prisoners,' Laud's adviser suggests this thoughtful precaution; 'if my Lord his Grace think fit, rather than 'she should lie there to die . . . let them turn her out of 'doors, else she will never go: so leaving this to his Grace's 'wisdom, I rest at command.' Such was the spirit of the hierarchy, who led Charles I. headlong into the gulf of revolution; and these exhibitions of their character are derived, it will be remembered, not from their enemies, but from themselves.

And if bigotry deadened the heart of the prelates, not less did greed of gain stifle in their fellow Ministers the dictates of common humanity. Of this no better proof could be found than an invitation to an eminent statesman to secure to himself, in the name of the Crown, the goods of a convicted felon. Such a step was legal; but how revolting was that rapacity which seized, in the hour of distress, on the property of the widow and orphan! No such scruple, however, was anticipated in the mind of Sir H. Vane the elder, for whose benefit this note was written:—

'Madam,—There has happened a bad accident within ten doors of us. A man of Sir Mathew Mences is dead this morning, and it is sup-

* Unsigned Report, endorsed by Secretary Windebank, 25 August, 1639. Rolls Office.

posed he has killed him. The searchers are there, and how they will find it I know not; but if it be found very foul against him, there cannot but be a great advantage fall by it to somebody that can get it. If it please my brother to make use of this intelligence, I shall be glad it fall in my way to let you see, that I am, Madam, your most affectionate servant,

‘MARGARET MORTON.

‘For my Honorable sister The Lady Vane. Drury, this 17 of March (1639).’

And besides affording illustrations, such as those we have given, of events that stand out conspicuous in our history; our State papers also supply indications of popular impressions that accompanied those events; which though, at the moment, of most potent influence, still were so transient in their nature as to permit concealment, either by policy or accident. And guided thus, even a theme, as well worn as the trial of the Earl of Strafford, may be regarded from a novel point of view.

The papers for the year 1640 contain letters referring, as if it was no secret, to the expected landing of Strafford’s Irish army in England, during the autumn of that year.* Such openly avowed anticipations of that event naturally attracted notice; for it will be remembered that this design was the principal charge against Strafford.† He was accused of suggesting to King Charles, that ‘he had an army in Ireland, which he ‘might employ to reduce this kingdom;’ that is to say,—that when the then expected invasion of England, by the Scotch Covenanters, had occurred,—then, in that moment of confusion, Strafford suddenly landed in Cumberland, at the head of a compact, well-disciplined body of men, ‘inspired with his ‘spirit,’ might subdue this country to the King’s will, and compel it to join with him in the overthrow of Scotland.

Into the proof of this charge at the trial we do not enter; Hallam considered that there was no ‘conclusive evidence

* ‘The Earl of Argyle has orders to march into Ireland, in case the ‘Irish army come to England to join the King’s army.’ (*Copy letter from Lord Loudon to Marquis Hamilton, 20 August, 1640.*) ‘He wished ‘the Lord Deputy’s troops were on the Carlisle side to welcome the ‘Scots.’ (*Windebank to Conway, 21 July, 1640.*) ‘12,000 Irish lie ‘ready to hand, when the King is pleased to send for them.’ (*Report from Dr. Pocklington. York, 13-16 September, 1640.*)

† The ‘23rd Article, which was the main and principal Article of our charge, touching the Earl of Stafford’s advices to His Majesty, upon the 5 May last.’ (*Glyn’s Speech, 10 April, 1641. D’Ewes, MS. Diary, Brit. Mus., 420.*)

'against Strafford' of that design. And, indeed, in Westminster Hall, if, on the one hand, the elder Vane made a hesitating confession that such advice had been tendered, in his presence, to the King, equally that assertion was contradicted by all Vane's fellow-councillors, and by Strafford's indignant denial.* Nor was this accusation, according to any historian, ever so established as to receive universal popular acceptance.

But what did 'common fame' say to that charge? What did the people of England believe with reference to the King, and Strafford, and the Irish army? They did not care about Vane's shuffling evidence; they did not want proof of mere words spoken; they all believed that Strafford's advice had been acted on; many of those present at the trial had heard of his design, from the very beginning; all knew, during the previous autumn, when the Scotch invader was actually in England, that the Irish army lay ready for embarkation, and that Strafford was to lead it to these shores. And all knew that his declaration, 'that there was no intention or purpose 'of bringing this Irish army into England,' was a falsehood, and that the King's solemn confirmation of Strafford's words from the throne in the House of Lords was equally untrue.

The letters we mentioned, and the fact that the arrival here of the Irish army was the subject of common talk among officers in the English and the Scottish armies, afford conclusive evidence that Strafford's design was, in a degree, notorious during August and September, 1640.† But the universal expectation of the Irish soldiery that England felt, was caused by the circulation throughout the country of documents

* That copy of the notes taken by Vane of Strafford's 'advices' to the King at the Council, 5 May 1640, which Pym produced with such effect in the House of Commons, 10 April, 1641, was not used as evidence at the trial; for the document was laid before the House of Lords 'for their consideration' (12 April, 1641, Com. Journal, ii. 119); and is now among their archives. Lord Digby was credited, not as stated in Whitlock's *Memoirs*, p. 43, with the theft of that paper, but of Sir H. Vane's preliminary examination, 'writ by Sir W. Earle's own hand' (D'Ewes, MS. Diary, April 23, 1641); and from Vane's shuffling evidence Strafford's friends drew some damaging questions to him at the trial (Rushworth, viii. 546), derived evidently from that source.

† Pennyman's evidence at the trial, that 'he had asked Sir R. Farrar the reason the Irish army did not come over, it being the 'conjecture of a *great many* they should land at Workington.' (*Rushworth*, viii. 557.) 'The 10,000 Irishes, this two months lying on the 'coast of Ireland, are now thought to be transported to England.' (August, 1640; *Baillie*, i. 257.)

intended to act, and which did act, on the public mind most powerfully. For the Covenanters fought King Charles as efficaciously with the pen as with the sword; and they heralded their entrance into England by the Declaration of the Scottish nation, to justify the invasion. And among the provocations to that step, they state, that the Scotch army had been drawn across the border, because 'they would not lie quiet until the 'yoke of bondage' was laid upon England, 'by the help of 'such an army, as was pretended to be gathered against 'us.'*

This Declaration was widely scattered throughout England. And as if to prevent the possibility of that passage being misunderstood, and to explain, that it did refer to the Irish army, which was ostensibly levied for service in Scotland, the circulation of the Scotch proclamation was accompanied by a corresponding movement here, directed by Pym and Hampden.

This was the preparation of that well-known document the petition to the King from that group of peers, the Lords Saye, Brooke, Essex, Russell, and their associates, in which they remonstrated with the King, against—among other instances of his misgovernment—'the intention which hath been credibly reported, of bringing of Irish and foreign forces' into this kingdom. If publicity be wanted, publicity is easily obtained; and a petition will answer that purpose as well as any other way. This petition from those 'disaffected lords' was not an appeal so much to the King, as to the people; it was not even a petition, it was a remonstrance.† And the leaders in this movement missed no method by which they could give notoriety to that remonstrance; they met in open council in the city of London for many days; they suffered the presence at their deliberations of a noted emissary of the popish party;‡ copies of their petition were widely circulated; nay, even appearing in the name of 'many other noblemen and most of 'the gentry in several parts of the kingdom,' they formally cited the Privy Council Board to join with them in that appeal to their royal master.§

* Intentions, &c., of the army of the Kingdom of Scotland: (Nelson, i. 418, 423.)

† So styled on the copy of the document in the archives of the House of Lords.

‡ Sir Toby Matthews. Notes of Report from the Council to the King, 7 October, 1640. Rolls Office.

§ Secretary Windebank's Reports to the King, August and September, 1640. Clarendon. State papers, ii. 94-111.

That appeal, of course, was made in vain; but the peers secured the co-operation of a body of men quite as influential, at that moment, as the Privy Council, namely, of the whole city of London; for 10,000 citizens, imitating them, signed a petition to the King, 'that contained all that was in the 'Lords' petition, with an addition of divers other griefs.'* Upon these features of the crisis of August and September, 1640, we need not dwell; as it is well known, that, compelled by 'the Lords' petitioning, and the general voice of the people 'almost hissing him and his ill-acted regality off the stage,'† King Charles summoned the Long Parliament. It is to what provoked that outcry that we would call attention.

Both long before, and long after the year 1640, nervous terror of popish outbreak possessed Englishmen with intensity. Of all the actions that wrought the downfall of James II., the most potent was the introduction of Irish papist soldiers into this country; the alarm they caused provoked the panic of the 'Irish night,' in the winter of 1688, 'the strangest and 'most terrible that England had ever seen;'‡ a terror of such long duration, that nearly a quarter of a century after the occurrence, it was referred to as 'still fresh in most peoples' 'memories.'§ And papists and Irishmen, in 1640, were certainly not less terrible to us than in 1688. If so, the thousands who read the Declaration of the Scottish nation, or the copies of the Lords' Remonstrance, or who 'resorted by companies of 'twenty or thirty in a company, to consult and to subscribe' || the Londoners' petition, must have discussed the 'intention 'credibly reported,' of the landing here of the Irish army; a mere word, on such a motive for quick alarm, must have sent the rumour flying fast and strong throughout England; the very whisper of such a project would have sufficed to drive the country into madness.¶

* Information sent to Archbishop Laud, 10 September, 1640. Rolls Office.

† Milton's 'Eikonoclastes.' Ed. 1848, vol. i. p. 380.

‡ Macaulay's 'Hist.,' iii. 305.

§ The 'Spectator' for 8 April, 1712.

|| Information sent to Archbishop Laud, 10 September, 1640. Rolls Office.

¶ Strafford's project was suspected from its outset. His army was raised in March 1640; and, according to one living at the time, 'a 'general damp' was cast on the proceedings of the Short Parliament, during the following April, because 'the most active and disaffected 'members were enabled, by Vane, to affright the more sincere with the 'Irish army, and the ill consequences of successes against the Scots.'

Nor were the King's English subjects warned that Strafford was coming here, at the head of his Irish-popish army, by any indirect and uncertain method, but by the solemn assurance of the whole Scottish nation, and of the most eminent among our own nobles and statesmen. When once it is considered, what an agitation was thus deliberately set on foot, and how it must have affected the King, and Strafford, and every inhabitant of the three kingdoms, it may well seem surprising that historians should have entirely overlooked such a remarkable feature in the crisis of September 1640.

And yet the panic this terror struck upon England must have been the key-note of the storm that compelled the King to summon the Long Parliament; the general knowledge, that the royal master was 'himself a principal' in that crime, and its 'chief author,'* for which a too devoted servant was to die, was the key-note of public feeling about Strafford during his trial. It was the universal belief that 'plotters' had enforced a war between Scotland and us, that when we had well wearied one another we might be *brought to what scorn they pleased*,' and that 'the Irish army is to bring us to a better order,'† that made England refuse to aid King Charles to expel the invader from our country. It was the despair this belief created that made Englishmen content to let the blood shed at Newburn rest unavenged; that made us willing to suffer the accomplishment of that old prophecy, then rife in England, that we should be 'overcome by the 'Scottes,' an enemy we held 'most wretched, and least worth,'‡ than either Dane or Norman; events so hateful, that, when months of agitation had dimmed the memory of our 'infamous defeat,' Westminster Hall echoed back shouts, applauding the opinion that peace between England and Scotland was 'the worst of evils.'§ This feeling overcame even the dispassionate Selden, for he surprised the House of Commons by speaking 'long and vehemently' to dissuade them from any dealing with

(*Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 146.) The origin of that 'rumour' was sinister language used by Strafford himself, and by his brother George, at that time in Dublin (*Rushworth*, viii. 538), and reported in London almost immediately, as is fully explained in D'Ewes, MS. Diary. Debate, Nov. 11, 1640.

* Milton's 'Eikonoclastes.' Ed. 1848, vol. i. p. 333.

† Pym's words in the House of Commons, 7 November, 1640. Sanford's 'Great Rebellion,' p. 302.

‡ Rous's Diary, p. 104.

§ Strafford's Trial. *Rushworth*, viii. 578.

their Scotch fellow-subjects 'coming in with sword in hand; '* implying that such a step was complicity with their treason.

What new, deep, and tragic interest is imparted to Strafford's trial by the thought, that not one of the vast crowd inside Westminster Hall, or of the crowd outside, but knew that the King was the arch-plotter against his people, that he had enforced the 'wicked counsels' of his Minister. This accounts for the sympathy which one guilty of so cruel a treason against his fellow-subjects, attracted towards himself; Strafford was a 'master of persuasion,' but the knowledge that he was to be sacrificed to save the chief criminal, spoke for him more eloquently even than that eloquence which was his own. Nor was sympathy the only advantage Strafford thus gained; the position in which he and the King stood towards each other affected the whole course of the trial. The notoriety that Strafford's advice to turn the Irish army against England had passed into action, almost barred all proof of that advice, lest too much should be proved not against him, but against the King; and hence appeal to 'the voice of the people,' else so powerful in such cases, became 'a horrid witness' † to be avoided at all risk.

It may be presumed that the same necessity, the necessity to screen the King, led Strafford's accusers to enfold amongst a mass of minor charges which affected him alone, that one chief accusation on which they could so surely rely, but in which Charles and he alike were involved. It must have been some strong cause which required that 'attempt purposely made' to procure the death of so notorious a criminal 'upon accumulative treason, none of his pretended 'crimes being treason apart; ' ‡ which exposed the House of Commons to that countercharge of injustice then so loudly urged, and which is heard even to this day. § Insight, also, is gained into the strange conflict of passion that attended the change of procedure against Strafford from an impeachment to the bill of attainder. That change was resisted by Pym and Hampden, but it was advocated, even by men devoted to the King and Strafford, such as Culpepper and Tomkins; || and surely it is not unreasonable to account for so singular a

* Debate, 3 February, 1641. D'Ewes' MS. Diary.

† Glyn's Reply to Strafford's defence to art. 23. Rushworth, viii. 580.

‡ Act for reversing the Earl of Strafford's Attainder.

§ Mr. Gladstone, Parliamentary Debate, Feb. 1872.

|| D'Ewes' 'Diary of the Long Parliament,' quoted by Forster; 'The Grand Remonstrance,' pp. 136-140.

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collision of votes by this motive, namely, because trial by impeachment left final judgment to the House of Lords, while to use the language of that House in a protest against proceeding by an attainder, the bill 'brought in the King as judge.'*

Truly if Charles, in the face of the notoriety of his guilt, could, by his own act and deed, send his accomplice to the block, Pym might rightly say, 'then he can deny us nothing,' but equally Strafford's friends might expect such a deed to be impossible. But it was possible—and now we see why the King sought public justification of his assent to the attainder bill by an open appeal for sanction to the troop of bishops and judges he summoned for that purpose to Whitehall; and why he registered that ghastly letter on the journals of the House of Lords, which threw the blame of his action on Parliament and the English people. Fruitless efforts! Within a few hours of his own death, the King still bewailed the death of Strafford; lamentations continued in his name in that 'Image of a King'; his would-be protraiture.† Even to all time Parliament and his son carried on this confession, and declared by statute that Charles I. 'ever remembered, with 'unexpressible grief of heart,' his assent to Strafford's death, 'as he did publicly express it when his own sacred life was 'taken away.'‡

Surely contrition made so solemnly conspicuous, was designed to atone for a shame that was obvious to all. But the King's true guilt towards Strafford, as yet, rests unexplained. It was he, and he alone, who excited the people to such fury of alarm, that to that noble victim quarter was no more possible than to 'wolves and beasts of prey.' That 'fear from Ireland,' which the Commons felt in April, 1640, which all England felt soon after, was, in May 1641, as rife as ever. Though Strafford's fate was visible, the Attainder Bill being then before the Lords, still that fear the King would not allay; he would not disband that Irish army which still lay ready for immediate action round the port of Carrickfergus, where Strafford had stationed it a year before.§

* 'At evening the Lords sent a message to the House of Commons' that, in their opinion, it was 'the safest way to lay the bill of attainder aside, for that it brought in the king as judge.' (*Husband's Diurnal*, May 5, 1641, p. 93.)

† *Eikon Basilike*, quoted *Nal.* ii. 193.

‡ Act for reversing Strafford's Attainder.

§ The King's answer to an Address of Parliament on this subject (30 April, 1641) caused 'much grief,' and struck a 'long silence' upon the House of Commons, 'in respect it gave so little hope of disbanding

That army on foot, and Strafford still general of that army, how could the King's promise be trusted, that if the Earl's life was spared, he would not employ him 'in any place of trust, 'no not so much as of a constable'? And so, the panic of the preceding autumn was awakened to tenfold agitation. The wildest rumours disturbed the people; but they all circled round that old 'fear from Ireland,'—that Strafford was to be freed from the Tower of London, that a ship lay ready in the river to waft him back to the Irish army.

Verses written at the time, ascribed to the royalist poet Cleaveland, afford a clear reflection of the light in which Strafford's death was regarded, even by an adherent of King Charles. These lines exhibit gloomy displeasure, though not directed against Parliament or the people—a confession that the sacrifice of Strafford was a necessity, but not a necessity of his own creation; deep and sullen regret overpowers the writer's sorrow.*

'Here lies wise and valiant dust,
Huddled up 'twixt fit and just,
Strafford, who was hurried hence,
'Twixt treason and convenience.
His Prince's nearest joy and grief:
He had, yet wanted, all relief.
The prop and ruin of the State,
The people's violent love and hate:
One in extremes loved and abhorred.
Riddles lie here, or in a word,
Here lies Blood, and let it lie,
Speechless still, and never cry.'

'the Irish army.' (*D'Ewes' MS. Diary*, British Museum.) 'The King against his own mind, to serve his ends, gave up' Strafford 'to death.' (*Mrs. Hutchinson, Mem.*, ed. 1868, p. 91.)

* Copy of the verses in the Rolls Office. Nalson, ii. p. 204.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England. Bampton Lectures*, 1871. By the Rev. G. H. CURTEIS, Principal of the Lichfield Theological College.
2. *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*. 2 vols. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews.
3. *Religious Thought in England*. 2 vols. By the Rev. JOHN HUNT. 1871.
4. *The Present Position of the Church of England: Seven Addresses by the Archbishop of Canterbury*. 1871.
5. *Charge of the Bishop of St. David's*. 1871.
6. *Charge of the Bishop of Manchester*. 1871.

THE ecclesiastical historian Socrates, in a well-known passage, compares the theological controversies of the fifth century to a battle in the night, where each party, from the ignorance of the exact meaning of the terms employed, numbered amongst its adherents foes and friends fighting on the same side. This characteristic of theological struggles, though never perhaps exemplified on the same scale, has prevailed, more or less, ever since; and it is one of the first duties of a philosophic theologian to disentangle these confusions, both as a means of arriving at the truth, and also as the best exposition of the futility of many of the party contests that have rent the peace of the Church. A large part of what is commonly called in popular English parlance 'dogmatic theology' is merely the process of heaping together without definition or discrimination the ambiguous watchwords of those nocturnal struggles—watchwords, which if traced back to their original meaning, may convey some useful information, but which, apart from such historical investigation, are but the signs of unknown things in an unknown language.

There is, however, another evil, incident to ecclesiastical warfare, which may be illustrated by a familiar speech of the Duke of Wellington in regard to actual battles. 'A battle,' he used to say, 'is like a ball: nobody knows what is going on in any other part of the field, except that on which he is himself engaged.' This has been especially the case in most of the works which have been written, and in many of the arguments maintained, on the relations of the Church of England towards the Nonconformists. Each of the contending parties, as a

general rule, has fixed its attention only on the particular point on which it was immediately at issue with the opponents of the moment; and has altogether neglected to observe or to take account of the point of view on which its opponents themselves would have laid stress, and of the general relation of both to the religious welfare of the whole nation.

It is with great pleasure that we hail, in the book we have named at the head of these pages, a signal instance to the contrary. Mr. Curteis's Bampton Lectures furnish a bright example of an English Churchman deliberately endeavouring to place himself in direct contact with all the different forms of belief that have divided the English ecclesiastical world. Something, no doubt, of the same kind was attempted by the late lamented Professor Maurice, in his 'Letters on the Kingdom of Christ,' in which he endeavoured to bring the various religious ideas of his time within the scope of his theological survey. But in that case the attempt was made with a view to a statement of what the author conceived to be the true aspects of theology far more than for any practical results to be derived from it, so that the field was still left open for a student like Mr. Curteis to address himself to the subject with a special bearing on its practical solution. There are, perhaps, some slight distortions running through the arrangement of his work, which will, we fear, prevent it from having as immediate an access to some of those whom it ought to influence as we should desire. There is at times a tendency to represent the Church at its ideal best, and the Nonconformists at their real worst. It strikes us as sometimes making too much of the actual framework of the Church, and too little of its pervading spirit. But in spite of these superficial shortcomings, we cannot doubt that the temper, the courtesy, the fairness, the evident carefulness in searching out even in minute detail the grounds of all its statements, will commend it, and has commended it, to the better spirits amongst the Nonconformists themselves. And the favourable reception with which, on the whole, the work has achieved in more purely ecclesiastical circles, combined with the fact that a theologian so candid and so liberal was selected by the clerical chiefs of the University of Oxford for such a delicate task, is a hopeful symptom of the sound and reasonable spirit of the Church herself.

It so happens that almost coincident with the publication of Mr. Curteis's Lectures have appeared two other works, which may serve both as corrections of and as supplements to his more important statements. One is the most complete con-

spectus which has yet been given of English theological literature in all its branches,—‘*The History of Religious Thought ‘in England,’* by the Rev. John Hunt. It is a book which, without any pretensions to grace of style or fervour of eloquence, yet by sheer determination to present the exact truth, and by genuine study of the works themselves, produces a picture of all the various streams of theological opinion from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, which every English ecclesiastic, whether conforming or nonconforming, ought to read, if only as a counterpoise and check to the narrow and imperfect statements which he is in the habit of hearing within his own immediate circle. To include in one survey the whole of this vast literature—to show how Bacon, Hobbes, Selden, and Locke, no less than the more professed divines, contributed to the sum total of English religious belief—how even Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Tindal, and Toland had their effect in modifying and stimulating devout thought and inquiry on the momentous questions at stake, no less than their more orthodox or Christian opponents—was a task which no one had yet attempted, and which Mr. Hunt has shown himself well qualified to perform. To treat these various authors from the literary rather than from the polemical point of view, has of itself an elevating and widening tendency, for which every student of theology, every lover of peace and truth, ought to be grateful.

A second work which fills up the outline of this survey in one particular branch, and that branch the most important of all, is the elaborate treatise of Principal Tulloch on the ‘*History of Rational Theology in England.*’ This is the first systematic account of the long series of divines who, whether under the name of Rational, Platonist, Latitudinarian, or Liberal, have never ceased out of the Church of England from the days of Colet to the days of Milman. The reproduction of these men in bold relief against the background of the ordinary representatives of the Church of England is, as we shall proceed to show, of an importance far transcending any mere historical interest, and has a direct bearing on the questions which Mr. Curteis proposes for solution. That this work should have been written, not by an Englishman, but by a distinguished divine of the sister Church of Scotland, adds to its interest. The pleasure with which Principal Tulloch explores this comparatively unknown field communicates itself to his readers, and the academic groves of Oxford and Cambridge are invested with the freshness of a new glory, reflected upon them from the far off rocky shore of St. Andrews.

Together with these more permanent expressions of the better mind of the Church of England, we would refer, in passing, to the more fugitive, though for the moment more important, utterances which have fallen from the lips of the Primate, happily restored to his former vigour and activity; from the venerable Bishop of St. David's, whose last charge (alas! if it is indeed to be the last) is a proof that the 'natural force' of that wise old man is not 'abated,' nor the keenness of his intellectual vision 'dimmed;' and from the Bishop of Manchester, whose development of latent powers, by his entrance on his new office, has been, in these our latter days, one of the most convincing examples of the true use of the Episcopate, in 'stirring up' the gifts which might have else lain dormant or unknown.

Taking, then, these works as our basis, we will proceed to show what are the true relations in which the Church and Dissent stand towards each other, and what are the bases of adjustment for which every liberal statesman and liberal Churchman worthy of the name ought to strive. It is well known that, according to the original theory of the Church of England, as laid down by the Statutes of the Reformation, and as expounded in the most splendid language by its most majestic divine, in his 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' all Englishmen are supposed to belong to it, to have a claim upon its ministrations, a share in its government, an interest in its welfare. In outward form the constitution thus laid down has, no doubt, been greatly modified; but the works to which we have just referred are some amongst a thousand proofs that the substantial facts which that theory represented remain the same. It is impossible not to see that in their origin the different Nonconforming sects were but so many parties within the National Church. The idea of separation, of dissidence, of dissent for its own sake, was either altogether unknown in their first beginning, or else was secondary to more fundamental doctrines. It was an accident, so to speak—a series of accidents—often disastrous, untoward, deplorable—that in each case prevented the natural development of those sects or parties within the Church itself. Sometimes, as Mr. Curteis points out, the separation was occasioned by mere misunderstanding; more often either by the headstrong vehemence of the seceders, or by the still more headstrong obstinacy of those in the Church itself. And what still more strongly illustrates this characteristic of the Nonconforming portions of the Church is the fact, on which hardly sufficient stress has been laid, that the dominant sections within the Church have been at

times as little disposed to conformity, and have had their course marked by an exclusiveness of thought exactly analogous to that of those who have actually separated. There is no doubt that the powerful party which has represented the most directly antagonistic element to the various Nonconforming sections, has from first to last borne upon its face the marks of a struggling, aggressive school, which, beginning with a standing-place exceedingly insecure—at times altogether lost—was always in danger of being forced into a hostile and separatist condition, had the rulers of the Church showed as much intolerant energy as the school itself displayed. Nay, on one occasion this separation did actually occur. During the whole of the last century there was a Nonconformist body in England, of which Mr. Curteis has taken no account, but which contained within itself exactly the corresponding elements to those which he depicts amongst the sects more commonly so called. Lord Macaulay has in a few* powerful pages delineated their beginning, middle, and end. We refer to the Episcopal Non-jurors who, leaving the Church at the time of the Revolution, equalling in acrimony against it the most violent Puritan or Anabaptist, lingered even until our own time, and were last seen by living persons in the town of Shrewsbury, in the beginning of this century. Unfortunately, it had hardly died away on the outskirts of the Church when it revived again within its pale, and from 1834 has, with different degrees of success, established itself with an imperious tenacity which has frequently tended to distract the Church from its proper mission of practical usefulness or intellectual inquiry; and though, with some individual examples of lofty character, and many of devoted zeal, has always shown the true character of its schismatic origin in the desire to claim for itself the whole field of Christian thought and Christian life.

The common ground of antagonism held by all these various sections, with the possible exceptions of the Quakers and the Unitarians, lay in two fixed persuasions: first, that they could discover in the New Testament, or at any rate in the Apostolical traditions, a complete, rigid, exact system of doctrine, ritual, and constitution; and, secondly, that it was their paramount duty to impose this system upon the Church of their own country, if not on all the Churches of Christendom. Unless we grasp this fundamental fallacy through all its different branches, we shall have failed to perceive the true aspect

* 'History of England,' vol. iii. pp. 454-467.

of the questions which then agitated and still agitate the English ecclesiastical mind. Mr. Curteis has well pointed this out in the case of the Independents and the Presbyterians. There can be no question that Congregationalism for the one, and Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions for the other, were believed to be the very 'pattern of the Mount,' and therefore the one immoveable exemplar of Christian society. The Baptists, again, perceiving, and in this instance rightly perceiving, what no modern scholar can possibly dispute, that baptism by immersion was the universal practice, and the baptism of adults, if not the universal, at least the general custom of the Apostolic and following periods, equally sprang to the conclusion that this was to be the one unalterable form in all the ages that were to follow. The Roman Catholics, whom Mr. Curteis has somewhat humourously placed amongst the early offshoots of English Dissent, were under the sway of the same illusion. They first conceived the strange hypothesis that the diocesan system, with bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs, was in existence in the first century, and that a supremacy of jurisdiction was then granted to the Bishop of Rome over all the other sees of the Roman Empire. They followed out this hypothesis by another no less strange, that the system so established was intended to exist for all perpetuity. Mr. Curteis has pointed out within a short compass, but with a force of argument that we have never seen surpassed, the absolutely unhistorical and untenable character of these pretensions. He has shown how, during the whole of St. Peter's lifetime, there never was nor could have been a Bishop at Rome—that even if there had been, St. Peter could not have been that Bishop, much less the founder of that Church. But even granting what history absolutely forbids us to grant, that such a patriarchate existed in the Church of the first century, the supposition that it was an indispensable and inalienable part of the Christian religion is merely another phase of the same form of belief that constitutes the essence of the Calvinistic, or the Independent, or the Baptist theory of Church government. The extreme Puritan and the extreme Roman systems equally presuppose the absolutely irrational principle that an external polity existing in times totally different from our own must of necessity be applicable to all subsequent ages; equally presuppose the exclusively divine and sacred character of institutions in their own nature essentially temporal and secular.

And when from these outlying sections we turn to the leaders of the party of which we have spoken within the Church itself, it is still no less true of them that they had also first created

an unhistorical theory of the primitive Church constitution, and, secondly, drawn the unwarrantable inference that such a constitution must be eternal. The Non-jurors, with their predecessors and successors, were as firmly persuaded that Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, with Liturgical forms, existed in the times of the New Testament, as the Roman Catholics that St. Peter was the founder and Bishop of the Church of Rome, the Independents that every Church had its own separate government, or the Presbyterians that the platform of the Apostles consisted of presbyters, lay elders, and deacons. And all the vehement contentions of the high Episcopalian party in England against communion or fellowship with the Reformed Churches on the Continent, with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, or with their Nonconformist brethren in England, arose from the persuasion that what they thus believed themselves to have found in the pages of the New Testament was to be for ever binding on the universal Church.

The whole system of these complicated but homogeneous illusions has been totally set aside by two master principles, one of which was proclaimed at the very outset of the establishment of the Church of England; the other has been worked out by the slow and gradual process of research and criticism. It was proclaimed by Hooker, in answer to the Puritans of his time, that it is alike contrary to the Divine laws which regulate the natural government of the world, and to the fundamental principles of the Christian Revelation, to suppose that positive laws and ordinances, laid down even in the Bible itself, were of necessity to be imposed on all the different generations of mankind through all the different modifications of their existence. To insist on such a perpetuity of merely external forms was, according to that great divine, to confound together the essential and the unessential, the temporal and the eternal, which it had been one main object of the Christian religion to place in the proper relative position of the paramount importance of the one, and the complete subordination and indifference of the other. With this principle of Hooker, all the pretensions to exclusive perpetuity, whether Roman, Puritan, or Episcopal, go at once to the ground. The second position which true theology has effectually established is derived from the results of the discriminating scholarship of the last two hundred years, namely, that the Apostolic traditions and the records of the New Testament contain no such fixed form as any of these theories would demand; that if here and there we find the germs of that which was developed in later centuries into gigantic proportions, yet in the Apostolic age they co-existed

in such a chaotic, uncertain, conflicting state, that any attempt to reproduce them now as they existed then, would be to evoke an apparition in this nineteenth century from which Roman and Presbyterian and Independent and Anglican would alike recoil with horror.

It might have been supposed that the fallacious positions taken up both by the original Puritans and their extreme opponents had been sufficiently dispelled by the action of the two principles which we have just mentioned. But, although their form is in some degree modified, the likeness of their general attitude is still visible in the same distorted representations of Christian truth as appeared in other shapes two centuries ago. It may be that there are very few either in England or Scotland who would wish to impose Presbyterianism or Independency, as a matter of Divine right, upon the whole empire. But another claim, equally exclusive, and penetrated by the same fallacy, has entered into the place of the ancient demon which has long since been cast out. It is now urged, with a tenacity and a vehemence almost equal to that of the old Puritans, that another dogma no less vital to the interests of true religion than Presbyterianism, or Independency, or Anti-Pædo-Baptism in earlier times, has dawned upon the Nonconformist mind. This new dogma, which to the first Reformers and the first founders of Nonconformity was almost if not altogether unknown, is the unlawfulness of a National Church, the sinfulness of endowments, the abomination of any public recognition or control of religion, and of the mixture of things secular with things spiritual; the contamination produced on any form of religion by its connexion with government and law. This dogma is, like those earlier claims of which we spoke, founded, first, on the supposition that such a complete separation is to be traced in the Church of the Apostolic age, and, secondly, on the inference that such a form of society, if it existed, was intended to be the universal expression of the Christian world.

We have sufficiently shown on other occasions the futility of both these positions. We have indicated that, so far as was possible in a state of things so entirely unlike our own, the Apostles and their first followers had not the slightest shrinking from contact with the great institutions of the Roman Empire; that there is not in their writings the slightest trace of that repugnance to the ordinances of law and government which in later days has come to be regarded by some persons as the chief article of religion. We have also shown—indeed it is already implied in what we have said with regard to the claims formerly put forth

by the different theories of Church government—that, even if such a repugnance had been manifest in the Apostolic times, and granting what, of course, is undeniable, the distinction which necessarily existed between the nascent Christian Church and the old heathen society in the midst of which it found itself, there is yet not the slightest reason to justify us in transferring from the primitive to a later age conditions which, by the nature of the case, cannot be equally applicable to both. St. Paul, it has been sometimes urged, knew nothing of Parliaments and parishes, nothing of Bishops in the House of Lords or of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It is equally true, and equally relevant, to say that St. Paul knew nothing of the printing press or the steam engine.

But it is not without its use to point out the analogy of the dogma of a separate religion with the more purely antiquarian dogmas of the older Puritan or sacerdotal parties. The present leaders of the Nonconformist body are, no doubt, perfectly justified, if they will, in maintaining for themselves this dogma and its consequences; but when we find that, not content with having secured the most complete toleration of their own view in this matter, they are moving heaven and earth to impose it on all the world; when we find that their main object is to insist on a uniformity of the voluntary system with as much pertinacity as their fathers insisted on the uniformity of Presbyterianism, or as their adversaries insisted in the seventeenth century on the uniformity of Episcopacy; it is evident that we meet again the old foe whom Hooker opposed, and who, as we thought, had fallen at last under the hands of Locke, now reappearing with a new face, but almost with the same weapons; and we feel that it is at once disappointing to our best hopes, and unworthy of the age in which we live, that a fresh intolerance should thus be encouraged to take the place of the old intolerance which we trusted was dead and buried.

Thus much, when we regard this question from a Nonconformist point of view. But it must not be dissembled that the tendency assumes a graver aspect when we find that a counter form of exclusiveness has meanwhile developed itself among those whom we have already designated as the Nonconformists, not without but within the Church of England—that party which, having been dormant almost from the time of the secession of the Non-jurors, revived in a spirit of extreme reaction against the Liberal progress of the age, with all the acrimony, and with much of the power, of the ancient Jacobites, in the movement known by the name of the Oxford or Tractarian school.

Here it is not only the old enemy under a new form, but the old enemy itself, that has again reared its head. All the arguments in behalf of the exclusive right of Episcopacy, the exclusive virtue of the Sacraments, the indispensable necessity of an Episcopal succession, the contempt and hostility manifested towards all the more purely Protestant Churches, whether at home or abroad; this, which marked the efforts first of Laud, and then of the chiefs of the Non-jurors, has now, during the last forty years, once more established a footing within the National Church. The National Church, after various struggles against this invasion, sometimes conducted by the lawful weapons of learning and argument, sometimes by the unlawful weapons of coercion and repression, has now for some time past acquiesced in the existence of this sect within its bosom. This acquiescence we have often maintained in these pages to be the inevitable consequence at once of the constitution of the English Church, and of the dictates of charity and reason. But within the last ten years this section of the Church, not content with toleration, has claimed an exclusive possession of the whole field, with as much vehemence and as much pretension as that with which their adversaries in the Puritan camp demand it for themselves. They correspond within the English Church to the Ultramontane school in the Roman Catholic Church, which Dr. Newman in his celebrated letter to Bishop Ullathorne described as 'an insolent and aggressive faction;' forming in reality a small, though energetic portion of the whole body, but claiming to represent the Church itself, and endeavouring to suppress all forms of belief but its own.

It is, however, a curious feature of the controversy, almost peculiar to our time, that the sacerdotal and the Puritan forms of intolerance have, by a natural affinity, formed what, in outward shape and at first sight, would have seemed the most unnatural alliance. The modern Non-jurors and Ultramontanes, like the modern Nonconformists, have conceived a mortal hostility to that large and more comprehensive view of Christian truth which is represented by the Established Church, and which, though not so persistently, yet, in their occasional paroxysms of anger or fear, they, equally with the Puritan party, are bent, if possible, on levelling to the ground.

It is desirable that this combination of forces should be thoroughly understood. There is hardly a meeting of the Liberation Society, hardly an expression of opinion from any of its leading members, which does not appeal for support to the most sacerdotal, the most exclusive, the most superstitious of all the tendencies which the Church of England contains.

Almost the only life which they condescend to acknowledge in the English Church they attribute, not to the Evangelical, not to the liberal, not to the steadfast, dutiful and unostentatious elements which form the bulk of the National Church, but to the noisy and turbulent, though, doubtless, after their manner, zealous and self-denying, partisans of the Oxford school. Not Arnold, not Whately, not Milman, not Frederick Robertson, not Frederick Maurice, not Cecil, nor Venn, nor Simeon, but John Henry Newman, the chief of that retrograde and exclusive movement, though filled, as he himself describes, 'with fierce thoughts' against the liberal tendencies of the age, is hailed by them as the English Churchman to whom they look with the greatest admiration.* They are, of course, not insensible to the claims of genius, learning, and zeal which he shares with the other leaders of religious thought whom we have just enumerated, but the distinction which at this time specially commends him to their notice is, obviously, his antipathy to Erastianism and his separation from the Establishment. The hideous mythology under which some of these High Church Liberationists express their hostility to the union of Church and State has not revolted those whom a common animosity to the views of liberal Churchmen has thus turned into strange bedfellows. Not once only but twice or thrice, in the most formal manner, have this sacerdotal party proclaimed that their reason for regarding the union of the Church with the State as absolutely unholy and unlawful lies in the gross materialism into which they have turned the holiest metaphors of the Sacred Writers;—that the Church being the Bride of the Redeemer, the alliance with the State is under any circumstances adulterous; but that if the State is Christian, the case becomes far worse; for a Christian State being the brother of Christ, its union with the Church then becomes not only adulterous but incestuous; and the text that is decisive in favour of separation in their view is the speech of John the Baptist to Herod: 'It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.'†

Such is the attitude which the two destructive factions within and without the Church assume towards their common parent. That the alliance thus cemented would be rent into pieces if their temporary object could be accomplished, is too evident to need argument. No one would assume a more haughty and hostile attitude towards the Presbyterians and

* Lecture at Bolton, by the Rev. Dr. Allon, November 1872.

† 'The Four Cardinal Virtues,' by the Rev. Orby Shipley.

Independents than those to whom the Divine and exclusive claim of Episcopal Sacraments is as dear as their hostility to the control of law and to the value of patriotism. The great historical and national edifices of the Church of England, if turned into merely private conventicles, and if occupied, as they might well be, by the zealots who even now shrink from the slightest contact in religious ministrations with their Non-conforming brethren, would become hermetically sealed against those who now claim, and justly claim, a part in those glorious inheritances.

But let us ask what are the elements, not in these polemical portions of religious society, which after all, both in the Non-conformist and the high ecclesiastical sections, form, we are convinced, a very small part of the whole; let us ask what, not in these, but in the more quiet, pacific, and reasonable spheres, are the elements which furnish a substantial ground for the hope of better things than are likely to be produced by this temporary alliance of intolerance and ignorance. It appears to us that here, whilst Mr. Curteis's book, in spirit and also in the facts which he contributes, furnishes most valuable materials for reconstruction and reconciliation, the actual method which he suggests admits of a better statement and a more practical application. We have said that with regard to the Non-juring element in the Church of England the true policy of the Church is not, and ought not to be, suppression, but toleration combined with full liberty for development of the more Protestant and liberal tendencies within its pale. In like manner, the true policy with regard to the Nonconforming elements outside the pale is not either repression, which indeed belongs altogether to the past, nor even absorption into the Church itself, but a full recognition of the value, the excellence, in some instances the almost indispensable necessity, of such forms of ecclesiastical government, of religious doctrine, of practical organisation, as the Nonconformist communities supply. It is not a question of equality. The Nonconformist is, usually, as proud of his Nonconformity as a Churchman can be of his Churchmanship. A voluntary Church and an Established Church each have their own peculiar merits and defects, as the policy of a select company or a self-chosen association differs from the policy of a State or of an Empire. A great Non-conformist of the last generation, Robert Hall, has described in an eloquent passage the mutual services which the conflicting factors of Christian life in England render to each other, and has pointed his warning by the example of the stagnation and decay into which the Gallican Church fell after it had suc-

ceeded in expelling from France every vestige of Huguenot descent. Just in the same way as we complain of the blind zeal which stimulates the leading Liberationists, which would wish to sweep away every witness to a larger, more national Christianity than is possible in a congeries of small narrow sects; so we should lament any attempt on the part of the Church of England to obliterate those standing testimonies which the different branches of Nonconformity have borne to truths that from time to time have faded away, or have never been developed, in the Church itself.

It is one of the unhappy consequences of the present temporary warfare which the Dissenters are waging against the Church of England, that a natural temptation springs up for each party to endeavour to augment on its muster-roll the numerical forces of their respective adherents. We trust that to this temptation the Church, at least, will rise superior, and that, even at the cost of exposing itself to the danger of partial and untrue enumerations, it will not press forward that authoritative numbering of the people, which the Nonconformists, for reasons of their own, have twice declined. Nothing could be more injurious, both to the interests of the Church and of religion itself, than that all the floating masses who have not yet ranged themselves under hostile flags, should be driven, by means of this kind, into a determined attitude of opposition to each other which they have not yet openly assumed.

A far more excellent way than the systems of rival proselytism and numerical competition is the free recognition which Mr. Curteis eloquently makes of the thoroughly English as well as thoroughly Christian character of each of the great communities which have broken off from the Established Church.

How essentially English are these different forms is sufficiently proved by the fact that they have spread hardly at all to any nations outside the Anglo-Saxon race. The Church of England is sometimes reproached with the fact that it is an insular institution; and Nonconformists themselves have not been ashamed to echo a reproach which, as a practical proof of its suitability to the English temperament, is, in fact, one of its greatest praises. But it is equally true that Independency exists nowhere except in England and the United States; that the Baptists, though they began in Germany, have struck root only in England and its dependencies; that the Wesleyans, although their religious life produced, no doubt, a revival in the Protestant Churches of France and Geneva, are, as an ecclesiastical body, confined entirely to the same local atmosphere; that Quakers and even Unitarians, as separate

sects, exist nowhere in the Continent, and only in a limited degree, even in Scotland. It is the national character of English Nonconformity which ought to make the Church feel that its dissenting children are truly its own members, and that in this respect the theory of Hooker, to which we adverted at the commencement of these pages, is true in a deeper and more permanent sense than that in which he intended it, that these great religious divergences are the outgrowth of peculiarly English characteristics, and form part of the bone and sinew of the country.

And if the course of history illustrate the English tendencies common to all these different sects, it may no less clearly prove their common Christianity. The piety of Baxter and Calamy, the philanthropy of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, the spiritual refinement of Firmin and of John James Tayler, the apostolic energy of Wesley and his followers, the missionary zeal of Carey, Marshman, Ellis, and Williams, are sufficient indications of this to all who have eyes to see or ears to hear the signs of Christian life beyond the borders of their own immediate experience.

This is the point where we may fairly ask to what quarter of the past or future history of the English Church we are to look for such a spirit as will admit and conciliate these common elements of national and religious vitality,—for the method by which they might still be utilised for the benefit of the whole nation, without giving each of them, or any of them, that exclusive predominance which at least some of their members are now anxious to secure. And here we feel that it is not so much in the framework of the English Church as in the inward temper and attitude of thought which it contains, or may contain, that the remedy is to be looked for. It is here that the work of Principal Tulloch, to which we referred in the opening of these remarks, comes in with singular opportuneness.

It has been too much the custom—and perhaps Mr. Curteis's pages are, in some degree, coloured by the same tendency—to regard the Church of England as chiefly represented, partly by its Prayerbook and its Articles, partly by the forward polemics, who, in different periods, have occupied the chief ranks of its ecclesiastical phalanx. But what Principal Tulloch has well brought out is the fact that behind these has been, almost from the first, a large, diffusive, expansive, progressive school of Christian thought which refuses to be numbered with any of the contending factions that have raged within or without the Church; which refuses to be ranked as a party itself.

or to call any man 'Master'; but which, nevertheless, has formed the backbone of the National Church through all its varying vicissitudes, the life-blood which has nourished it, and kept it alive, when it was well-nigh perishing of the fever or the consumption brought on by the activities or the failings of its other constituent elements. It began * even before the Reformation, in the friends of Erasmus, such as Dean Colet and Sir Thomas More. It found its most impressive oracle in the mouth of Richard Hooker. It sprang into new life under the fostering care of the noblest and most attractive of all the characters that figure in our great civil wars. Under the auspices of Lord Falkland, in the lovely vale of Great Tew, described in one of the most pathetic passages of Clarendon's life, were gathered together Hales and Chillingworth, and all that was most philosophic in moderation and most natural and simple in religion, from the neighbouring University of Oxford. Sir Matthew Hale would alone suffice to hand on the sacred torch † across the Commonwealth: and after the Restoration the succession was carried on by a yet more illustrious group in the sister University of Cambridge—the 'Platonists'—the 'Men of Latitude,' as they are put before us in the pages of Burnet, whose pedestrian style and homely common sense is warmed with a divine enthusiasm, as he describes the effect produced upon him by Tillotson, Cudworth, Whichcote, Henry More, John Smith, and Worthington. That succession has never entirely failed; and its very existence for so long a period is a pledge that the Church of England is capable of supporting and sending forth those who, from a wider point of view, and from a more generous appreciation of the excellences of contending sects, can afford to allow each one of them a place in the Divine economy of the Church, and in the national fabric of the English religious commonwealth.

To understand the peculiar position of the Latitudinarian school of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and their relation to philosophy as well as religion, we must refer to Principal Tulloch's own pages. But we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of citing a few of the noble words with which the Scottish divine sums up the ecclesiastical views of

* See the excellent delineation of these men in 'Oxford Reformers of the Sixteenth Century,' by Frederick Seebohm.

† The connexion of Sir Matthew Hale with the Latitudinarian school is not mentioned by Principal Tulloch, but is well brought out by Dr. Stoughton ('Ecclesiastical History of Restoration,' ii. 478–481). See also his striking quotations from Faringdon, ii. 339–341.

these precursors of the Church (if there is to be a Church) of the Future.

'Starting with the sacredness of religious conviction in the individual, and its divinely incompressible character, our Rational Divines did not yet any of them sink into individualism, or dream of a "dissidence of dissent." They felt the awful reality of the religious problem, and that religion was something beyond all State compulsion, but they did not therefore abandon the idea of a national Church. They sought to modify the idea—not to subvert it. What is known as the "Voluntary principle" was then unknown, and would not have appeared to them a principle at all. No doubt modern Voluntaryism has sprung up in some degree from their root-thought—the sacredness of religious conviction, and the absolute authority of conscience therein. But let men differ as they may in religious opinion—this was no reason, according to our divines, why there should not be common worship and a common national Church. Nay, community of religious life is all the more necessary because unity of religious opinion is impossible.

'This great distinction is one of their chief contributions to modern thought. Dogmatic opinion and religious faith belong with them to different spheres. The one is the product of the intellect, always restlessly seeking for exhaustive solutions of the Divine, as of everything else. The other is the fruit of the Spirit; the sympathetic life in man which clings to a higher life, even when light is wanting, and the sphere of divine knowledge may seem conflicting and obscure. The latter is the only true basis of the Church, whose function is first to quicken, and then strengthen and educate, the religious side of humanity, without primary respect to scientific accuracy of opinion. To make opinion or dogma the basis of the Church is to invert the divine order, according to which doctrine is placed after life, and true thought as to the Divine can only spring from its practice and realisation. This is an idea repeatedly enforced by our Theologians. They recognise religion and the Church as springing from faith in a personal Redeemer, and finding in this faith their ample warrant. There is no other or further essential of Christian communion. Theological opinion is a growth from this. To attain to clearer and higher views of the Divine Being and character, and the mode of the divine action in human salvation, is the work of the Christian intellect within the Church, nurtured by an ever nearer communion with its heavenly Source. But to bar the threshold by a summary of Christian Theology, which all must receive as the condition of entrance to it—nay, under the peril of damnation which it pronounces upon misbelievers—is not only to narrow and sectarianise the Catholic communion, but to subvert its essential idea. The Church is the home of the faithful everywhere—of all who have any aspirations after God and truth. Precise opinions in theology are the labour of the schools—of the thought bred within the Church, awakened and nurtured by its special life.

'The conception of dissent, therefore, had no place in the minds of our Theologians. The Church was not to them an organisation for the propagation of this or that set of opinions; it was a culture or worship

resting on the recognition of a few divine facts—a spiritual society, within whose sheltering bosom all opinions consistent with these facts should find free room and scope.

‘In this view the Church is not a separate spiritual society either in the form of Prelacy or of Presbytery, Calvinian, Arminian, or Socinian in its tenets. Such divisions are already sectarian in their very conception. It is the nation itself in the aggregation of its spiritual activities—its collective Christian life and wisdom working with freedom, yet subject to the common order and law. The true rule of the Church is, therefore, neither with bishop nor with presbyter, with ecclesiastical council nor royal will, but with the supreme national voice. This is the only consistent deduction from the views of our divines. It was the practical creed of some of them, if not of all. Their theory of a comprehensive Church, in short, embracing, as it did, every form of Christian activity, and giving free play to every variety of Christian opinion, had no final element of control except the collective national will.

‘Whatever may be thought of the Latitudinarian or constitutional theory, it is at least the only theory of the Church which has been found consistent with Christian science, and the cultivation of intellectual fairness no less than spiritual piety and charity. Not only so, but it is the only theory not discredited by the course of civilisation. A national Church which can embrace all the varied activities of Christian thought and life—which can appropriate instead of repelling the results of scientific discovery, and modify instead of banning even the froward energies of communistic thought—is a possibility in the future. The wildest powers of our modern scientific and social life may be brought within its control and purification. Before such powers Popery and Separatism are alike helpless. Systems which have nothing to learn—which have long ago laid up and embalmed, as splendid antiquarianism, their theories of the Divine—have nothing to teach. The most living and powerful thought of the age passes them by without notice. Mediævalism broods as a spectre on the face of modern civilisation. Sectarianism faintly solicits its mind and heart. Neither really move and vitalise it while it goes onward its unknown way.’

This is indeed a grand example to have been set forth by any Church. No doubt the matured experiences of Baxter,—‘the discoveries as to truth and peace, to the establishment and pure enlargement of a Christian in spirit and truth,’ ‘in the sparkles of glory or some beams of the Morning Star’ of John Saltmarsh, the fine philosophy of Jeremy White, chaplain of the Protector, are contemporary expressions of a noble Latitudinarianism on the part of the Nonconformists which have awakened later echoes in John Wesley and Robert Hall, and in not a few even in the ‘eclipse of reason’ under which they are now suffering. No doubt also the Presbyterian Church of which Principal Tulloch is himself so distinguished an ornament has, from the devout Leighton down to the generous and large-

hearted Norman M'Leod, never been left without witnesses to the moderate, comprehensive, catholic side of Christian truth. But we are sure that English Nonconformists and Scottish Presbyterians would acknowledge (sometimes perhaps more in blame than in praise) that of this catholic temper the Anglican Church had been the central hearth and home. And it cannot be doubted that, however much other leaders may have a larger clerical popularity or more brilliant gifts of eloquence, none stand higher in public estimation, as representatives of the English Church, than the three prelates whose charges we have prefixed to these pages, and which are redolent throughout—the Primate's not the least—with the full appreciation of that aspect of religion which Principal Tulloch and Mr. Curteis have set forth.

It is from this point of view that we propose briefly to enumerate the ideas or characteristic qualities which the Nonconformist branches of the Church may, when viewed in this larger national aspect, be regarded as having contributed to the general good. The Independents have almost from their first origin stood forward as the champions, at a time when such championship within the Church itself was sorely needed, of civil liberty and freedom of conscience. Their hold on English history is also beyond question. One name at least they have furnished to it of transcendent importance—the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. The Baptists vindicated, in ways and forms peculiar to themselves, the essential value of the purity and moral excellence of the Christian Church as the only characteristics which will avail to render its ministrations efficacious. The refusal to administer the Sacraments indiscriminately, the maintenance of a rigid interior discipline which divides the Church from the congregation, although condemned in the judgment of a higher Christianity even amongst the Nonconformists themselves as altogether misleading and artificial, yet may, if regarded only as one form of Christian life amongst many, keep before the conscience of the country a perpetual testimony to the fact, which members of large traditional communities are apt to forget, that the outward does not carry with it the inward, and that the multitudinous mass is only to be regenerated by the grains of a revivifying salt amongst the chosen few. They also have furnished one name at least to English literature which Lord Macaulay has not hesitated to place side by side with Milton: 'The seventeenth century,' he says, 'produced only two works of surpassing genius; one was the "*Paradise Lost*," the other 'was Bunyan's "*Pilgrim's Progress*.'" The Quakers or Friends,

as was remarked long ago even by Voltaire, stand in one respect honourably distinguished amongst all Christian sects, namely, in that they place before themselves as the main object of their existence, not the propagation of any peculiar opinion or the maintenance of any peculiar form, but the moral regeneration of humanity. The protest against the terrible evils of war and of slavery, the testimony in behalf of simplicity of speech and living,—these were to them what the quarrels for or against the surplice, for or against this or that theory respecting the eucharistic elements, have been in the other Churches both of Catholic and Protestant Christendom. And of all the founders of the States in the New World the one whose name, in spite of the darker clouds that have occasionally passed over it, has come down to us with the widest lustre, is the Quaker, William Penn. The Unitarians have had the rare merit of sustaining, at great odds and amidst all manner of social disadvantages, the spirit of free inquiry and critical discernment, which in the other nonconforming communities was hardly developed at all, and which in the Church itself needed constant replenishment. What there is of narrowness in their body is felt by their own most distinguished leaders as much as by others. ‘In ‘devotional literature and religious thought,’ says the most refined and venerable of their ministers,* ‘I find nothing of ‘ours that does not pale before Augustin, Tauler, and Pascal; ‘and in the poetry of the Church it is the Latin and German ‘hymns, or the lines of Charles Wesley or of Keble, that fasten ‘on my memory, and make all else seem poor and cold.’ But, however much the exaggerations or the meagreness of their theological schemes, have aroused a repulsion in the more devotional or the more dogmatic sections of Christian society, it must always be remembered that they have kept in check exaggerations and contractions at least as mischievous as any which are found amongst themselves. ‘It was,’ says a great German Catholic theologian, † ‘the rude and mechanical Calvinistic conception of the Atonement, and the opposing of the ‘Divine Persons like parties in a lawsuit, which by a natural ‘reaction turned the Puritan theologians and preachers of the ‘eighteenth century into Unitarians.’ They, too, have names which redeem their sect from the obscurity to which otherwise it seems to have been doomed. They included at least on

* ‘The Rev. James Martineau’s Letter on the Unitarian Position.’ (See Curteis, p. 297.)

† Dollinger, ‘The Church and the Churches,’ p. 239. ;

their borders Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke in England, and in America they have produced the one theologian of the English-speaking races (till quite recent times) whose fame has pervaded the Continent—William Channing. The Wesleyans, perhaps, amongst all these bodies are those who have least claim to be considered as an element separate from the Church itself. No extenuations or explanations of his later disciples can remove the overwhelming impression left by the repeated declarations of their founder, that not only would he himself never desert the Church of his fathers, but that continuance with it and attachment to it were the essential conditions of the prosperity and progress of his followers. What they contributed to the development of Christianity in England—the Christianity equally of the Church itself and of all Nonconformist branches—was the growth of a religious zeal, the encouragement of a religious energy, which broke through the calm repose—often the apathetic indifference—that pervaded all sections of English life at the beginning of the last century. And this revival, with all its distortions and extravagances, was not confined, like most of the other influences of which we have spoken, to England and America, but penetrated to the continental Churches, and produced among the Protestants of France, Switzerland, and Germany a revival of warmth and zeal, if also at times of bigotry and narrowness, of which the effects are still visible. The one historical figure of the Wesleyan Society is not any accidental or exceptional member of its body, as in the other Nonconformist sections, but is the character of the founder himself. Robert Brown, the founder of the Independents, John Spilsbury,* the founder of the Baptists, John Biddle, the first English Unitarian, even George Fox, the founder of the Friends, are comparatively insignificant personages by the side of some of their disciples; but John Wesley was incomparably greater than all those who have since borne his name; and alike in the judgment of the most clear-judging contemporaries, and of an impartial posterity, he must be considered one of the most lofty and venerable figures which English Christendom has ever produced; and extending as his career does along the whole course of the eighteenth century, it is in itself sufficient to redeem that much-abused age from the indiscriminating charge of incredulity and indifference.

Such is the outline, which we have advisedly given in the most general terms, of institutions, each of which has a history

* Cramp's 'Baptist History,' p. 282.

of its own, filled with incidents, some as interesting and instructive as many are 'stale, flat, and unprofitable.' These are the chief elements which it is the mission of the English Church to assimilate, to appropriate, to comprehend, and to conciliate. We have already said that mere absorption, even were it possible, is not of itself the most desirable or the most certainly fruitful of great results. As we deprecate the intolerant aggression on the part of the Nonconformists, which, by levelling all that is peculiar in the English Church, would in fact remove the wholesome counteraction which they themselves need, so also would we deprecate any course of action on the part of the Church which should deprive it of the co-existence and co-operation of those valuable ingredients of religion which we have just enumerated. 'I am no visionary,' says the Primate, 'looking forward to a time when all the 'various denominations throughout Britain are to come and 'desire admission into the Church of England.' Those who conscientiously prefer Presbyterianism or Independency will, of course, not accept Episcopacy or the parochial system. Those who object to endowments and establishments will not attach themselves under any circumstances to an endowed or established institution. But, as the Primate adds, 'If we 'show in all things where we can, without any compromise of 'principle, a hearty spirit of Christian love, there is every 'hope that in Christ's good time the differences that keep us 'apart may disappear.'

When we are asked to name some practicable approaches which, without destroying the different peculiarities of the Church and its nonconforming branches, shall at the same time bridge over the gulfs which needlessly yawn between them, it is not difficult to lay our hand on obvious measures, some of which at least have already received the attention of the Legislature.

There is the question of changes in the liturgical forms of the English Church, such as were in part proposed by the Royal Commission on Ritual, and in part have been already carried into action, and which being thus acknowledged in principle are capable of indefinite extension. Most of these changes are such as would be desirable, even were there not a single Dissenter in existence; but the argument in their behalf is immeasurably increased, when it is felt that the evils which they propose to remedy are not only evils in themselves, but causes of wide-spread offence and estrangement.

It is here that the Non-juring spirit, of which we spoke before, within the Church itself presents the most formidable

obstacles. The ecclesiastical Puritans, like their Nonconformist allies, are determined to allow of no changes but those which run in one direction, and that direction the one most pleasing to themselves, even though it be the most offensive to all besides. It is in the Lower House of the Southern Convocation, as is well known, that this obstructive party has chiefly entrenched itself; and their position has become the more dangerous, from the pretensions, put forward for the first time during the last few years, to a veto on all ecclesiastical legislation. Some of the most necessary changes were fortunately carried, before these claims had reached their present preposterous height, or at least before they had received any encouragement from higher authority. Such were the removal of the political services for the 30th of January and the 29th of May, in which the Convocation of the Restoration expressed the passions of the violent reaction of that time. They were happily abolished by Parliament without the slightest reference to the body which had drawn them up, and which, in its modern representatives, would never have originated the alteration. Such, again, was the relaxation of the terms of Subscription, which Convocation had steadily opposed, and to which it consented at last only when it became evident that the change was itself embodied in a Bill, which would become law whether they assented to it or not. Such, again, was the reformation of the Calendar of Lessons, which received an almost universal welcome in the country, but was carried through the Lower House of Convocation in defiance of the most strenuous opposition, and only by a doubtful vote, against which the regular leaders of Convocation have never ceased to protest. We dwell for a moment on this cause of obstruction, both in order to vindicate the Church at large from a charge which applies only to an exceptional phase of its history, and also to show what would be the kind of government which the Church would have to expect if those of its members who wish for a separation from the State were to get the reins into their own hands.

This spasmodic kind of opposition, fortified by the apathy or the connivance of those Nonconformists who dread the improvement of an institution which they wish to destroy, will, it may be feared, be offered to all similar remedial measures, which yet, if carried, would meet with general assent. Such, for example, is that which in a former article in these pages was strongly pressed with all the weight of pastoral experience; the relaxation of the rubric which enjoins the use of sponsors in baptism even on those who are least willing to employ them,

or least able to understand the complicated origin of the system. Such, again, is the relaxation of the rule which enforces the public recitation of the Athanasian Creed—the single example in which the Church of England has retained in its formularies the old anathematizing and exclusive spirit of the Church of the middle ages*—a relaxation demanded by both Primates, by the most learned, the most eloquent, the most active, the most popular of our prelates, and by 3,000 clergy, including nearly all those who have most interest in the education of the country, and by the repugnance or the contempt of an immense majority of the laity. It is still opposed by the party of which we speak; but even amongst these, very rarely from a belief in the denunciations which it contains, rather with a studied avowal of disbelief in them, combined with a strange desire to retain and repeat words from which all or almost all their sense has been carefully ejected.

Such, again, are the relaxations in the general framework of the Prayerbook, so as to allow of greater variety, condensation, and freedom. Some of these have been passed into law; and (as the Primate has well pointed out) with far more facility in fact than has been the case with those sections of the Church in the Colonies which have been reconstructed, more or less, on the voluntary principle. All these alterations—and many more which might be named—whilst they would not of necessity draw any large body of Nonconformists within the pale, nevertheless would remove some obstacles which stand in the way at least of their occasional conformity, and therefore of their occasional contact with that loftier standard of

* We cannot forbear to refer our readers on the subject of the Damnable Clauses of the Athanasian Creed to the four Charges—each conclusive in its way—of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Manchester, the Bishop of St. David's, and the Bishop of Peterborough. The objections of practical common sense cannot be more clearly expressed than in the two first: the analysis of profound learning and subtle irony—the invective of eloquent indignation and searching logic—cannot go further than in the two last. To these we would add the renunciation of any conceivable meaning which the anathemas may contain, in the sermon preached by Dr. Pusey, at Oxford, on December 1, 1872. A formulary which has been exposed to such assaults both from its enemies and its friends may continue to exist, but it has ceased to live, or to possess any claim on our respect. The feeling towards it, on the part even of the 'Orthodox' Dissenters, may be inferred from the speech of one of their leaders, who in a recent conference at Birmingham put it forward as one of the chief arguments for the destruction of the Church.

devotion which it should be the object of the National Church to foster and disseminate.

Again, the permission which is freely allowed in the Established Church of Scotland to use the ministrations of others than those who are regularly constituted as the ordinary guardians and ministers of the national Churches, might surely—with no more danger on the southern than on the northern side of the Tweed—be allowed, under whatever restrictions and checks public tranquillity or decorum might exact. In Scotland, even the once dreaded sight of an episcopal minister clothed in a white robe has been cordially recognised by Presbyterian ministers officiating at funerals in their parish churchyards. Surely in cases where the traditional attachment of a Nonconformist family to their ancestral burial-ground has overleaped the miserable barriers which political and ecclesiastical animosities have raised up, the clergyman of the Church of England might gladly welcome the co-operation, or if need be the assistance and substitution, of a Nonconformist pastor conducting the worship at that solemn time in the manner most suited to the feelings of the mourners. In a matter of this kind everything depends on the spirit in which the question is approached. What the one party claims as a victory the other can hardly fail to resent as a defeat. But this is surely not the wise, not the Christian, not the necessary policy to be pursued on occasions which of all others ought to soften party-feeling and reconcile divided friends. And again, in the Northern Church it has been found possible, without the slightest breach of ecclesiastical order, or compromise of principle on either side, for Prelates and dignitaries of the Church of England to preach in the Presbyterian pulpits of humble Highland villages, of great academical institutions, and of churches consecrated by every sacred recollection of ancient Scottish Presbyterianism. Is it unreasonable to ask that the same liberty which the State and the Church have freely allowed in Scotland, should be conceded in England? Not a single ancient ecclesiastical principle would be violated; not a single tradition of the early Reformed Church of England would be broken; if from time to time this were done, with the checks which in the English Church from its multiplicity of authorities might be far more easily contrived. The leading preachers, both of the Presbyterian North and of the Nonconforming South, might be invited to lend their special gifts for the edification of the congregations which now hang by thousands on the lips of the eloquent pastors of the National Church, and which

that very account would be well prepared to receive whatever benefit might be conferred, and guarded from any injury that might be apprehended, at the hands of less familiar teachers.

Again, in the wide field of social intercourse and of general co-operation in Christian objects, may we not hope that a time might come when the barriers which exist, not by law but merely by etiquette, custom, fashion, might melt away in a more enlarged consideration of what is due from the central Church to its outlying offshoots? One of the titles of the Archbishop of Canterbury, already used in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was 'the Primate and Patriarch of all the 'Queen's Churches.' We know not what may have been the exact force of the title when first given, but it expresses well the relation of the Primate to all those other Churches within the dominions of England which, though partially estranged from the National Church, are yet in a certain sense the Churches of the Sovereign, recognised and governed by her laws, and, as we have seen, closely connected with the national character of her people. In this sense the chief pastors of the English Church may well regard themselves, and be regarded by even those who have no direct legal relation to them, as the official guardians and guides of the whole religious community of England. And what is possible, in the highest degree, for the great dignitaries of the Church is also, in a lesser but still more efficacious sense, true of the ordinary clergy dispersed throughout the country. In every parish it is surely not too much to hope that every clergyman should regard the Nonconformist minister of the Nonconformist portion of his flock, not as an enemy, but as a friend, able to reach those whom he cannot reach, supplying ministrations which he cannot supply, just as his own special ministrations would often in like manner be acknowledged and recognised. If we may once more take an example from the Northern Church, the case has fallen within our own experience of a Presbyterian minister of the parish, whilst availing himself on the most friendly terms of the ministrations of a Roman Catholic priest for the humble Roman Catholic peasants that happened to be placed within the borders of his jurisdiction, yet being himself, in all the more ordinary consolations of pastoral life, called in by those very peasants to give the instructions which they felt they could not equally gain from their own less instructed priest. The division of labour, the unity of sentiment, exhibited in so extreme a case, possibly has often been seen, and might always be seen, in the far less antagonistic relations of the English clergy towards the Noncon-

formists. And we are sure that in the innermost heart of the Nonconformists themselves, however loud may be the cry of some of the leaders who have made themselves either the guides or the tools of political agitation, there is yet a strong feeling that their whole position would be changed, if the Mother Church were shattered to pieces, and if there were to be thenceforward no centre of English religious life out of which the others might go forth, and to which they might at least from time to time return. The energy of these its Nonconforming children come back into the Church itself; its toleration and its world-wide grasp go out more or less to them. As there is no Churchman so exclusive as not to claim for himself the hymns of Isaac Watts or of Charles Wesley, the parable of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' or the poem of 'Paradise Lost,' so there is no Nonconformist so exclusive as not to find pleasure in the hymns of the 'Christian Year' and of Bishop Ken, in the stately prose of Hooker or of Jeremy Taylor, in the touching prayers of the Liturgy, or the all-embracing charm of the Authorised Version. The cathedral, the country church, the parish churchyard, are still theirs as well as ours. The founders of most of the Nonconformist sects received their spiritual life within its pale. As amongst the different Churches of Christendom there is still a common element, which has descended from the earliest times of the Gospel, so among the different Churches of the Anglo-Saxon race there is a common national element which belongs to all of them, and of that element the hearth and cradle is the Church of England. Whatever estrangement may have grown up between it and them, yet there is still a deep and inextricable union. When the tidings ran through the country last September that Canterbury Cathedral was in flames, every educated Englishman, however Puritan, however disapproving from conscientious scruples even of the existence of the English Church, yet felt as if he were about to lose a personal friend. And in like manner we are convinced that the very same persons, if they could accomplish the downfall of the Church itself, would not see without a pang of grief the obliteration of so valuable, so interesting, so intimate a part of our English history and English institutions. What would be the processes—what the results—of such a downfall, no one can venture, no one does venture, to predict. But it must be remembered that nothing short of the most complete and total destruction of the institution would satisfy the logic or the sentiment of the assailants. So long as a single church or cathedral remains part of the national property, and by the law of the nation

is appropriated to religious use, so long the offence of union of the Church with the State continues; the offence which the Liberationists, whether from within or without the Church, profess to find so intolerable. It was with the utmost consistency that a venerable minister of the United Presbyterians in Scotland declared in the General Assembly of that body, last year, that he for one could never rest satisfied unless the stately edifices of the National Church were put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder. This, he said, and this alone, would meet the full requirements of the separation of the Church from secular control, and of the absolute equality of the different religious communions.

But we are firmly persuaded that this cry will pass away, unless it be encouraged for ulterior purposes by those who do not themselves believe in it, or unless the rulers of the Church should prove themselves inadequate to guard and to improve the institution committed to their charge. It is a saying trite even to wearisomeness, that in these days institutions can only exist in proportion to their proved efficacy and capacity for growth and amelioration. Of no institutions is this so true as of those which, by their connexion with religion, pretend to a higher ideal than belongs to the mass of human ordinances; and of religious institutions there is none to which this so much applies as to a Church which, by claiming to be national, claims the support and sympathy of the whole nation. All Englishmen, as we have said, have a share in the Church of England; not only those who teach, not only those who communicate, not only those who are converted to this opinion or to that feeling, not only those who agree with all the statements of its formularies, but those who widely differ from many of them—all have an interest in its continuance and its reformation. By the feebleness of our interest in it it grows feeble; by our indulgence in foolish fancies it grows fanciful and childish; by the strength of Englishmen it ought to grow strong; by the enlargement and enlightenment of English literature and science, and the elevation of English public opinion, it ought to become enlarged and enlightened, and elevated. Every ramification which connects the Church with English society is a source, not as the Puritan and Sacerdotal schools would affirm, of weakness, but of strength. What it has to dread is not the oppression or interference* of the laity, but their contempt

* A curious instance has occurred within the last few weeks of the advantage of this connexion. So long as the prayers for fair weather

and indifference, which is the cankerworm of the Catholic Church in France, Spain, and Italy. It was said, at the time of the fire in Canterbury Cathedral (how far truly we do not exactly know), that one chief cause of the rapid spread of the conflagration was the accumulation of rubbish, straw, sticks, nests of every kind, which the birds of successive generations had stored or left in the capacious vacancies of that forest of ancient timber. This is a true parable of the peril which besets a venerable institution such as the English Church. It consists in the gradual growth of old abuses—of forms which have lost their meaning—of stumbling-blocks of needless offence, which are innocuous in ordinary times, but in moments of excitement furnish the most dangerous combustibles. These are the dry fuel on which in such seasons the spark of popular passion falls, and the gust of party violence fans the flame, and the whole institution is exposed to ruin. It is to clear out these elements of destruction that the energies alike of all Liberal and of all Conservative Churchmen should be engaged. Amongst the wise maxims scattered through Sir Arthur Helps's 'Thoughts on Government' there is none more clearly and usefully worked out than that in which he insists on the constant need of the class—the rare class—not of Destroyers nor of Defenders, but of Improvers. The true Church defenders are the Church reformers, and the true Church destroyers are those who resist all attempts at change and improvement.

'I am sure (says the Bishop of St. David's) that the clergyman who is labouring most diligently in his appointed sphere, is the most efficient member of the Church of England Defence Institution, whether his name appear in the roll of its associates or not. I am equally sure that no one is doing the work of the Liberation Society more effectually than one who neglects his duties, lowers his ministerial character, and forfeits the affection and respect of his people.'

What is said here of the great mass of ordinary ministrations is equally true of the larger questions which call for

were proposed by the leaders of Roman Catholic or Nonconformist churches of the Church of England, the public acquiesced in silence; but the moment that the Primate stirred in the matter, the nation at large was moved, and the public press teemed with criticisms and suggestions of every kind. It is by such demonstrations, even if unfriendly, that the true interest of the National Church is tested; and that its frame is interpenetrated with the national life, which in turn is vivified by a religious spirit that else would stand apart from it.

legislation, and which affect the beneficial working of the whole institution.

To sum up all that has been said, in the concluding words of Mr. Curteis :—

‘Every loyal son of the Church of England should, in these days, engrave upon his memory and upon his conscience this simple maxim : *Efficiency [and unity] within, candour and conciliation to those that are without*,—these would be the certain means of restoring, ere many years are past, the old historical Church to an unchallenged position of dignity and usefulness in this country, such as at no former time she has ever held ; and such as no other Church in the whole world has any prospect or any opportunities of holding. Men now-a-days judge practically. They look not to the theories of things, their orthodoxy, their harmony with other truths, or their remote logical consequences, but to their results. And that religious communion will, in the long run, most commend itself to Englishmen, which displays the greatest efficiency in winning souls to Christ ; which proves, by a long firm grasp of its spiritual conquests, the stability and force of its methods ; which makes men “men,” and not merely bigots or spiritual invalids ; which shows masterly boldness in grappling with that special characteristic of our time, an ever-widening and ever-deepening knowledge of nature ; and which has vital power and elasticity enough to adapt itself to all sorts and conditions of men, and to the ever-varying necessities of our modern life.’

And let us add also the closing words of the gallant Charge of the Bishop of Manchester :—

‘We wish for no exclusive privileges which stand in the way of the fullest, freest enjoyment of their religious liberties by other men. We have no thought of reviving in the nineteenth century the spirit and aims of the seventeenth. The sword of persecution, let us trust, is for ever sheathed. At least, ours shall not be the hands to draw it. And though we hear on many sides, and in bitter angry tones, the old Roman Censor’s ruthless cry, “*Delenda est Carthago*,” we trust, if we only do our duty, that the doom of Carthage is still remote from the Church of England, and that, under God’s good providence, we shall transmit an institution pregnant with capacities for usefulness, not only unimpaired, but reinvigorated—strengthened, broadened, popularised—to generations yet unborn.’ (P. 112.)

ART. IX.—1. *Gazetteer for the Haiderábád Assigned Districts commonly called Berar.* Edited by A. C. LYALL, Commissioner of West Berar. Bombay: 1870.

2. *Reports on the Administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for the years 1869–70 and 1870–71.* By CHARLES B. SAUNDERS, Esq., C.B., Bengal Civil Service, Resident at Hyderabad. Printed at the Residency Press.

IT is gratifying and encouraging to all well-wishers of India, to observe that of late years the history and vicissitudes of several great Indian provinces have attracted public attention and interest in an unusual degree, and that the labours of those public servants to whom the task of compiling and arranging local records of past events and present condition was committed, have been recognised by their fellow-countrymen, whose hearty sympathy and encouragement have been freely expressed. It is true that the subjects have, as yet, been few; but it is evident they are the precursors of a great national work of statistical survey and local history, which will include every province of India; and in the pages of this Review, the ‘Rural Annals of Bengal,’* and ‘Grant’s Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India,’† have already received the notice due to their value and merit, while, more recently, the ‘Orissa’ of Dr. W. W. Hunter, which is one of the most graphic and instructive works ever written on an Indian subject, has attained a wide circulation and well-deserved popularity among English readers at large. Nothing, indeed, could be more satisfactory in regard to the subject in general than the recognition, by the English public, of interest in, and sympathy with, classes of fellow-subjects from whom they are so widely separated, not only by distance, but by custom and belief; and we feel assured that as the Indian Statistical Survey gives further results of its labours, they will increase in value and in popularity. The recent address of many eminent natives of India to Mr. Fawcett proves that they are highly sensitive to the notice taken of India by the speakers and writers of this country.

In the present instance, the official publications noted at the head of this article, enable us to present to our readers, briefly, the condition and circumstances of Berar, a province not inferior in general interest to any in India, whose value and

* Ed. Rev., No. cclxiii. Art. viii.

† Ed. Rev., No. cclxxv. Art. viii.

resources of production are almost incalculable in regard to cotton and coal, and whose rapid and successful improvement and progress, form one of the most remarkable and gratifying features in the official annals of recent Indian administration; a province, too, that has undergone many strange and memorable vicissitudes and revolutions, not only of dynastic change, but of the highest prosperity and direst adversity.

Among the ancient Puranic geographical divisions of India, Berar is noticed under the name Vaidarbha; but what its limits were, or by whom it was ruled in ancient or pre-historic times, there is now no trace or record. It is probable that Vaidarbha included the province of Nagpoor to the east, and may have extended considerably to the south; but the tract now known as 'Berar,' is meant to include only those portions of the original province that were assigned to the management of the British Government under the provision of the Treaties with His Highness the Nizam in 1853 and 1860-61, the boundaries of which were then defined. They consist, to the north, of part of the Sātpura range of mountains, the Tapti river, and the districts of Baitool and Chindwara of the Central Provinces; to the east the river Wurdha; to the south, for the most part, the river Pain Gungah as far as its confluence with the Wurdha; and on the west an irregular line formed by part of the province of Aurungabad, and Khandēsh which belongs to the Presidency of Bombay. The whole lies between longitude 76° and $79^{\circ} 13'$, and latitude $19^{\circ} 30'$ to $21^{\circ} 46'$, and embraces an area of about 17,000 square miles, nearly according, as Mr. Lyall observes, with the kingdom of Greece. The population of Berar is, however, 2,220,074 (1867), while that of Greece was only 1,096,810 (1861). The area of Berar is of a very varied character. To the north the Sātpura mountains attain a height of nearly 4,000 feet above the sea, and descend very abruptly to the south into the valley of the Pūrna river, or, as it is more generally termed, the valley of Berar. There are extensive plateaux along their summits, which break into long ravines which descend northwards to the Tapti river. All of these plateaux possess a cool temperate climate, and on one of them, near the fort of Gawilgurh, a sanatorium has been formed, which, in the hot weather, is used by the English residents of the valley, and even by families from Nagpoor. Throughout this bold range the scenery is very varied and beautiful; but beyond the patches of land cultivated by the Gonds, Korkoos, and other mountain tribes, there is no cultivation. This tract, however, is well wooded, and the forests, under the conservancy now instituted, produce

fine teak and other timber, while the grassy plateaux, and their ravines, support large herds of cattle.

On the south of the valley, at a distance in some parts of sixty miles, rises one of the trap elevations of the Deccan, which is known under the appellation of the Ajunta Hills. They are not so high as the Sâtpura range, and though they break abruptly into the valley to the north, descend very gradually and in a series of shallow valleys towards the Pain Gungah river, rising again beyond it and again breaking in irregular masses for a long distance. Near the southern frontier is situated the very remarkable lake of Lonar, which has all the appearance of a volcanic crater. It is rather more than a mile in diameter: the sides are precipitous, and exceed five hundred feet in height, and at their foot the waters of the lake have an area of about three miles in circumference. They are bitter and salt, and as they partially evaporate, leave a deposit of soda on the shore, which is collected and sold for purposes of dyeing, producing a considerable amount of revenue. Lonar has always been considered a memorable place, as well from its productions, as the wonderful character of the crater. The ancient temple which exists there is a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and it is constantly visited by devotees of all classes. Beautiful, and curious as it is in a geological sense, the true character of the lake—whether a depression subsequent to the great local eruption of basalt and trap which overflowed the country, or the actual crater from which the eruption issued—has not as yet been decided by geologists.

The plain of the valley of Berar is the chief feature of the province. It is from forty to sixty miles broad, very gradually sloping from the bases of its boundary mountains to the bed of the Purna river, which runs through the centre, and eventually joins the Tapti. The whole of this tract is occupied by soil of the richest description and highest agricultural value. Near the mountains on both sides the soil is gravelly or stony, and shallower than in the centre; but in it is grown the finest cotton, sugar-cane, ginger, turmeric, and other valuable garden produce. In the central portions the depth of the pure black alluvial soil sometimes reaches, if it does not exceed, forty feet, and is of unsurpassable strength and richness, cultivated from year to year in a succession of crops almost without manure. In this portion of the valley lies the greatest proportion of cotton cultivation, with wheat, sorghum, barley, and pulse. It is now thickly populated, and with its railway and active trade, presents a gratifying spectacle of advancement and prosperity. On the Balaghât, or uplands beyond the southern

range of mountains, the soil is generally thin and stony, producing wheat, millet, pulse and other cereals; but there are many fertile valleys between the ridges of low trap hills, in which cotton—though it is inferior in staple to that of the great valley—sugar-cane, and garden produce of all kinds are raised under irrigation from wells, and the small streams which form the tributaries of the Pain Gungah and the Wurdha.

From this very brief description of Berar, it will be understood, we think, that in all respects it is a beautiful and interesting tract, not only in the highest degree fertile, but diversified in scenery to an unusual degree in India. Nothing within the limits of their elevation can exceed the picturesque character of the ravines and glens about the noble fortresses of Gawilgurrh and Narnalla; while along their bases, their graceful outlines harmonise with the soft effects of the level and often well-wooded character of the valley, and its luxuriant cultivation. In such a tract many particular objects of great natural beauty must necessarily exist, and had we more space at our disposal, many might be described; but the grand situation of Gawilgurrh, which occupies a promontory of the Sâtpura range, joined to the plateau beyond by a very narrow neck of rock, with its stupendous ravines on each side, and the view up and down the valley from the highest point of the southern face; its wonderful fortifications and remains of royal splendour—cannot be omitted. Nor yet Narnalla, with its magnificent gate, a noble specimen of florid Pathan architecture, and its curious water cisterns covered with arches; its varied scenery and massive walls, which seem to be imperishable. These were the strongholds of the Mahomedan kings of the valley, and may have been of Hindoo princes before them;—evidences of mighty labour, perseverance, and skill in execution—and of troublous times, which have now passed away, we may hope, for ever. Not far from the city of Ellichpoor is the wild, lovely glen of Mukhtagherry, with its numerous groups of Jain temples built upon a ledge of rock between two fine waterfalls; the upper, descending from the crest of the range, being upwards of a hundred feet in perpendicular height, the second, below the space on which the temples stand, somewhat less; the whole combination of falling water, quaint buildings, and luxuriant foliage, forming an effect picturesque and original in the highest degree. Berar is remarkable also for another peculiar natural phenomenon, the salt wells in the district of Akola. Many of them are from ninety to one hundred and twenty feet in depth, and appear to communicate with a subterranean salt lake of unknown extent and depth. Up to a late period, salt for the

use of the province and for exportation to the northwards, was made from these wells; but since the railway has been established, better salt can be obtained at cheaper rates from the coast, and the local manufacture has ceased. The salt was, however, of excellent quality, but somewhat bitter perhaps in comparison with sea salt.

The early history of Berar, like that of most other provinces of India, is very obscure. It is probable, however, that it formed the northernmost possession of the Chalúkya kingdom, which, according to an inscription, existed in power 489 B.C., and reigned over part of the central and southern portions of India. The finest temples in Berar, chiefly in the southern portions of it, are undoubtedly of the Chalúkyan style of architecture. The Chalúkyan dynasty was subverted, first by the Kálá Bhúryas in A.D. 1182, and they in turn by the Yádavas; but the Chalúkyas had gradually declined in power from the fifth century A.D. Berar may have therefore been lost by them at an earlier period than their final subversion, and fallen to the Yádavas, whose capital was Déogurh, the modern Dowlutabad, and who were unquestionably one of the greatest of the ancient Hindoo dynasties of the Deccan. The local chieftains in Berar seem, however, to have been the shepherds, and heads of aboriginal tribes, who held the fastnesses of Aseergurh, Narnalla, and Gawilgurh; but of them history affords no trace, except in the single instance of Asa, Aheer, 'or Cowherd,' who was treacherously put to death, with his family, by Mullik Nusseer, King of Khandésh, in 1410, and appears to have been the last of these shepherd kings.

When the first invasion of the Deccan by the Mahomedans under Alla-ood-deen occurred, in A.D. 1294, Ellichpoor and its dependencies were found in possession of Rajah 'Il, or Eell; but whether he was an independent prince, or viceroy of Berar under the Yádava King of Déogurh, is not known. In an action which took place near the city of Ellichpoor, the Rajah lost his life, and the Mahomedan victor passed on to Déogurh, which was eventually reduced, and the dominion of the Mahomedans subsequently established under the Emperor Mahomed Toghluks, who attempted to remove his government from Dehly to Déogurh, now called Dowlutabad. In 1351 a revolution occurred in the Deccan. Zuffur Khan, the general of the Emperor Mahomed Toghluks, declared his independence, and founded the dynasty called Bahmuny, the capital of which was Goolburgah. This dynasty under successive sovereigns became very powerful, and to it the stupendous works of Gawilgurh and Narnalla are to be attributed. Berar con-

tinued subject to the Bahmuny dynasty till the year A.D. 1484, when Futteh Oolla Imád Shah, the viceroy of the province, declared his independence and maintained it. His example was followed by others, and on the ruins of the Bahmuny kingdom the separate monarchies of Beejapoor, Ahmednugger, and Golkonda were founded. It was a troubled period, and the separate kingdoms were engaged in almost perpetual wars with each other. Berar, as the least powerful, was the first to fall; and, after many vicissitudes, the Imád Shahy dynasty closed with Boorhan Imád Shah, whose dominions were annexed by Ahmednugger in A.D. 1527.

Revolutions and constant distractions in Ahmednugger, eventually brought on interference by the Emperor Akbur; and the Moghul armies, led by the Crown Prince, Moorád Buksh, finally advanced upon the capital in the year 1595 and laid siege to it. After an heroic defence by the Queen Dowager, Chánd Beebee, she purchased peace by the cession of Berar, which thenceforward became an integral portion of the dominions of Dehly. Whatever may have been the condition of the province before this event, it is certain that while the direct local administration of the Moghul empire lasted, it was well conducted and enjoyed the confidence of the people. For a brief period after Akbur's death, in 1605, the kingdom of Ahmednugger, under its great Minister and Regent, Mullik Umbur, recovered Berar, when it was re-surveyed and reassessed under the Regent's principle, which was, in the main, founded upon the system of Akbur. This settlement was made in 1612, and Mullik Umbur died in 1628, when, after a brief and stormy interval, the province again fell to the Moghuls, and remained under their administration.

The system of the Imperial Government and that of Mullik Umbur was the measurement of the arable lands; and upon their assumed capabilities of production an estimate of the value of their produce followed. Akbur's survey provided an assessment of one-fourth the produce of each *bigha* of say 3,600 square yards, though it varied in area. Mullik Umbur's was a money-rent, the amount of which was decided upon the same principle. From this rating, says Mr. Lyall (p. 247), were 'omitted, it seems, lands which were barren, 'had never been broken up, or had run entirely to waste. ' . . . Thus, the Tunkhwah, or standard rent-roll of a 'pergunna, may have been fixed in Akbur's time at 100,000 'rupees on a measurement of 75,000 *bighas* by a rating of '1·4 rupees per *bigha*, which would show about the extent of

‘cultivation at that date, and the average of collection.’ The result of the assessment of Berar, as it then was, is given by Mr. Lyall in a table compiled from the records in Balapoor, and shows the following amounts at two separate periods, with an interval of more than a century:—

	Rupees	£
According to the Akbur Nama, A.D. 1600	1,61,46,301	1,614,30
„ „ Balapoor Record, A.D. 1720	1,19,53,669	1,195,366

The territorial divisions from which this revenue was derived do not, however, exactly correspond: and from the latter must be deducted some provinces of Telingána, which are returned as 27,97,000 rupees in 1600, and are omitted altogether in 1720; but in the first five districts of both returns, which remain unaltered, the total returns of revenue are:—

	Rupees	£
A.D. 1600	82,37,213	823,721
„ 1720	67,64,921	676,492
Decrease	14,72,292	147,229

These, and the general totals above given, show the maximum value of Berar under the Moghuls; and though the territorial divisions at the present time do not exactly conform to those of the Balapoor return, yet it will be useful to contrast the data given with the results of present administration which will be given hereafter, and we resume our sketch of the local history.

As, however, we have reached one of the principal epochs in the history of Berar, it may be well for the general reader, possibly unacquainted with the condition of the people of the Deccan from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, or during the best period of local Mahomedan government, to quote Mr. Lyall's very just and thoughtful summary in comparison with the condition of Europe at the same period:—

‘Nevertheless,’ he observes, p. 118, ‘if we take the centuries between A.D. 1300 and 1600, as the period (roughly stated) of independent Mahomedan dominion in the Dekkan, and compare it with the same breadth of time in Western Europe, the Dekkan Government will not lose much by comparison. We shall be struck by resemblances more than by contrasts in all that concerns civil policy, and the use made of their arbitrary power by the princes and lords of the land; long wasting wars, bloody feuds, revolts, massacres, assassinations, cruel and barbarous punishments, and “stories of the deaths of kings;” all these things fill the chronicles of the Plantagenets and Valois as plentifully as the annals of the Bahmanis. Yet, as has often been said, although these descriptions now strike us with horror and astonishment, it may be guessed that life in those times was

than it appears to modern readers. A majority of the people took no share at all in the constant fighting, or in the perilous intrigues which were constantly exploding in violent catastrophes which shook or overturned the throne; while another section of the people enjoyed the stirring life and the charms of rebellion, and staked their lives on the sport quite as readily as men now risk their limbs against a tiger. For Berar, it seems to have been always an agricultural country, situated off the high road of foreign armies, and distant from the capitals of royalty.

It suffered, like other districts, from inroads and internal disorders; but its battle-fields are comparatively not numerous. There, the settled Mahomedan Government, always attempted in the interest of revenue, to protect the tillers of the land, keeping the cultivators as much as possible in their own hands, except when jaghirs were granted, and never formally abandoning the cultivator to the mercy of a feudal lord. We may conjecture that the peasantry, as a class, were much above the mediæval serfs and villeins of Europe; and altogether that they were at least as well off under the Bahmani and Imad Shahi rulers, as the commons of any outlying counties of England during the great wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Probably the peasants of France were worse off up to the end of the seventeenth century. Certainly the Subah of Berar was in a high state of cultivation, and yielded an ample revenue when Akbar annexed it, and the land must have prospered still more under the wise administration of Mullik Umbur.'

But troublous times were approaching. During the reign of the Emperors Shah Jehán and Jehángéer, the Mahrattas had risen to much local power: and now one, now another great Mahratta family assisted or embarrassed the actions of the Imperial viceroys. Sivajee Bhósley assumed independence, and under his predatory system entire provinces, particularly those of the Moghuls, were ruthlessly harried and plundered; nor, among the rest, did Berar escape, though, on account of its high value, it was more than ordinarily guarded by the Imperial armies; and though the Balaghát, or upland portion of the province, was regularly invaded from the period of 1670, and the national Mahratta demand for 'chouth,' or one-fourth of the revenue, imposed, the broad rich valley of Lower Berar proper was defended. In thirty years, however, while the Moghuls weakened, the Mahrattas grew stronger. In 1704 they had swarmed through Berar like locusts, avoiding the Imperial armies, or, if met, receiving terrible chastisement, but reuniting, becoming more formidable than before. In 1707, the great Emperor Aurungzebe, defeated by his foes, died at Ahmednugger: and thenceforward the Mahrattas increased in boldness of enterprise and pertinacity of execution. The Mahrattas were now a great con-

federacy of families, obeying, nominally, one head; and the provinces, as successively wrested from the Moghuls, were ruled by the families who conquered them, or to whom they were allotted. Thus, the Bhoslay family, who had been the first to establish the demand for 'chouth' in Eastern Berar, and continued to collect it, were settled at Nagpoor, which, by successive annexations, became a very considerable state. After the Emperor Aurungzebe's death, and the continued revolutions at Dehly, Nizam-ool-Moolk, being Viceroy of the Deccan, became at first virtually, and subsequently actually, independent. He had, however, much ado to preserve his acquisition against the Mahrattas; was seriously worsted by them, and compelled, on two occasions of defeat—Ūdghir and Kurdlah—not only to ratify the Mahratta demand for 'chouth' and other so-called national dues, but to liquidate heavy arrears by assignment of equivalents in territory. Nor is it at all improbable, had not the British at that juncture risen to high political power after the battle of Plassey (1757), that the Nizam, representing the Imperial Moghuls, could have long maintained his existence as an independent sovereign.

The British combination with the Nizam, with many other concurrent causes, produced the first Mahratta war: and in September 1803, General Wellesley fought the battle of Assaye, defeating the combined Mahratta armies under Sindia and the Rajah of Berar, and on the 28th of the same month, routed the Rajah's forces at Argaum in the plain of Berar. A few days afterwards the Rajah signed the treaty by which all territory west of the Wurdha was nominally given up to His Highness the Nizam. Though it cannot be admitted that the Bhoslays were ever Rajahs of Berar, or ever ruled the country as its possessors, yet they continued to hold material posts in it, collected their 'chouth' and other dues, and, in many cases, the revenue, which was divided between the Nizam, the Peshwah, and themselves. The Nizam's share was, however, more nominal than real; his receipts, after the Mahratta deductions, being barely a quarter of the sums collected. From this anomalous state of affairs the Nizam was finally relieved after the second Mahratta war of 1817-18. On the annexation of the Peshwah's dominions by the British, all the Mahratta claims for 'chouth' and the like on Berar, were given up, outlying districts were surrendered, and the province, thus made whole as it were, became, thenceforth, the property of His Highness the Nizam.

Although it had suffered considerably during the

exactions, wars, and forays, as well as from a divided Government, Berar would soon have recovered its prosperity had the local administration been like that of former Moghul Governments; but from the first it was the very reverse, and continued to be of the same practical character to the end. Berar was considered to be rich, and its standard rent-roll was well known; the noble collections that had been formerly made from it were known also, and a few years' tender treatment would have brought them back. Instead of this, however, the unhappy province was systematically rack-rented by ever-succeeding rapacious farmers of revenue. Of this period Mr. Lyall writes, p. 131:—

'The Rajah Bishchund, who held the greater part of the Berar valley in farm about 1831, has left a name at which the Kūnbis (farmers) still grow pale, and to pronounce it early of a morning is unlucky. Petty local revolts were common; the Dēshmūks stood up for their hereditary rights, the farmers took what they could get by main force, and there was frequent faction-fighting in the towns.'

But, in point of fact, the district was not so much disturbed by faction-fights as by resistance to the Executive Government, whose oppression and exactions were unendurable. In the 'British and Foreign Review,' for January 1839, in a passage devoted to the Nizam's Government, in pursuance of the title of the article, 'The Native Princes and the 'East India Company,'—the following remarks were made to illustrate the position of Berar and the Nizam's dominions generally, after the death of Sikundur Jah, and the accession of his son Nasur-ood-doulah, when the superintendence of English officers, that had previously existed, was withdrawn:

'The Minister, Raja Chundoodall, had heavy amounts to settle with the people. Appearances lasted for a while, but tyranny, where the lust for oppression was only smouldering, was fanned into a blaze, and it raged through the country. The system of letting districts, formerly practised by the minister, was very quickly resumed; and he let loose upon the country a set of miscreants whom he had held in his leash ready to take advantage of the moment which he knew must come when his admirably laid scheme was matured. Those who remember the iron rule of Bishchund, the collector of Berar, who, during the time he was ruler over that unhappy province, nearly depopulated it, and completely destroyed the good which British superintendence had effected—and many others equally bad—will reflect upon them with mingled horror and indignation.' (P. 184.)

The province never recovered either its population, its cultivation, or its revenue, and whole tracts became covered with

Mimosa jungle. Messrs. Pestonji and Company, very enterprising Parsee merchants of Bombay, who had extensive dealings for cotton with Berar, undertook the management of it in 1841, making large advances to the Minister, and to the local farmers for the cultivation of cotton; but the undertaking failed by their removal from office in 1845, and the balance of advances to the Government and to the people remain, we believe to this day, unsettled, amounting to about 400,000*l*.

From 1843 to 1850, the Nizam's Government had frequently failed in its obligations to pay the contingent force, and the sums required were advanced from the Company's treasury; and though occasional provision was made, the arrears and debt in 1850 had become very considerable, while any chance of permanent provision by the Nizam's Government for these obligations, seemed to be more than ever impossible. The subject had now attracted the serious notice of the Court of Directors, who pressed an immediate settlement of the sums due—nearly a million sterling. It was impossible, however, for the Nizam's State, already almost, if not entirely, in a condition of bankruptcy, to comply with the demand; and the eventual settlement of the difficulty was attained by the transfer of certain portions of territory to exclusive British management, the aggregate revenues of which would be sufficient to meet the expenses of the contingent force. These portions of territory were Berar, Darasco, situated on the western frontier, and the Raichore Doab, which lies between the Krishna and the Toongbhuddra rivers to the south. This arrangement continued till 1860, by which period the revenues of all the transferred districts had materially increased; and, by a new treaty, Raichore and Darasco, with the principality of Shorapore, which had been confiscated for the rebellion of its Rajah in 1857–58, were relinquished to the Nizam, together with all claim to the balance of debt still due—about sixty lacs, or 600,000*l*. On the other hand, His Highness gave up those portions of Berar which, as his own private estates, had been reserved, and certain territory on the left bank of the Godavery river, making up a gross annual revenue of thirty-two lacs of rupees, as the estimated cost of the contingent. It was thus, after all its various vicissitudes, that Berar entirely fell under the administration of the Government of India, though the actual sovereignty still belongs to His Highness the Nizam.

We can now follow the results of this measure in the data afforded by Mr. Lyall's '*Gazetteer*,' and the administrative reports of Mr. Saunders, which are replete with information. On taking possession of the province in 18

found that everything in relation to local administration had to be provided. There was no police, and never had been any, except the rude and totally unorganised village watchmen. There were no gaols, except in some instances open sheds attached to the kucherries of the collectors and their deputies; there was not even the necessary provision for the diet of prisoners; and not unfrequently, if not indeed uniformly, the poorest classes of them were taken round the bazaars of the town where they were located, to beg their daily food from the provision shops and from private families, while the relatives of those able to afford it received from them their daily food. Allowance for the maintenance of criminals formed no part of the district expenditure; that was supposed to be covered by the 'Sadur,' or allowance for management; $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the collections (more in some instances) which formed the perquisite of the Talookhdar or collector. There was no provision for justice, as there were no courts, civil or criminal, before which trials were held. It appears that there were two Government 'Moonsiffs' in Berar at the time of the assignment; but, as they received no pay, and had no powers to effect enforcement of their decrees if they passed any, they had long ceased to act. The Talookhdar, or his deputy in some instances, passed summary sentences in criminal cases, or gave awards in civil suits; but the latter, if brought forward at all, were for the most part referred to 'Punchayets,' or courts of arbitration, or privately settled between the disputants under the intervention of friends. Of land tenures, such as are found in all parts of India, all traces may be said to have passed away. The Meras right, which involved hereditary possession so long as a fixed rent was paid, and which in other parts of the Dekkan, as well under the survey registries of Mullik Umbur, and the earlier settlements of the Bahmuny kings, as by custom and usage had been recognised and preserved—had utterly disappeared; nor, as property in land had virtually ceased to exist, and only a yearly tenancy could be obtained, subject to any increase of demand over agreements that might be imposed at time of harvest—was any attempt made by the people to recreate what their ancestors had enjoyed. The possession of land as property, indeed, seemed to have the effect of attracting extra impositions, and was therefore actually avoided by the cultivators. The consequences were obvious. No improvement of the condition of land occurred, for no one would invest capital in undertakings for which there was literally no security whatever. As the ploughed land wore out, it was for the most part abandoned,

and became quickly overrun by low *Mimosa* jungle, which grew up unchecked and spread rapidly; and the only resource for the Talookhdar who had farmed the district was, to cover the losses on land by fresh impositions at harvest time on what had been cultivated in the year. Of course it was the interest of the cultivators, on the other hand, to depreciate the actual yearly value of the land, and they uniformly did so, taking their chance of escaping any extra impost, or securing the crop to some local banker or other person with whom the Talookhdar or his agents dare not interfere.

We need not enter into further particulars, for it will be understood by the foregoing brief remarks, how deeply the welfare and prosperity of this once fertile and wealthy province had been affected by the mistakes, neglect, and exactions which had steadily progressed since the second Mahratta war; and into what a helpless condition it had fallen, owing to the acts of a Government in which, or its local agents, confidence was impossible. We have now, however, to sketch generally—for any minute record of the details of the amelioration would be out of the question—the results of reorganisation which have been obtained, and which are in fair advance towards even more important issues. Yet the yearly returns and reports from 1853 to 1870-71 are full of interest, as marking the gradual progress of revived confidence among the people, the increase of material prosperity, and their combined effects upon the production, the trade, and the revenue of the province.

On its cession to British management in 1853, Berar was divided into two portions, North and South, with separate officers; but after the treaty of 1860, this arrangement was altered to East and West, these divisions being subsequently divided into four, owing to the increase of local work, and the augmentation of the revenue. The original divisions of East and West Berar are managed by a commissioner to each, with deputy-commissioners to the subdivisions, and a full proportion of assistants (European), and extra assistant commissioners, who are chiefly natives. There are also English superintendents or inspectors of police, executive engineers in the public works department, a superintendent of education &c., &c.; and by these means a complete and most efficient local administration is provided. The details of the various branches may be thus summarised from Mr. Saunders' Report of 1870-71. In the department of police there are one inspector-general, six district superintendents, and 100 assistants, all Europeans. As inspectors, there are two Europeans

three Eurasians, and nine natives. As chief constables, head constables, and constables, are five Europeans, three Eurasians, and 2,500 natives; making a total of 2,531 police of all grades; and deducting escorts, guards, &c., the proportion in regard to the population is as one policeman to 1,035 persons and to 7.85 square miles. The salaries of all grades are on a liberal scale, and the cost of the whole establishment for the year under report was 47,211*l.*, of which 41,072*l.* 8*s.* was defrayed from provincial revenue, and 6,138*l.* 12*s.* from municipal funds. There is, besides, a special railway police, consisting of forty-four officers and men, which is separately provided for.

For the judicial department of the province, sixty-four tribunals of various degrees of authority are provided, of which the Resident's is the Court of Final Appeal, Reference, and Decision, with its head-quarters at Hyderabad. The rest are thus divided in the province itself: two Divisional Commission Courts of Session and Appeal, five Courts of Deputy Commissioners, twenty Courts of Assistants, European and native, two Native Small Cause Courts, one Cantonment Magistrate's Court, one Honorary Magistrate's Court, and thirty-two Courts of Tahseeldars and three deputies. We would gladly follow the details of the operation of these courts, did our space admit of it; but it is clearly evident that their working is cheap and efficient to the people; that justice is provided for all; and, as Mr. Saunders says (p. 46), 'the tribunals of the assigned districts are discharging their functions well, and are resorted to, perhaps only too freely, by all classes of the people.'

There are now two central gaols for criminals constructed on the best modern principles, in central positions; and four auxiliary gaols or lockups. The prisoners are employed in intramural manufactures, and extramural labour; and their earnings (1870-71) amounted to 5,143*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, the total expense being 7,367*l.* for the year; thus the earnings amounted to quite two-thirds of the gross cost. The prisoners appear to have been fairly healthy throughout, the mortality being 3.8 per cent. on all classes.

The returns of revenue are very remarkable, as showing so very large a proportion of increase, which still progresses year by year. When the province was first taken under management (in 1853) the revenue (gross) on all heads, was 25,80,707 rupees, or 258,070*l.*; * but this does not represent the re-

* A table given at p. 249 of the 'Gazetteer' shows the fluctuation of Land Revenue only at various periods:—

venue of the entire province as it now exists, which was not definitively known till the treaty of 1860-61, when the whole, as has been previously explained, came under British authority. In that year the result was 40,04,820 rupees, or 400,482*l.*, which forms the standard of comparison with subsequent results. By Mr. Lyall's table* the total revenue for 1869-70 was 83,63,387 rupees, or 836,338*l.*, showing a gradual increase in nine years of 435,836*l.* In Mr. Saunders' Report for 1870-71, the total increase on the Berar revenue on all heads for the year under report was 69,129*l.*, making, with the revenue of the previous year, a final total of 905,467*l.*, or, in comparison with the total of 1860-61, an increase of 504,985*l.*, in ten years, on the original revenues. We will venture to say that this is unparalleled in the history of revenue transactions in India; and there can be no stint in the praise that should be accorded to those who, with such admirable patience, ability, and judgment, have carried out all the measures which have contributed, in their several degrees, to the attainment of this result. Nor will the revenue stay at the aggregate sum we have quoted, viz. 905,467*l.* It is evidently elastic, and will improve for many years to come, gradually, but certainly; for the means by which it has increased so far, are only very partially developed, and must inevitably progress in efficiency and profit. Passing over the excise, salt, stamps, and other sources of revenue, in which the increase has been continuous, the most important of all—which, indeed, forms the chief item of receipt—is the question of land. In 1860-61 the land revenue of the province was 296,172*l.* In 1869-70, it was 457,343*l.*; and upon this, according to Mr. Saunders' table (p. 57), there was an increase of 23,271*l.* in 1870-71, making a total of 480,614*l.* If the amount for 1860-61 (viz. 296,172*l.*) be deducted from this, the remainder, 184,442*l.*, shows the amount of increase in ten years on this head; and it is gratifying to observe from the returns in the 'Gazetteer,' and in the Reports, that this must unquestionably have been the result of increase in cultivation. We have not returns under this head, from 1860-61, to refer to, and consequently the increased amount cannot be shown; but in the table given at page 265 of the 'Gazetteer,' we find that the total of cultivation in Berar for 1868-69 was 5,003,337, and in 1869-70 5,361,375 acres, showing an increase on this one year of 374,792 acres.

According to Akbar Nama,
A.D. 1600.
£371,253

According to Balapoor
Record, A.D. 1720.
£321,185

According to Treaty
of 1863.
£174,246

* Gazetteer, p. 263.

Now if we take the total of land revenue of the same years and calculate the rate-average of assessment, we find it comes to hardly 1s. 6d. per acre; and this low rate is confirmed by reference to the table at page 267, 'Rates of rent' in every division of the province, in which we observe that the highest rate in cotton land is 1,14 rupees per acre, in one Talúk, and the lowest 7 annas; all other products being in the same moderate proportion, except opium, which varies from 6,12 rupees to 2 rupees. It is evident, therefore, that increased rate of assessment (which might possibly be suspected) has had nothing whatever to do with the increase of revenue; and, indeed, under the operation of survey and classification now in progress, the old rates are everywhere being reduced to a lower standard.

Mr. Lyall shows what has been done with the land under the system established, which is essentially Ryotwar. There was, indeed, a memorable attempt made to convert the existing Ryotwar system in all the assigned districts into the Malgoozar or village community system of the North-west provinces, and, as Mr. Saunders informs us in his Report (p. 14),—

'Orders were actually issued for a settlement of rights on the basis of the village community system, and were suspended only in deference to the earnest protests of Mr. F. N. Maltby, the then Commissioner of the Hyderabad assigned districts; some of whose assistants, such as Mr. Bullock and Captain Meadows Taylor, had passed their working lives in the Dekkan, and perfectly understood the nature and meaning of the facts they had to deal with in the then newly assigned provinces.'

Again, after the final arrangement of 1860, the same orders were repeated, even in more stringent terms, by the Government of India; but happily Mr. Saunders, who, being then Commissioner of the assigned districts, possessed ample means of studying the question from local observation and the previous reports, had the firmness to maintain the existing system, as most conducive to the welfare and progress of the people: and as he observes modestly: 'upon the report which was then drawn up, the final orders of the Government were passed, and the system of field assessment and recognition of 'cultivating occupancy was formally sanctioned.' (*Report*, 1870-71, p. 14.) These few words, however, hardly do justice to the immense victory gained, or convey any impression of the enormous benefit secured to the people of Berar. It was, practically, a formal recognition, and recommencement of the systems of Akbur and Mullik Umbur, more particularly the

latter, only in a more scientific and more careful form. Well, indeed, was it that Mr. Saunders' able advocacy of the Ryot-war system prevailed, and very grateful may the people of Berar be to him for the preservation of their rights; for had he simply obeyed orders, the land would have become the property of persons who had never possessed it, and who, indeed, made no pretence whatever to the ownership of it. We must, however, proceed to quote Mr. Lyall's description of the settlement in part, for the whole, though extremely interesting and instructive, is too long for extract:—

'The English Government has now (1869) placed the tenure of land in Berar on a stable foundation. After some hesitation—for a settlement on the North-west provinces' model was first actually ordered—the Bombay system of survey and settlement according to fields, has been adopted. The whole country is being surveyed, marked off into plots, and assessed at rates which hold good for thirty years. Subject to certain restrictions, the occupant is absolute proprietor of his holding; may sell, let, or mortgage any part of it, cultivate it, or leave it waste so long as he pays its assessment, which is fixed for the term of settlement (usually thirty years), and may then be raised, only on general principles: that is, the assessment of an entire district, or village, may be raised or lowered as may seem expedient; but the impost may not be altered to the detriment of any occupant on account of his own improvements. . . . An occupant may always resign his holding (or any portion of it being an entire field or distinct share in one) by simply giving a written notice of his intention before a certain date, which frees him from all liabilities of the current year. When the registered holder alienates his estate, he does it by surrender and admittance like an English copyholding. Indeed, this Berar occupancy tenure has many features resembling the copyhold estate in the reservation of manorial rights. Thus in fifteen years, the Berar cultivator has passed from all the evils of rack-renting, personal insecurity, and uncertain ownership of land, to a safe property, and a fixed assessment.' (*Gazetteer*, pp. 96, 97.)

We find the same opinions expressed by Mr. Lyall in his District Report for 1870–71, quoted by Mr. Saunders in his admirable General Report on the province; but quotation of the passage would not add to the effect which the foregoing extract conveys. And thus, as Mr. Saunders truly observes, *'the rights of the cultivators have been preserved to them.'* Under this system land has already obtained a fair market value, as explained by Mr. Saunders in a note at page 23 of his last report. 'Land close to Khamgaon, the great mart, fetched 1,000 rupees, and even 1,570 rupees, per acre: fields with walls, for garden cultivation, from 100 rupees to 300 rupees per acre, while for ordinary dry cultivation the rate per acre is about six times the revenue. . . .

‘sure and remarkable sign of agricultural prosperity that the land bears even this average price.’ We need hardly add, that under the former native system, land was not only quite unsaleable, but for want of settled title to occupancy, or other security, bore no marketable value whatever.

In addition to administrative reform, however, there is no doubt that the prosperity of Berar has been augmented in a most material degree by adventitious circumstances. The American war produced an immense local demand for cotton at previously unknown prices; and the supplies of the staple being paid for in gold or silver, an equally immense accession of material wealth ensued, a very large proportion of which was invested in the clearing and breaking-up of land; and still, as we have shown, progresses. The construction of the railway through Berar also contributed large amounts of money. The rates of wages for labour rose in proportion to the demand for it; while the improved means of rapid transit of cotton and other produce to the coast, brought back its price in a far less period than the slow and uncertain means of carriage which formerly existed, and which would have broken down utterly under the pressure that then obtained and still continues. Thus administrative reform and good fortune have, as it were, gone hand in hand; but the latter could only have produced a temporary effect, had not the basis of—as we may hope—a permanent prosperity, been laid by the admirable and judicious land settlement.

We have left ourselves little space in which the details of Mr. Lyall’s ‘Gazetteer’ can be noticed; and purposely so, for it was our desire more especially to lay before our readers the most modern, and in most respects the most successful, provincial administration that India now affords. We see how, in a comparatively few years, an apparently effete and worn-out province has been endued with new life, and ample hope for the future. How its revenues have been secured by a judicious and easy settlement of the rental; and how the revenues, easily collected, have so materially increased. We see also the great administrative science and experience which have directed this result; and we are justified therefore in holding up the services of all concerned in the present advancement of Berar to the sympathy and admiration of their countrymen. The result shows, too, that the amount of executive service employed, though large and costly, has not exceeded local requirements; but we can imagine the government of His Highness the Nizam to be aghast at the expenditure, in comparison with its own allowance of twelve and a half per cent.

on collection, to cover the costs of management. The case of Berar has indeed been a test of the efficacy of each system—English and native—within a comparatively few years, and may afford a lesson to many native princes, that if provincial management is to be effective, it must not be starved.

If Mr. Lyall's 'Gazetteer' is not, in many respects, as ample as Mr. Grant's account of the Central Provinces in details of localities, descriptions of aboriginal tribes, and the like, it is nevertheless replete with information on all material points; and the notes on the castes and tribes of the province, its geology, forests, rivers, climate, mode of husbandry, land tenures, trade and manufactures, population, and administration, including education, antiquities, &c., &c., are ample, and filled with practical and most interesting detail; and it is simply marvellous that, in the midst of the almost overpowering duties of his office as Commissioner, he should have been able to write so much, and so well, on so many subjects requiring a high amount of real knowledge and general experience.

There is, however, one more subject which, in connexion with the prospective value of Berar, can hardly be over-rated, and that is the discovery of the large coal-fields of East Berar. They lie between the Wurdha and the Pain Gungah rivers, cropping out in both their channels, and extending in various directions, as known at present, over an area of forty square miles. Borings through the coal measures have shown deposits of forty-five, thirty-nine, and thirty-six feet in thickness; and at an average even of twenty feet, an aggregate of 480,000,000 of tons is assumed to exist. The coal is at an easy depth below the surface, and can be worked and raised without material cost or difficulty:—

'This coal has been tested on the railways as compared with English coal, and RaneeGUNJE (Bengal) coal. In both cases it did its work successfully and well, though proving inferior to the coals against which it was tested. The coal has been regularly cut into, only at one pit near GUGUS. The best layers there turn out a clear bright coal of the peculiarly laminated structure universal in Indian coal, which burns steadily and well. There is not much pyrites, and the ashes are clean, being almost of pure earthy matter, and therefore yielding but little clinker. The coal is brittle, and breaks up a good deal, burns vigorously and brightly for a time, until the volatile matter or gas is all discharged or consumed, and then slowly with a dead heat to the end. It cannot be called a first-class coal, but it is amply good for use in locomotives or other engines, and will yield a fine amount of good gas if required. The greater part of the thick beds is, however, decidedly superior to this.' (*Gazetteer*, p. 25.)

In the present period of anxiety as regards co

future in England, this opportune discovery, which extends into the territories of His Highness the Nizam adjoining, seems almost providential. Some time must necessarily elapse before a branch railway can be laid to the coal-fields; but that it will be eventually, and perhaps rapidly completed, there is no doubt. They will furnish a practically inexhaustible supply to the railways of Central and Western India, for shipping, and possibly for local manufactories; for hæmatite iron ore of great richness, with limestone, is found in connexion with them. How much these mineral deposits, so rich and so accessible, may enhance the already great value of Berar, future years must determine. Meanwhile a new population from the northward is pouring into Berar, and steadily settling there; and as the northern and western lands of the great valley are already occupied, those so long deserted to the eastward near the coal-fields, possessing an almost virgin soil, are becoming gradually populated.

The statistics of the cotton trade and local productions are given at some length, both in the 'Gazetteer' and Mr. Saunders' Reports, but it is impossible to review them at length. Berar, always a cotton-producing and exporting province in the worst times, found markets for its produce in Bombay and at Mirzapoor, whence it was taken to Calcutta, or used locally. In the season of 1825-6, Messrs. Vicaji and Pestonji, Bombay merchants, transmitted 500 bullock-loads direct to Bombay, which is the first large operation on record, and was continued, though after a very desultory fashion. But the impetus of demand caused by the American war, the facilities afforded by the railway, and the improved methods of cultivation, cleansing, and packing, which have been introduced under the able direction of Mr. Rivett Carnac, for a series of years—together with a steady demand, have increased the export in a very satisfactory degree; and in the year 1870, the result was the export to Bombay of 211,346 bales of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. Mr. Saunders' Report of 1870-71 goes much further into detail, but with much the same result. The area sown with cotton in Berar now equals 6·12 per cent. of the total for all India, and increases;* while under care in cultivation, in picking and ginning, and selection of seeds, much improvement in the staple has been effected, with proportionate value in the Bombay and European markets. English merchants have agencies in Berar, where they buy cotton direct from the producers.

* The increase of area of cotton cultivation in 1870-71, as compared with that of 1868-69, was 102,087 acres.

Ginning and pressing engines are worked by steam, and throughout the whole of the district a healthy activity is apparent, which is very gratifying to witness and record.*

In conclusion, we think it will gratify our readers to know that the great subject of education in Berar has not been neglected, and that 2 high schools, 44 middle-class schools, 270 lower-class, 27 girls, and 1 normal—total, 344—are in operation. There are besides 110 indigenous schools, the most meritorious of which obtain grants in aid. The total of average daily attendance in 1870–71 was, 11,073 boys and girls in the 344 government schools. This indeed amounts to only a very small fraction of the general population; but as the department is only in its infancy, its gradual increase and progress may be fairly expected.

* It must be understood by our readers that Berar is not a British possession but a province, the management of which, and of the revenues, are in trust for His Highness the Nizam; and that after payment of the contingent force and the local expenditure, the surplus balance belongs to him. As explained by Mr. Saunders, p. 79, of Report for 1870–71, it is as follows:—

The surplus for the year ending 1867–68, was	249,488
The surplus up to 1870–71, above the foregoing	211,392
Total of surplus	£460,880
The payments to His Highness's Government according to treaty, have been	249,488
Leaving a balance of	£211,392

As the revenue shows steady increase, and the expense of the survey will cease on its completion, the annual surplus must necessarily augment; nor is it beyond the bounds of possibility that His Highness's Government may eventually receive the original revenues on which it was assigned, while he is relieved of the cost of the contingent, so long a direct charge on the actual revenues of his dominions.

ART. X.—*Middlemarch: A Study of Provincial Life.* By GEORGE ELIOT. London: 1871-72.

WE do not know how far the design of the story of 'Middlemarch' may have affected its form of publication, nor, on the other hand, whether the appearance of the volumes at stated intervals may not have modified the structure and character of the work; but, in any case, the result has been felicitous. During very many months an agitation of interest in the personages it has created has been kept up even beyond the ordinary range of literary circles, almost equalling that with which the youth of Cambridge tore open the packets of the new volume of 'Clarissa' and sat down to read them on the hedge-side of the Trumpington road, and with which the bell-ringers rushed to the church and gave out a merry peal on the marriage of Pamela. Each volume, up to the very last, left open the question whether the real hero and the real heroine of the book could not by some means be brought together; and we are not sure that the disappointment at the failure of this expectation will be easily got over. Acute lawyers have argued that Mary Garth was guilty, in equity, of forging her uncle's will, by refusing to assist him in accomplishing his last testamentary desires, and doctors have been recounting various suspicious family histories in which they might have been implicated in the crime of murder with quite as much justice as Lydgate in the hastened death of Raffles. Besides the amusement derived from this series of expectations, conjectures, and surprises, we believe that the readers of these separate volumes have enjoyed an advantage which, in the nature of things, cannot occur again. To them the story has never seemed to flag, nor the characters to be confused. They have assisted with deep interest in the production of a vast picture, in which figure after figure has taken its place, and gone through certain transformations, more or less interesting; but it does not follow that the impression of the whole will be quite as satisfactory. The arrangement of the groups, their mutual connexion, and their relations in perspective, may provoke criticism which we who are under the immediate influence of the gradually progressive story can hardly appreciate, and may reveal defects in the very qualities that have excited our admiration.

In following out this analogy we must remark that all observers of the progress of the art of landscape-painting in this

country must have noticed a great change of late years in the choice of its subjects, of which Mr. Millais' 'Chill October' may be taken as a decisive specimen. It is not merely the absence of any such central effect as gives to the Sun itself in Turner's greatest works a painful monotony of treatment, but it is the desire to give the impression of a simple fragment of Nature, taken out of the whole scene not for any special grace or merit, or for the purpose of leaving on the mind of the spectator any stirring particular remembrance, but to stand on its own deserts as a faithful representation of an ordinary aspect of the material world about us. With the same 'intention' our artist in fiction takes a quiet country-town of forty years ago, and a squire's house lying near it, with just the people whom we know were there at that time, and places them before us with very little apparatus or detail of surrounding events, and says, 'Here is my novel.' Not with descriptive minutiae of their various manners and traits of character such as Miss Mitford delighted to draw in 'Our Village,' nor as manifestations of the many semi-serious, semi-comic, humours of humanity such as Mrs. Gaskell has delineated in her immortal 'Cranford,' do they stand before us, but as ordinary people, whom we might have met any day,—the loquacious Squire—the pompous Banker—the intelligent Agent—the rival Doctors old and young—the comfortable Manufacturer—the fast youth of the country-town, who has been at school with the sons of the neighbouring gentry—the idle scholarly artist—and the womankind naturally appertaining to each. These, and nothing more, are the actors in this literary drama. There is not one of them that has not been delineated over and over again in every costume and attitude, and with every imaginable surrounding of incident and result, but rarely, if ever, with such a skill of moral machinery and such a power of mental delineation. It is another 'Chill October.'

In a few lines of prefatory matter the author gives the keynote of the sense in which he desires the book to be read. He images Santa Teresa of Avila in her childhood walking out with her little brother to go and seek martyrdom in the country of the Moors. In outward appearance two mere children are there out-walking—in reality two creatures instinct with the highest passions that have torn and tossed, blessed and tormented, mankind. So his characters in these pages stand out first before us, ordinary parts of an insignificant society, but each with his or her varied future before them, acting on one another's mental and moral history, through circumstances yet undeveloped, as expressed in his own powerful words: 'The stealthy vengeance of human lots,—the slow

'preparation of effects from one life on another, which tells like
'a calculated irony on the indifference or the frozen stare with
'which we look at our unintroduced neighbour. Destiny stands
'by sarcastic, with our *dramatis personæ* folded in her hand.'

It is curious that these reflective foreshadowings especially accompany the presentation of Miss Brooke to Mr. Lydgate, the characters who in their own separate lines take up and carry through the interest of the story to the very end, but whose careers have less influence on each other than any others in the book. Perhaps, indeed, our author when writing these lines intended to bring them into closer contact than the later development of the plot permitted, although there is no intimation of it in the vivid sketch of the framework in which the future picture is to be placed, which, however, seems to us to belong to a somewhat older form of our society than that of the days of the first Reform Bill, which is the supposed date of the story.

'Old provincial society had its share of this subtle movement: had not only its striking downfalls, its brilliant young professional dandies who ended by living up an entry with a drab and six children for their establishment, but also those less marked vicissitudes which are constantly shifting the boundaries of social intercourse, and begetting new consciousness of interdependence. Some slipped a little downward, some got higher footing: people denied aspirates, gained wealth, and fastidious gentlemen stood for boroughs; some were caught in political currents, some in ecclesiastical, and perhaps found themselves surprisingly grouped in consequence; while a few personages or families that stood with rocky firmness amid all this fluctuation, were slowly presenting new aspects in spite of solidity, and altering with the double change of self and beholder. Municipal town and rural parish gradually made fresh threads of connexion—gradually, as the old stocking gave way to the savings-bank, and the worship of the solar guinea became extinct; while squires and baronets, and even lords who had once lived blamelessly afar from the civic mind, gathered the faultiness of closer acquaintance-ship. Settlers, too, came from distant counties, some with an alarming novelty of skill, others with an offensive advantage in cunning. In fact, much the same sort of movement and mixture went on in old England as we find in older Herodotus, who, also, in telling what had been, thought it well to take a woman's lot for his starting-point; though Io, as a maiden apparently beguiled by attractive merchandise, was the reverse of Miss Brooke, and in this respect perhaps bore more resemblance to Rosamond Vincy, who had excellent taste in costume, with that nymph-like figure and pure blondness which give the largest range to choice in the flow and colour of drapery.'

But notwithstanding the progress of relations between town and country, the two groups in our story are kept distinct in the two great matters of Marriage and Inheritance which make

up the interest of the tale. There are, indeed, courtships not unlike those of other fictions, but it is a real novelty that the two marriages take place in the body of the story, and the main incidents and their consequences are constituent parts of it and do not make everybody 'happy ever after.' It would hardly be a misnomer if the title were a 'study' of 'married' rather than of 'provincial' life, and it is in this character that it offers itself most distinctly to criticism. Incompatible unions form abundant food for fiction, and the disappearance or transformation of the ideal partner for life is the ordinary process of romantic chemistry. The more singular, therefore, is the excitement which the psychological discussions between these couples arouse in the reader, and the earnest anxiety with which the process of disenchantment is followed. That much of this is owing to George Eliot's fine expression and command of language is undoubted; but the inherent qualities of Lydgate and Dorothea, as developed by the unequal matches, are the main foundation of the personal interest, and worked out with infinite skill. The marriage of an attractive girl with a man old enough to be her father occurs every day, and with a result of as much happiness on both sides as could be desired in many temperaments: the filial blends easily with the conjugal relation; and, but that the life of the mature woman often falls into the occupation of the nurse, the difference of age is no serious objection to any otherwise well-assorted union. Nor does Mr. Casaubon to the outside spectator offer any grounds for Dorothea's disillusion. She marries him knowing him to be devoted to his literary work, and therefore not likely to pursue or care for the usual interests of youth—to be destitute of the pliancy and liveliness which often enable learned men to adapt themselves to society—to be almost without any exercise of family affection, and, from the very nature of his studies, more curious about collective than individual Man; and the judgment of the world would certainly have been that she ought to have known her mind better, and must take the natural consequences of her choice. And if Dorothea had been the purely intellectual and model woman, this sentence would have been just; but we take the meaning of our author especially to be that even in the mystical imagination and the self-abnegation of the highest woman we must still take count of the common womanhood, and that a woman 'even as *that*' Dorothea, must submit to the conditions of her nature. Her husband is made jealous, even during his honeymoon, of the artist cousin, for whose education he has provided, and who, as far as appears in these pages, is his or

living relative. This feeling is excused, as 'a sort of jealousy which needs very little fire—it is hardly a passion, but a blight bred in the deadly damp despondency of uneasy 'egoism;' for Dorothea, as far as we see, does nothing to encourage the suspicion. She is simply kind and appreciative to her husband's near relation, a young man in a difficult and dependent condition. She tries afterwards to get transferred to him the fortune left to her in case of her widowhood; and when that event arrives, and she finds that there is a condition in her husband's will that she shall lose all his fortune in case she marries Ladislaw, you feel that you are hardly within the range of probability, unless Mr. Casaubon was rather mad. The progress of the human and the loss of the ideal element in the mind of Dorothea is painted with a gentle irony that may be unwelcome both to earnest believers in female devotion and to decided advocates for woman's independence: for she neither contents herself with doing all she can to make her husband's life happy, nor is she able to make a life for herself independent of him. She finds a pedant instead of a sage, and is miserable at the disenchantment. In the great crisis of her life she does exactly what a commonplace young woman would do who reciprocates a passionate attachment. It is in truth the development of a character which gains on you by its weaknesses and wins you by its decline.

Few people remember how, some thirty years since, the run of fashionable novels was disturbed by Miss Martineau's clever but too didactic 'Deerbrook' (Sydney Smith christened it the 'Loves of an Apothecary'), which superseded for a time the struggles and catastrophes of amorous countesses and desperate dukes. The story of Lydgate, the young surgeon of Middlemarch, will take a firmer hold of the public mind; and yet here as in Dorothea too we have the romance of disappointment. 'The difficulties' of the career of a young doctor, who insists on establishing in a provincial town not only new scientific theories, but new methods of professional practice, were assuredly hard enough, without linking him with a woman who provokes by her wayward charms and ruins by her best intentions. Here, in contrast to the heroine, is the enthusiast brought down to the saddest level of common life, not by the contact of an inferior intellect, but by the pressure of a lower morality. Rosamond, again, may well seem to have no serious cause for self-reproach. She, who has refused all the good matches of the place, gives herself to a man of genius, who she might fairly expect to raise her in social station and gratify her just domestic pride. She has tastes for luxury and habits of self-

indulgence, and there is no reason to believe that her marriage would call for any sacrifice of them. So, when poverty comes, she is not scrupulous in her means to avert it, and gradually infiltrates into the mind of her husband natural and baser motives, that lead him to less worthy actions, and to results most dangerous to his fate and fame.

George Eliot only allows us one happy combination out of the 'Three Love Problems' that are presented to our consideration. A sharp and gay young man, whose sole virtue is that he will not go into the Church because he does not think himself fit for it, is transformed into a useful man of business and a creditable life by an honest passion for a dear, plain, intelligent girl. Their adventures of themselves compose a pleasant story, and have little bearing on the tragic features of the book. They afford, however, the author the opportunity of introducing some of those masterly pictures made up of Wilkie and wit, which rest on the imagination like actual scenes on the eye. There are three connected with the last illness of a miserly farmer which will not fail to be repeated in dramatic and pictorial form—the Waiting for Death, the last struggle, and the reading of the will. We extract the death-scene, of which the two personages are the bed-ridden invalid and his niece, Mary Garth, who has the old man's nephew for her lover. Mary is simply watching by the bed-side. She had no pathos about its selfish occupant, for 'to be anxious about a soul that is always snapping at you must be left to the saints of the earth, and Mary was not 'one of them.' The old man speaks:—

"You hearken, Missy. It's three o'clock in the morning, and I've got all my faculties as well as ever I had in my life. I know all my property, and where the money's put out, and everything. And I've made everything ready to change my mind, and do as I like at the last. Do you hear, Missy? I've got my faculties."

"Well, sir?" said Mary, quietly.

"He now lowered his tone with an air of deeper cunning. "I've made two wills, and I'm going to burn one. Now you do as I tell you. This is the key of my iron chest, in the closet there. You push well at the side of the brass plate at the top, till it goes like a bolt: then you can put the key in the front lock and turn it. See and do that; and take out the topmost paper—Last Will and Testament—big printed."

"No, sir," said Mary, in a firm voice, "I cannot do that."

"Not do it? I tell you, you must," said the old man, his voice beginning to shake under the shock of this resistance.

"I cannot touch your iron chest or your will. I must refuse to do anything that might lay me open to suspicion."

"I tell you, I'm in my right mind. Shan't I do as I like at the last? I made two wills on purpose. Take the key, I say."

"No, sir, I will not," said Mary, more resolutely still. Her repulsion was getting stronger.

"I tell you, there's no time to lose."

"I cannot help that, sir. I will not let the close of your life soil the beginning of mine. I will not touch your iron chest or your will." She moved to a little distance from the bedside.

The old man paused with a blank stare for a little while, holding the one key erect on the ring; then with an agitated jerk he began to work with his bony left hand at emptying the tin box before him.

"Missy," he began to say, hurriedly, "look here! take the money—the notes and gold—look here—take it—you shall have it all—do as I tell you."

He made an effort to stretch out the key towards her as far as possible, and Mary again retreated.

"I will not touch your key or your money, sir. Pray don't ask me to do it again. If you do, I must go and call your brother."

He let his hand fall, and for the first time in her life Mary saw old Peter Featherstone begin to cry childishly. She said, in as gentle a tone as she could command, "Pray put up your money, sir;" and then went away to her seat by the fire, hoping this would help to convince him that it was useless to say more. Presently he rallied and said eagerly—

"Look here, then. Call the young chap. Call Fred Vincy."

Mary's heart began to beat more quickly. Various ideas rushed through her mind as to what the burning of a second will might imply. She had to make a difficult decision in a hurry.

"I will call him, if you will let me call Mr. Jonah and others with him."

"Nobody else, I say. The young chap. I shall do as I like."

"Wait till broad daylight, sir, when every one is stirring. Or let me call Simmons now, to go and fetch the lawyer. He can be here in less than two hours."

"Lawyer? What do I want with the lawyer? Nobody shall know—I say, nobody shall know. I shall do as I like."

"Let me call some one else, sir," said Mary, persuasively. She did not like her position—alone with the old man, who seemed to show a strange flaring of nervous energy which enabled him to speak again and again without falling into his usual cough; yet she desired not to push unnecessarily the contradiction which agitated him. "Let me, pray, call some one else."

"You let me alone, I say. Look here, Missy. Take the money. You'll never have the chance again. It's pretty nigh two hundred—there's more in the box, and nobody knows how much there was. Take it and do as I tell you."

Mary, standing by the fire, saw its red light falling on the old man, propped up on his pillows and bed-rest, with his bony hand holding out the key, and the money lying on the quilt before him. She never forgot that vision of a man wanting to do as he liked at the last. But the way in which he had put the offer of the money urged her to speak with harder resolution than ever.

"It is of no use, sir. I will not do it. Put up your money. I will not touch your money. I will do anything else I can to comfort you ; but I will not touch your keys or your money."

"Anything else—anything else !" said old Featherstone, with hoarse rage, which, as if in a nightmare, tried to be loud, and yet was only just audible. "I want nothing else. You come here—you come here."

Mary approached him cautiously, knowing him too well. She saw him dropping his keys and trying to grasp his stick, while he looked at her like an aged hyena, the muscles of his face getting distorted with the effort of his hand. She paused at a safe distance.

"Let me give you some cordial," she said, quietly, "and try to compose yourself. You will perhaps go to sleep. And to-morrow by daylight you can do as you like."

He lifted the stick, in spite of her being beyond his reach, and threw it with a hard effort which was but impotence. It fell, slipping over the foot of the bed. Mary let it lie, and retreated to her chair by the fire. By-and-by, she would go to him with the cordial. Fatigue would make him passive. It was getting towards the chilliest moment of the morning, the fire had got low, and she could see through the chink between the moreen window-curtains the light whitened by the blind. Having put some wood on the fire and thrown a shawl over her, she sat down, hoping that Mr. Featherstone might now fall asleep. If she went near him the irritation might be kept up. He had said nothing after throwing the stick, but she had seen him taking his keys again and laying his right hand on the money. He did not put it up, however, and she thought that he was dropping off to sleep.

Of course the old creature dies in the dawn ; and we wonder whether, years after, when Mary and the young chap were Man and Wife, they ever talked over this scene and calculated how a different conduct would have affected their mutual fortunes.

To most readers the figure of the religious and criminal Banker will appear the most forcible portion of the story. It has, however, little real bearing on any of the three groups of character, but touches each of them with sufficient art not to seem intrusive. It is a solemn study of complicated humanity which the writer puts before you with little or no judgment of his own, but on which every reader will think for himself. It is not even for the weaver to test the worth and strength of this mixed woof of conscience and self-excuse, of reverence for the supernatural and disregard of mankind. We hear daily of the Italian brigand praying for the success of his violences, and combining, uncensured by the public opinion of his country, deep devotion with cruelty and fraud. Why is this delusion, if delusion it be, to be confined to the Roman Catholic faith—why should it be irreconcilable with the

forms of Protestant emotion? Hypocrisy is an easy phrase under which the ignorance of the motives of others masks itself, and those who by the constitution of their own minds have always connected piety with morality naturally shrink from such a psychological monster as a religious criminal. Yet our time has witnessed more than one instance of men who have become amenable to the severest judgments of the law, whose lives have been models of private morality, and who have been objects of reverence in the religious world. In the portraiture of Mr. Bulstrode there is nothing sensational; he might have become the confidential agent of the Nonconformist interest at Middlemarch by a natural sympathy of religious notions, and without any false professions or intentional deceit. His frequent Evangelical phraseology may have been matter of habit not of ostentation, and when at last he succumbs to the indefinite temptation of letting a man die whose existence was a curse to himself and no benefit to anyone, he falls a victim rather to the judicial spirit of romance than to the ordinary vengeance of society on rich and respectable men. A man of Mr. Bulstrode's wealth and position in Middlemarch, with a large religious party at his back, would hardly have been crushed by the discovery that before he came to that centre of all the commercial and domestic virtues, he had had certain equivocal domestic relations, or had derived his wealth from a somewhat dirty business; and when he lay under a vague suspicion of prematurely removing a compromising enemy, some positive proof of these accusations would have been required before he was driven in disgrace from the locality. On the other hand, there is much truth in the indication that a peculiar profession of religion is a great encumbrance to a man who finds himself under such indefinite imputations. For him the outer world will make no allowances; his assumed spiritual superiority has been a standing reproach to all who take a lower standard of life, and they are delighted to make him pay for it. Instead of mitigating the judgment of mankind by the consideration that the leaven of conscience may have preserved the man from becoming utterly bad and even limited the injury he has inflicted on others, he is condemned more unscrupulously than the defaulter who is not supposed to have been restrained by any higher motive than his own interest. And the reaction on the supposed criminal himself is no doubt naturally delineated in the meekness Bulstrode shows at the first uprise of popular indignation. A bold bad man would have put a better face on the matter, or at least have called for more unprejudiced testimony against him. But

between him and the truth there stood the phantom of his own high standard of life, and he may have been unjust, even to himself in his ready acceptance of the condemnation of others who knew nothing of his struggles and temptations. Such a man would naturally have stood on a lofty pedestal in his own family circle, and the penalty of his fall is drawn with awful fidelity.

‘Mrs. Bulstrode locked herself in her room. She needed time to get used to her maimed consciousness, her poor lopped life, before she could walk steadily to the place allotted her. A new searching light had fallen on her husband’s character, and she could not judge him leniently: the twenty years in which she had believed in him and venerated him by virtue of his concealments came back with particulars that made them seem an odious deceit. He had married her with that bad past life hidden behind him, and she had no faith left to protest his innocence of the worst that was imputed to him. Her honest ostentatious nature made the sharing of a merited dishonour as bitter as it could be to any mortal.

‘But this imperfectly-taught woman, whose phrases and habits were an odd patchwork, had a loyal spirit within her. The man whose prosperity she had shared through nearly half a life, and who had unvaryingly cherished her—now that punishment had befallen him it was not possible to her in any sense to forsake him. There is a forsaking which still sits at the same board and lies on the same couch with the forsaken soul, withering it the more by unloving proximity. She knew, when she locked her door, that she should unlock it ready to go down to her unhappy husband and espouse his sorrow, and say of his guilt, I will mourn and not reproach. But she needed time to gather up her strength; she needed to sob out her farewell to all the gladness and pride of her life. When she had resolved to go down, she prepared herself by some little acts which might seem mere folly to a hard on-looker; they were her way of expressing to all spectators visible or invisible that she had begun a new life in which she embraced humiliation. She took off all her ornaments and put on a plain black gown, and instead of wearing her much-adorned cap and large bows of hair, she brushed her hair down and put on a plain bonnet-cap, which made her look suddenly like an early Methodist.

‘Bulstrode, who knew that his wife had been out and had come in saying that she was not well, had spent the time in an agitation equal to hers. He had looked forward to her learning the truth from others, and had acquiesced in that probability, as something easier to him than any confession. But now that he imagined the moment of her knowledge come, he awaited the result in anguish. His daughters had been obliged to consent to leave him, and though he had allowed some food to be brought to him, he had not touched it. He felt himself perishing slowly in unpitied misery. Perhaps he should never see his wife’s face with affection in it again. And if he turned to God there seemed to be no answer but the pressure of retribution.

‘It was eight o’clock in the evening before the door opened at

wife entered. He dared not look up at her. He sat with his eyes bent down, and as she went towards him she thought he looked smaller—he seemed so withered and shrunken. A movement of new compassion and old tenderness went through her like a great wave, and putting one hand on his which rested on the arm of the chair, and the other on his shoulder, she said, solemnly but kindly—

“Look up, Nicholas.”

‘He raised his eyes with a little start and looked at her half amazed for a moment: her pale face, her changed, mourning dress, the trembling about her mouth, all said, “I know;” and her hands and eyes rested gently on him. He burst out crying and they cried together, she sitting at his side. They could not yet speak to each other of the shame which she was bearing with him, or of the acts which had brought it down on them. His confession was silent, and her promise of faithfulness was silent. Open-minded as she was, she nevertheless shrank from the words which would have expressed their mutual consciousness, as she would have shrunk from flakes of fire. She could not say, “How much is only slander and false suspicion?” and he did not say, “I am innocent.”’

In contrast to the ostentatious religionist George Eliot does not fail to produce some of those ecclesiastical portraits of which, notwithstanding all the fun and tragedy that Mr. Trollope has found in the Church of England, his own early *Studies of Clerical Life* remain the prime examples. Mr. Farebrother, whose love of whist, which in the old time would have been a diversion especially adapted to his profession, is his only failing—and Mrs. Cadwallader, whose witty gossip is seasoned by her position of rightful critic of the morals of her neighbours, force upon us the contrast of the sad prospect of the dead clerical level which the special pieties and envious politics of the time are preparing for us, when the clergyman will cease to be a member of good society, not so much from any defects of nature or education as from a supposed incompatibility between general interests and special duties—between a recognised social ‘status’ and an indefinite spiritual claim. From the great ‘Vicar’ downwards the varieties of our national Church have produced delineations we should be sorry to have lost, nor would we exclude Parson Adams from the procession, though as little of a gentleman as many of our reformers would now desire a Christian Minister to be.

Mr. Garth is a notable compensation for the series of fraudulent and heartless agents who have ruined the noble and genteel families of so many British fictions; even our fault-finding author lets him go untouched. The simplicity of his motives and domesticity as distinct from those of the ‘bourgeoisie,’ though with no great apparent difference of position, and the disap-

pointment of the manufacturer, who believes in the gentility of the clerical profession as contrasted with that of the farm-manager, are very finely touched, leaving the impression that, if the bettermost human nature is to be looked for, the search should be rather in the direction of the country than in that of the town, notwithstanding that the close-fisted farmer and rural ignorance have their proper place in our history. Now that everybody grumbles if they have not a railway station at their park gates, and rent depends as much on means of communication as on the fertility of the soil, the following dialogue is a useful reminder of the times when Charles Austin and Serjeant Wrangham fought, as might be, for or against the landowner or the Company, as for dear life—when a parliamentary committee lasted for a session and cost as much as an Autumnal Manœuvre.

“But come, you didn’t mean any harm. Somebody told you the railway was a bad thing. That was a lie. It may do a bit of harm here and there, to this and to that; and so does the sun in heaven. But the railway’s a good thing.”

“Aw! good for the big folks to make money out on,” said old Timothy Cooper, who had stayed behind turning his hay while the others had been gone on their spree;—“I’n seen lots o’ things turn up sin’ I war a young un—the war an’ the peace, and the canells, an’ the oald King George, an’ the Regen’, an’ the new King George, an’ the new un as has got a new ne-ame—an’ it’s been all aloike to the poor mon. What’s the canells been t’ him? They ’n brought him neyther me-at nor be-acon, nor wage to lay by, if he didn’t save it wi’ clemmin’ his own inside. Times ha’ got wusser for him sin’ I war a young un. An’ so it’ll be wi’ the railroads. They’ll on’y leave the poor mon funder behind. But them are fools as meddle, and so I told the chaps here. This is the big folks’s world, this is. But yo’re for the big folks, Muster Garth, yo are.”

We have allowed ourselves to use the words Hero and Heroine in connexion with Lydgate and Dorothea; but, in seriousness, this story has neither the one nor the other. In different hands Lydgate would have been the greater man, uncomprehended, and though, perhaps, misunderstood to the last, and failing to realise his ideal, he would have had his glory and success in some brilliant martyrdom. But that is not George Eliot’s estimate of the providential management of the world, and, though it would have been more consonant to the rules of fiction, it is not the business of the historian of the hearts and minds of men to make it so. Thus the Philosopher who is ready to do battle with all prejudice for the truth of science, and make every sacrifice to raise the dignity of his calling, loses not only the appropriate field of action which he has made, but with it the van-

tage-ground of pure and high repute, from which alone he could attack and conquer. The hopes and aims of his being come to nothing through a combination of small incidents and unwise connexions, and he passes away to an obscure station and a premature death, leaving behind him the author of his calamities to find her appropriate satisfaction on an inferior level of existence. Thus, again, the sweet sad Enthusiast with whom the first pages are occupied, and in whose career, as seen in the foreshadowings of life, we look forward to some such lofty and historic presence as that which still shines over the cypresses of Scutari and the arid Crimean hills, where—

‘ The loving heart of Woman rose
To guide the hand and clear the eye,
Gave life amid the sternest woes,
And saved what Man had left to die ;’

this Dorothea—to whom the love of the Beautiful itself is but a form of selfish delight and Culture useless without the Passion of Humanity—yields to the common charms of personal affection, and makes the graceful and pleasant Artist the lord of her future.

This realistic treatment of human aspirations and illusions must recall to every one familiar with European literature the images of disappointment and despair with which Balzac has peopled the imagination of our times. But, as in the person of ‘ Felix Holt,’ and the ‘ Compagnon du Tour de France,’ we are far more conscious of the discrepancies than of the resemblances between the artisan of George Eliot and the ‘ *ouvrier* ’ of George Sand, so here we feel that the satirical *ῥήθος* of the writers is very distinct. They are both sad chroniclers of the weakness of our race—both, either from love of truth or pride in a higher intuition, have a pleasure in raising aloft the hopes and feelings of mankind, and then leaving them to themselves, to find their end just as they would in the pitiless and inconstant world, with little for the novelist to preach about, but with much for the tears of women and gentler thoughts of men. But while in Balzac there is ever the diabolic consciousness of the corruptions of the world, at once casting a glamour over evil in the minds of others and vindicating it in our own, George Eliot and George Sand are inspired with a generous pity for their own creations, and whilst they punish are content to do their best to pardon.

An eminent French writer has remarked that the English, in society and conversation the most taciturn of people, are in their novels the most interminably garrulous, and that even Walter Scott is not an exception. This is undoubtedly true, and a curious essay might be written on the employment of

Dialogue in our fiction, where almost every important writer makes his own use of it either in developing plot or character. In George Eliot's hands it tends little to advance the narrative, but it is often made the vehicle of the deepest passion and the best wit, and it could rarely be shortened without damage to the effect of the whole. Yet some of his characters will dwell in the memory of thousands by what they are here made to say, and it is astonishing how little it is. Mrs. Poyser's deliverances were not large, and Mrs. Dollop's, and Mrs. Waule's (what excellent names!) are still fewer, but they are equally delightful. The former lady's views of two of the learned professions are so satisfactory that her rare appearance on the scene excites the hope that—like those of the Trollope personages—they are only deferred to a future narrative.

First, of the Law :—

"Don't they say as there's somebody can strip it off him? By what I can understan', they could take every penny off him, if they went to lawing."

"No such thing!" said the barber, who felt himself a little above his company at Dollop's, but liked it none the worse. "Fletcher says it's no such thing. He says they might prove over and over again whose child this young Ladislav was, and they'd do no more than if they proved I came out of the Fens—he couldn't touch a penny."

"Look you there, now!" said Mrs. Dollop, indignantly. "I thank the Lord He took my children to Himself, if that's all the law can do for the motherless. Then by that, it's o' no use who your father and mother is. But as to listening to what one lawyer says without asking another—I wonder at a man o' your cleverness, Mr. Dill. It's well known there's always two sides, if no more; else who'd go to law, I should like to know? It's a poor tale, with all the law as there is up and down, if it's no use proving whose child you are. Fletcher may say that if he likes, but I say, don't Fletcher *me*!"

Then of the Medical Profession :—

"Why shouldn't they dig the man up, and have the Crowner?" said the dyer. "It's been done many and many's the time. If there's been foul play they might find it out."

"Not they, Mr. Jonas!" said Mrs. Dollop, emphatically. "I know what doctors are. They're a deal too cunning to be found out. And this Doctor Lydgate that's been for cutting up everybody before the breath was well out o' their body—it's plain enough what use he wanted to make o' looking into respectable people's insides. He knows drugs, you may be sure, as you can neither smell nor see, neither before they're swallowed nor after. Why, I've seen drops myself ordered by Doctor Gambit, as is our club doctor and a good charikter, and has brought more live children into the world nor ever another i' Middlemarch—I say I've seen drops myself as made no difference whether they was in the glass or not, and yet have griped you the next day. So I'll

leave your own sense to judge. Don't tell me! All I say is, it's a mercy they didn't take this Doctor Lydgate on to our club. There's many a mother's child might ha' rued it."

Nor is what might be called the 'genteel comedy' of the piece overdone, although there is no more serious temptation to a writer than to produce to superfluity a character which combines oddities of speech and manner with weak and ludicrous points of character. Mr. Brooke's combination of some real information and pretension to universal knowledge with an invincible dullness that makes the true relations and meanings of all things and persons about him absolutely void to his intelligence, is so amusingly drawn in itself that it hardly required to be brought to the hard test of a popular Election: there is something cruel in exposing those confused and amiable intentions to the brutal realities of political life, and to make him pelted off the hustings by a mob as stupid, and not as benevolent, as himself.

But there are scenes of supreme emotion which seem to us masterpieces of concentrated power. The first declaration of Ladislaw's passion—the thunder-storm without and within—will at once suggest itself to the reader; but to us the explanation between Dorothea and Rosamond is unsurpassed for the vividness of inner life shining through the most delicate and perfect words. This is the situation, in itself a stroke of genius.

Dorothea (Mrs. Casaubon) secretly and proudly loves Will Ladislaw: she visits Rosamond (Mrs. Lydgate), and discovers them in passionate and lover-like conversation. Influenced, as she believes, with the sole motive of saving Rosamond from her imprudence, she determines to see her again the day after, and try to bring her back to love and loyalty to her husband. The two women treat one another with distrust, and desire to keep apart, but some strange sense of mutual sorrow makes them sit down on the chairs that happen to be nearest, and, once close together, Dorothea speaks of the injustice done to Mr. Lydgate: how she has, to a great degree, succeeded in removing the unhappy impressions concerning him: she then pleads earnestly to Rosamond to forget any faults of her husband towards her in his great trouble, adding that he would have borne it all the better if he had been able to be quite open with her.

"Tertius is so angry and impatient if I say anything," said Rosamond, imagining that he had been complaining of her to Dorothea. "He ought not to wonder that I object to speak to him on painful subjects."

"It was himself he blamed for not speaking," said Dorothea. "What he said of you was, that he could not be happy in doing anything which made you unhappy—that his marriage was of course a bond which must affect his choice about everything; and for that reason he refused my proposal that he should keep his position at the Hospital, because that would bind him to stay in Middlemarch, and he would not undertake to do anything which would be painful to you. He could say that to me, because he knows that I had much trial in my marriage, from my husband's illness, which hindered his plans and saddened him; and he knows that I have felt how hard it is to walk always in fear of hurting another who is tied to us."

Dorothea waited a little; she had discerned a faint pleasure stealing over Rosamond's face. But there was no answer, and she went on, with a gathering tremor, "Marriage is so unlike everything else. There is something even awful in the nearness it brings. Even if we loved some one else better than—than those we were married to, it would be no use"—poor Dorothea, in her palpitating anxiety, could only seize her language brokenly—"I mean, marriage drinks up all our power of giving or getting any blessedness in that sort of love. I know it may be very dear—but it murders our marriage—and then the marriage stays with us like a murder—and everything else is gone. And then our husband—if he loved and trusted us, and we have not helped him, but made a curse in his life . . ."

Her voice had sunk very low: there was a dread upon her of presuming too far, and of speaking as if she herself were perfection addressing error. She was too much preoccupied with her own anxiety, to be aware that Rosamond was trembling too; and filled with the need to express pitying fellowship rather than rebuke, she put her hands on Rosamond's, and said with more agitated rapidity,—"I know, I know that the feeling may be very dear—it has taken hold of us unawares—it is so hard, it may seem like death to part with it—and we are weak—I am weak—"

The waves of her own sorrow, from out of which she was struggling to save another, rushed over Dorothea with conquering force. She stopped in speechless agitation, not crying, but feeling as if she were being inwardly grappled. Her face had become of a deathlier paleness, her lips trembled, and she pressed her hands helplessly on the hands that lay under them.

Rosamond, taken hold of by an emotion stronger than her own—hurried along in a new movement which gave all things some new, awful, undefined aspect—could find no words, but involuntarily she put her lips to Dorothea's forehead which was very near her, and then for a minute the two women clasped each other as if they had been in a shipwreck.

"You are thinking what is not true," said Rosamond, in an eager half-whisper, while she was still feeling Dorothea's arms round her—urged by a mysterious necessity to free herself from something that oppressed her as if it were blood-guiltiness.

They moved apart, looking at each other.

"When you came in yesterday—it was not as you thought," said Rosamond, in the same tone.

'There was a movement of surprised attention in Dorothea. She expected a vindication of Rosamond herself.

"He was telling me how he loved another woman, that I might know he could never love me," said Rosamond, getting more and more hurried as she went on. "And now I think he hates me because—because you mistook him yesterday. He says it is through me that you will think ill of him—think that he is a false person. But it shall not be through me. He has never had any love for me—I know he has not—he has always thought slightly of me. He said yesterday that no other woman existed for him beside you. The blame of what happened is entirely mine. He said he could never explain to you—because of me. He said you could never think well of him again. But now I have told you, and he cannot reproach me any more."

'Rosamond had delivered her soul under impulses which she had not known before. She had begun her confession under the subduing influence of Dorothea's emotion; and as she went on she had gathered the sense that she was repelling Will's reproaches, which were still like a knife-wound within her.

'The revulsion of feeling in Dorothea was too strong to be called joy. It was a tumult in which the terrible strain of the night and morning made a resistant pain:—she could only perceive that this would be joy when she had recovered her power of feeling it. Her immediate consciousness was one of immense sympathy without check; she cared for Rosamond without struggle now, and responded earnestly to her last words:

"No, he cannot reproach you any more."

If the same artistic moderation is not shown in the didactic portions of the book—if there is an abundance of aphorism, a weight of wit, which may become burdensome to the ordinary reader, we do not think it impossible that the study of verse, to which our author has lately addicted himself, and to which we have already called attention in a previous article, may have contributed to this result. In most cases the influence of verse-writing on the construction of prose is most beneficial; but in a case where the fault of a style is its closeness and concentration, these qualities would be liable to be exaggerated by the continence and self-restraint which any poetry worthy of the name imperatively demands. Thus many an observation or reflection, which in a common-place book, or in such a collection as has already been made of the 'select passages' from George Eliot's writings, would be remarkable either for thought and expression, comes into a narrative, or is the conclusion of a dramatic scene, almost inopportunately, and its power and meaning are lost in the very interest which the reader is taking in the plot or passages with which it is connected. Strictly speaking, the writer should be as little seen in person in a novel as he would be in a modern drama, where he only gives

the stage directions; but here the Chorus is too continually present, calling us away from the excitement and anxiety of the piece to the consideration of the eternal moralities and humorous contrasts of life.

In '*Middlemarch*' another volume is added to the noble series of British works of fiction, which is at once acceptable to 'girls and men,' and which is so peculiarly our own. The abundance of translations of these works into French shows the singular absence of such a form of literature in the language which once abounded in so many productions of the imagination while ours was comparatively sterile, and its best efforts for the most part coarse and offensive to a delicate and scrupulous mind. Without any prudish condemnation of the great masters of invention and style that France has possessed of late years, and without any exaggerated censure of their imitators among ourselves, we may observe with satisfaction that our best writers—especially among women—have so trained and limited their fancy and wit, that they shock no susceptibilities, and do not affront even where they fail to please. The inferior quality of many of the works on which the French Academy, restrained by certain traditions and old-world manners from awarding a plenary favour to intellect alone, has bestowed its distinction, and the apparently unjust exclusion of some of the most popular authors, who have offended against the decorums of life and letters, from its gilded Chairs, exhibit one of the many conflicts of thought and opinion that distract our neighbours. Théophile Gautier, with all his admitted charm of style and originality of thought, was rejected quite as much for his '*Mademoiselle du Maupin*' as for his Imperialist politics; and the long-coveted honour has only been accorded to the old age of Jules Janin, which would have been his long ago but for his supposed domicile on the borders of Bohemia. There is an interesting exposition of this feeling on the part of the highest class of French men of letters in the '*Jours d'Épreuve*' of M. Caro, where the strange distortions of the national mind are somewhat partially traced to the extravagances of the '*Buveurs d'eau*' of Henri Mürger, and the atrocities of the Commune represented as the natural '*Fin de la Bohème*.' George Eliot's new enterprise is to be hailed with gratitude for its healthy tone and honest purpose, as well as for the admirable interior action, which makes it almost independent of incident and moulds the outward circumstances to its own spiritual ends.

ART. XI.—*Proceedings and Award of the High Court of Arbitration at Geneva under the Treaty of Washington of May 1871.* Published in the 'London Gazette' of the 24th September, 1872.

THE American claims against this country, which 'grew' out of the departure from our shores of the 'Alabama' and other vessels of war, during the conflict with the Southern States, are at last satisfied. We have had the gratification of reading in the 'London Gazette' of September 24, 1872, that under the award of the Arbitrators at Geneva, 'all the claims 'referred to in the Treaty as submitted to the Tribunal are 'fully, perfectly, and finally settled.' These words are eminently pleasant, late as they come. We are to pay for them something over 3,000,000*l.*; and there is the end of this part, at least, of a long-standing controversy. If we are not proud of the result, we are at least content with it. The immediate gain is considerable, and the price, if we were to be purchasers at all, is not excessive. Even American statesmen will be glad to be relieved of the necessity of eternally proclaiming the 'Alabama' grievance, and trying to fan an indignation which throughout was probably more feigned than real, although not the less troublesome on that account. In the later stages of the negotiations Lord Granville deserves special credit for the firmness as well as the unruffled patience of his diplomacy. The country is glad to be rid, on such terms, of a wearisome controversy, and an importunate and rather petulant litigant; and is rapidly forgetting them. The self-love of the nation seems entirely undisturbed by the transaction. With the instinctive reverence for judicial authority which is characteristic of a community among whom the administration of the law is beyond suspicion, the people have accepted the decision without a word of criticism or murmur; and the mere pecuniary amount has not cost them a thought. Thus far, the Government has earned our thanks, and we have no desire to stir the embers which are fast mouldering to extinction. The questions, indeed, which still remain are weighty and important, and will command interest and excite controversy long after the American claims are forgotten; but these are now confined to the domain of international jurisprudence, and their solution may perhaps await some new and unforeseen complication.

When we last called attention to the subject, the controversy as to the Indirect Claims was at its height, and it still remained

doubtful whether the Arbitration at Geneva would proceed or not. At such a juncture we necessarily wrote under the restraint imposed by the nature of the emergency. But the dilemma caused by the extravagance of the American claims was solved by the wisdom of the Arbitrators; and now that the principles of the Treaty have received their practical and final application, we are free to consider their soundness, and their tendency.

It must be remembered, moreover, that in addition to laying down rules for the guidance of the Arbitrators at Geneva, the contracting Powers have undertaken to each other to bring these rules under the notice of other Powers, and to invite their assent to them. It becomes, therefore, very necessary that we should, in the first place, be satisfied that they are sound in the sense in which we read them, and, in the second place, that others are prepared to read them as we do. In this view the proceedings of the Arbitration possess a high historical and juridical interest, and we propose to give our readers an outline of what they did, and what they decided; and to call especial attention to the very remarkable state paper which Lord Chief Justice Cockburn has contributed, both to international science, and to the history of the circumstances which were the subject of the inquiry.

The five Arbitrators, who were named, under the provisions of the Treaty of Washington, by the two contracting Powers, and by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil, were the following:—

By England—Lord Chief Justice Cockburn.

By the United States—Mr. Adams.

By Italy—Count Frederick Sclopis.

By the Swiss Confederation—M. Jacques Staempfli.

By the Emperor of Brazil—Viscount D'Itajuba.

Count Sclopis was named President. Sir Roundell Palmer acted as counsel for Great Britain, and Mr. Cushing and Mr. Evarts for the United States.

The three Rules which were laid down in Article VI. of the Treaty, and which will probably be the subject of much discussion in the future, were in the following terms:

'A neutral Government is bound—

'First.—To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise

or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.

'Secondly.—Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.

'Thirdly.—To exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties.'

These Rules were to be the guides of the Arbitrators in considering the claims of the United States. The case and counter-case of each party had been lodged before the Arbitrators met. At their first meeting they cleared away all question about the Indirect Claims by deciding that they were not within the reference; and, after considering the pleadings, the Tribunal invited the parties to make farther explanation on three subjects.

1. On the nature of the 'due diligence' mentioned in Article I. of the Rules.

2. On the effect of the commissions which had been granted to the vessels complained of by the Confederate States.

3. On the effect of the furnishing of these vessels with coal and supplies in British ports.

We have, accordingly, very able and interesting arguments on these points by Sir Roundell Palmer on one side, and Mr. Evarts, Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Waite on the other, printed as a supplement to the 'London Gazette.'

The Arbitrators ultimately decided against Great Britain, unanimously, in the case of the 'Alabama;' by a majority of four to one in the case of the 'Florida,' Sir Alexander Cockburn dissenting; and by a majority of three to two in the case of some acts of the 'Shenandoah,' Sir Alexander Cockburn and Viscount D'Itajuba dissenting. They decided unanimously that the tenders of these vessels must fall under the same rule as the vessels themselves. They dismissed all the other claims regarding the remaining vessels, by a majority of three to two, Mr. Adams and M. Staempfli dissenting; and by a majority of four to one they awarded a gross sum of 15,500,000 dollars to the United States in full of all claims. The four Arbitrators state their reasons in full, separately, and with more or less detail, in papers which are both able and interesting. Sir Alexander Cockburn lodged a voluminous and exhaustive protest, to which we shall immediately advert.

We should not have thought, under any circumstances, of criticising unfavourably the result at which the Arbitrators

thus arrived. It is binding on us; it is the decision of a Court selected by ourselves; and that is enough. But, indeed, taking into consideration the conditions on which alone they were entitled to determine the questions which were submitted to them, there is much to be said for it; and if they rightly construed the Treaty and the three Rules, it was almost inevitable. Notwithstanding the great ability of Lord Selborne's pleading, his chain of reasoning was rather too subtle for the audience to which it was addressed: while the American reply—able, but much less profound and comprehensive—betrays a spirit of easy confidence, which seems to argue a conviction that the task was light, and the issue certain. There are, indeed, two separate considerations on which it might not unreasonably appear that our failure to discharge the international duty defined in the first Rule, was truly a foregone conclusion. The first of these is one of fact. We not only did not use due diligence, but we did not use any diligence, as in the performance of any international obligation. What we did was something entirely different. Our Government enforced the Foreign Enlistment Act, on their Parliamentary responsibility, as part of our municipal law. They conceived that they were only bound to measure their diligence in that respect by their duty to the Crown, and the constitutional opinion of their own people—and more they never meant to do. It was quite right of them, in the discharge of that duty, to listen to the foreign Power which had an interest in the enforcement of that Act; and they did listen to it, and gave the representations of their Minister reasonable effect. But they never supposed that they were doing so in the discharge of international obligation; and their conduct, which was not intended to be measured by any such standard, of course fell short of it. Had we been bound by treaty to prevent the departure of such vessels, it is needless to say that much more would have been incumbent on us than we did, or intended to do. We should then have taken on ourselves the burden of a far more extensive and efficient system of inquiry, instead of leaving that duty, as we for the most part did, to be performed by the American authorities in this country. This could not have been done without entailing on us much expense, annoyance, and vexation; but if we had been bound to it by treaty, there is little doubt that we should have set about the work in a different way. But as the Government had not undertaken any such duty, and had adjusted their proceedings to the scale of municipal administration, it is not surprising that by a new and unexpected test, they failed to come u

standard. It was not 'due diligence,' but loyal earnestness and good faith, which we thought were truly required of us, and which we fully rendered: but that was found not sufficient to satisfy the three Rules.

We do not think that there was much force in one part of the discussion, on which much learning and ingenuity was expended. It was contended by our representative, and the argument occupies a considerable portion of Sir Alexander Cockburn's protest, that Great Britain could not be responsible for the defects of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and that a free Government like ours could not, on its own authority, go beyond what the law sanctioned. This is quite true, but was hardly an answer to the complaint of the United States. That the Foreign Enlistment Act was a very imperfect piece of mechanism if intended for the enforcement of an international obligation, is certain; but the substance of the complaint lay in the neglect of a thorough and vigilant initiative. Had we supposed that we lay under, not a duty of comity and good fellowship, but an obligation on our part which corresponded to a right on that of the United States, there was more in our power, which did not depend on the efficiency of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The distinction is a very obvious and vital one. In the administration of the municipal law, the Executive is entitled to keep within the letter of penal statutes, and to be careful in the first instance that private interests shall not suffer, unless a breach of the law be clearly established. But in cases of public obligation to other States, as in all public emergencies, the arm of the Executive is a long one; and many things might be justifiable in such circumstances, even at the risk of having to compensate private individuals, or, if the crisis were imminent, of relying on an indemnity from Parliament. In administering the Foreign Enlistment Act as a municipal law, notwithstanding the indecorous imputations which pervaded the pleadings of the United States, our thorough loyalty and good faith were clearly established. But we can feel no surprise that the Arbitrators should have found our proceedings defective, as in fulfilment of an international obligation, which required for its discharge not loyalty and good faith merely, but a standard of vigilance and exertion by which we never meant to be measured. It was of no avail that we showed, as appears to have been done conclusively, that we had expended more energy and anxiety in enforcing the spirit of the Act than had ever been evinced by any other neutral nation. That was held insufficient to liberate us, nor can we wonder that it was so.

The second reason for holding our liability a foregone conclusion was probably that on which the Arbitrators mainly proceeded. The obligation of 'due diligence' necessarily assumes a relative and antecedent duty, for the discharge of which due diligence is, in certain circumstances, held as an equivalent. There can be no obligation of diligence or care to accomplish a result unless there be also a duty and responsibility in regard to the result itself. The Arbitrators held that we lay under an obligation to prevent these vessels from escaping; and that this was the substance of the first of the three Rules. It was certain that this duty had not been performed, and a presumption—more or less strong according to circumstances—was thereby raised that proper care and diligence had not been used to insure its performance. The question put to the Arbitrators was not whether we had used due diligence to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act, but whether we had done due diligence in the discharge of the duty, which they held to be admitted, of preventing the departure of the vessels. It was conceded, on our part, that we were bound internationally to reasonable care and exertion in enforcing the provisions of the statute; but it was maintained that we were bound to nothing more. But our antagonists, taking advantage of the general words of the first Rule, would not treat the question in that light. They argued that the obligation applied not to the provisions of a statute, but to a fact, namely, the prevention of the departure of the vessels. They were concerned, they said, not with the provisions of the Act, which they declined to consider, but with the admitted duty; and as that had not been performed, it lay with us to show that due diligence could not have performed it.

The argument of the United States went further. They maintained that the obligation expressed in the Rule was co-extensive with the law of nations independently of the Rule, and that it was of such a nature that it must be presumed that every sovereign State had power to fulfil it: that the diligence required was to find effectual means, and to use them for the attainment of that end; and that if the end was not attained the failure could only be attributed to the neglect to take due and necessary precautions. If, therefore, the vessels departed, the conclusion of neglect on our part followed as matter of course, and no further subject remained for discussion or inquiry.

It would rather appear that the Arbitrators proceeded on this view. Without excluding Great Britain from showing that no amount of vigilance or care could have prevented

result, they virtually rested her liability on the fact that the escape of the vessels was not prevented. Thus in the preamble of the award, which contains the *rationes* on which the award itself is founded, the decision of the Arbitrators in regard to the 'Alabama' is, that the British Government had failed to do due diligence to prevent her escape; and especially 'had omitted, notwithstanding the warnings and official representations of the United States during the construction of the said 290, to take, in due time, *any effective measures of prevention*, and that those orders which it did give at last for the detention of the vessel were issued so late that their execution was not practicable.'

Thus the Arbitrators simply looked at the fact, that 'no effective measures of prevention were taken,' assuming that as there was a duty to discharge, the Government was bound to find effectual means of discharging it; and they specially found that we were not liberated by the considerations addressed to them to show that the first Rule of the Treaty did not imply any absolute or imperative obligation to prevent the departure of the vessels, and that 'due diligence' must have regard to the provisions of our municipal law.

Viewed as a question of construction, we cannot say that the words of the Treaty might not reasonably and fairly be so read; for, as we have been publicly informed by one of the negotiators, it was drawn up with a studied disregard of legal precision. No doubt the sense which the British Commissioners wished to express was the restricted and limited meaning for which our counsel contended. But the real ambiguity lay in the idea intended to be expressed. Perhaps in restricting the international obligation which was to be the subject of the Arbitration to the 'due diligence' of the Treaty, the British Commissioners thought that they excluded the duty of prevention, in its absolute sense, from the concessions. But this was a distinction not easily expressed in a convention which was to be judicially interpreted, without the use of language which would reduce the obligation itself to what has been termed the vanishing point; to this of course the United States would never have consented. There is, in fact, a logical fallacy in the terms of the Treaty which would have been avoided on either side, had either been to choose. An obligation to use due diligence to accomplish that which the person obliged is not bound to accomplish, involves a juridical confusion. The term itself—'due diligence'—pre-supposes the duty of accomplishing the object, and only affords a reasonable defence against liability in the event of the object not being accomplished. It was

next to impossible to frame words which, while assuming that the international duty of prevention did not exist, should attach, and at the same time limit, liability to the neglect to use due diligence to insure it.

There can be no doubt that these were the views on which the Award proceeded. Count Sclopis professes to be unable to comprehend what Sir Roundell Palmer meant by saying that the Rules did not imply that a neutral Government in all cases was bound to prevent the acts against which they were directed. In like manner M. Staempfli very plainly says that the neutral is bound to an initiative in the fulfilment of the duty. He says: 'Les dues diligences à exercer comprennent *'implicitement la propre vigilance et la propre initiative* dans le but de découvrir et d'empêcher toute violation de la propre neutralité. Un État belligérant n'a ni le devoir ni le droit d'exercer la surveillance, ni de faire la police dans un État neutre à la place des autorités du pays.'

We cannot wonder that under these Rules, so interpreted, we were found in the wrong. Our surprise rather is that we escaped so easily. But before we recommend these Rules to other nations, it would be desirable that it should be made quite clear whether our recommendation is to apply to our own construction of them, or to that of the Arbitrators. These interpretations widely differ, and impose very different burdens on neutrals. Nor is the ambiguity to which we have now referred the only one which must be cleared up before these Rules can enter the European code.

The Arbitrators seem to have given no weight to the protest on the part of the British Government, which is embodied in the Treaty, that at the time when the matters complained of took place, Great Britain was under no international obligation to use due diligence for the object in question. Count Sclopis says: 'Ces règles, de la façon dont elles sont établies, *constituent une obligation fondée sur le droit des gens général*; et ce serait en changer la nature, en détruire complètement l'effet, que d'admettre, ainsi que le voudrait l'argument du conseil de sa Majesté Britannique, que la mesure des dues diligences à employer, il faut la dériver des règles et des principes de la législation de chacune des parties contractantes: c'est-à-dire que la généralité et la grandeur de la règle pourront être soumises à des limitations par la loi municipale.' He can give no weight to the argument drawn from *'impossibilité politique'*, which he represents as being: 'Oui, j'ai consenti à passer la règle, mais les moyens d'y satisfaire me manquent: *pour la règle*' (p. 4446). In their award the A

lay it down, not only as a corollary from the Convention, but also as matter of public law, that 'the due diligence referred to in the first and third of these Rules ought to be exercised by neutral Governments *in exact proportion to the risks to which either of the belligerents may be exposed* from a failure to fulfil the obligations of neutrality on their part.'

The fact that the award proceeds on this rescript is very important. It embraces principles very material to the position of neutrals, and which would rather seem to be essential to the special results at which the Arbitrators arrived. Count Sclopis more than once reverts to this view in his remarks. He says that the performance of the duty 'doit être en *raison directe* des dangers réels que le belligérant peut courir par le fait ou la tolérance du neutre.' And again: 'Le fait, en effet, de la construction des vaisseaux, de leur armement et équipement, de l'exportation des armes de guerre, prend un aspect différent selon les circonstances *des temps, des personnes, et des lieux où il s'accomplit.*' The application of this rule to the dispute in hand was plain enough. The South were blockaded. They had no ports, and no fleet. If they were permitted to supply the defect by purchasing in a foreign market, the North of course would suffer injury to an unusual extent, or be compelled to forego a great advantage. Therefore, conclude the Arbitrators, there was a greater duty of vigilance imposed on Great Britain than would have rested on her if the antagonist had been a maritime Power the ports of which were not blockaded.

There may be, in the performance of ordinary civil obligations, reason, and perhaps soundness, in the principle. Nor can it be doubted that the stake which the two belligerents played for, in obtaining or preventing the acquisition of these vessels, was a very critical one. Probably the whole fate of the contest rested on the maintenance of the blockade. But viewed as the future basis of international obligation, the principle seems to involve results which might be very anomalous and inconvenient. According to it, the diligence Great Britain was bound to use to prevent the Confederates from obtaining British-built ships was entirely different from that which she was bound to use to prevent similar acquisitions by the Federals; for the Federals were not blockaded, and had ships of their own. Consequently, Count Sclopis would hold, that the loss to the Confederates in the case supposed would be much less than that suffered by the Federals in the actual case; and therefore the amount of diligence required would be less.

The significance of this proposition, which goes deeper than

is at first sight apparent, may be illustrated by an extract from Mr. Evarts' reply to Sir Roundell Palmer's pleading. Speaking in regard to the second of the three Rules, which lays down the duty of the neutral State to prevent the neutral territory from being made a base of belligerent operations, he says:—

'What are really commercial transactions in contraband of war, are allowed by the practice of the United States and of England equally, and are not understood to be proscribed, *as hostile acts*, by the law of nations, and it is agreed between the two countries that the second Rule is not to be extended to embrace, by any largeness of construction, mere commercial transactions in contraband of war.

'*Sir Alexander Cockburn.*—Then I understand you to concede that the private subject may deal commercially in what is contraband of war?

'*Mr. Evarts.*—I will even go further than that, and say that commercial dealings or transactions are not proscribed by the law of nations, *as violations of neutral territory*, because they are in contraband of war. Therefore I do not need to seek any aid in my present purpose of exhibiting the transactions under the second Rule by these cruisers, as using Great Britain as the base for these naval operations, from any construction of that Rule which would proscribe a mere commercial dealing in what is understood to be contraband of war. Such is not the true sense of the Article, nor does the law of nations proscribe this commercial dealing as a hostile act. But *whenever the neutral ports, places, and markets are really used as the bases of naval operations*, when the circumstances show that resort and that relation, and that direct and efficient contribution, and that complicity and that origin and authorship, which exhibit the belligerent himself, drawing military supplies for the purpose of his naval operations from neutral ports, *that is a use* by a belligerent of neutral ports and waters as a base of his naval operations, and is *prohibited by the second Rule of the Treaty*. Undoubtedly the inculcation of a neutral for permitting this use turns upon the question whether due diligence has been used to prevent it.' (P. 4651.)

He proceeds to maintain that acts which would have been mere commercial speculations, had the other belligerent been a maritime Power, with open ports, became hostile acts in respect of the subsistence of the blockade, because the ports of the neutral were the only bases of departure which the belligerents had for naval operations.

In this view, the international law, as expressed in the Treaty, ought to have been limited to the case of blockade; and indeed Mr. Adams, in a letter quoted by Sir Alexander Cockburn, does so limit it. Mr. Adams says (p. 4133): 'The sale and transfer by a neutral of arms, munitions of war, and even of vessels of war, to a belligerent country *not* to blockade at the time, as a purely commercial transaction

‘decided by these authorities not to be unlawful. They go not a step farther; and precisely to that extent I have myself taken no exception to the doctrine.’ *

It well becomes us to ponder on the distinction here so earnestly developed. It is not without cogency. But its effect, if carried out to its legitimate results, would be to limit the law of the Treaty substantially to the ‘Alabama’ claims. It seldom happens that a belligerent is in the exceptional position in which the Confederates found themselves. Thus, that which would have been a mere commercial speculation if France, or Prussia, or Russia, or Spain had been the belligerent customer, and the United States the neutral merchant, became hostile only by reason of the existing blockade of the Southern ports. If this rule were adopted, an entirely different scale of due diligence would prevail, and the whole principle on which neutral ports are held to become a base for hostile operations, would fluctuate, according as the belligerent for whom the ships were built was, or was not, blockaded.

If any part of the consideration given for our concessions in the Treaty was the hope or expectation that the principle there recognised might operate to our advantage in future wars, we fear these prospects are doomed to disappointment. It would rather seem as if the scale of ‘due diligence,’ and the hostile character of the acts in question, had been fixed for the special cases—we had almost said the solitary cases, of the ‘Alabama’ and the ‘Florida.’ It by no means follows that American statesmen would at all admit the analogy in any other circumstances. Such isolation as occurred in the case of the Confederate States is, as we have said, rare; and if the belligerent Power had possessed the means of receiving the vessel in a port of her own, according to the American view, the neutral port from which she originally sailed could not be considered to have been a base of operations. We only remember one other war—if war it could be called—in which the command of a base in a neutral State was essential to the belligerent: we mean the Fenian invasion of Canada. If the obligation of due diligence to prevent the departure of a hostile force from neutral soil was ever imposed on a neutral Government, it lay on the United States on that occasion; and if she so utterly repudiated liability in that instance as to refuse even to negotiate on the subject, the prospects are not encouraging that she will ever admit it to her own prejudice in any other.

* Mr. Adams to Earl Russell, 6th April, 1863.

These are the views on which this award proceeds. They seem to establish, as international law, two propositions, which we suppose are to rule this country and the United States for the future; and the adoption of which we are to recommend to Europe generally. *First*, that the responsibility of taking effective measures to prevent the departure of vessels adapted for hostile purposes from neutral territory, for the service of a belligerent, rests entirely with the neutral State, whatever may be the nature of its internal or municipal legislation; and *secondly*, that the amount of vigilance required of a neutral State to this end varies exactly with the amount of injury which one of the belligerents is likely to suffer from the neglect to fulfil it; and of course decreases in the same *ratio* as the interest involved decreases.

We had hoped that from this American nettle we might have plucked the flower certainty; and that this country might have been able, in conjunction with the other great Powers, to establish the international obligations of neutrals on something like a clear and consistent foundation. It is far more important for a great commercial community like this to know what the law is, and how far mercantile operations are affected by foreign war, than to reduce the received rules to any scientific standard. But this award leaves us entirely in a maze, as to what law is to rule us for the future. We can hardly endorse Mr. Forster's declaration to his constituents at Bradford, that in exchange for our three millions we have obtained 'a new maritime code.' For there seems to us to be an irreconcilable difference between the principles we thought we had sanctioned, and those which the majority of the Arbitrators decided that we had sanctioned; and the duty imposed by these principles seems to vary so incessantly with the position of belligerents, and the fortune of war, as to make it exceedingly difficult either to define or to discharge it. We turn with some hope to Sir Alexander Cockburn for a clue to guide us through this labyrinth.

If the arbitration at Geneva had produced no other result than to have been the occasion of giving to this country and Europe the masterly dissertation of Sir Alexander Cockburn, it would have been a memorable event for which we should have been grateful. It forms, no doubt, a portentous supplement to the 'London Gazette,' occupying as it does 350 closely, and not too-well printed folio pages of that usually dry periodical. For any immediate purpose incident to the result of the arbitration, it might be criticised as too voluminous and elaborate; and probably few general re-

have accomplished the task of completing its perusal. It may also, perhaps, be liable to the criticism of being, at times, somewhat rhetorical, and rather smart and pungent in some of its reflections on the United States, and her public men. It never, however, lowers the dignity of the occasion, or the position of the writer, by unworthy imputations. We were sorry to read, in the opinion of Mr. Adams, who gained so much respect in this country, and who knows us so well, the following sentence: 'And by this proceeding Her Majesty's Government appear, at least in my eyes, practically to have given their formal assent to the principle in international law that success SANCTIFIES A FRAUD' (p. 4363). The capitals are those of the writer, or of the 'London Gazette,' not ours. Probably some too emphatic expressions such as this elicited the Chief Justice's retorts. In one part, however, of his observations we entirely sympathise: we mean in the well-deserved rebuke which he administers to the offensive and intolerable personalities of the American pleadings—invectives, which, if they had occurred in official despatches, must have led to a suspension of diplomatic relations, and which were, in our opinion, not more excusable because inserted in a forensic state paper, or delivered in an oral pleading. Sir Alexander Cockburn says—and his words will find an echo, if we mistake not, on both sides of the Atlantic:—

'Of the Cabinet which has been thus assailed, three distinguished members are no more. But he who, at the difficult time in question, presided over the foreign relations of Great Britain, still lives among us in the fulness of years and honour. There have, of course, been many who, in the strife of party politics, have been opposed to Earl Russell; there have been others who have differed from him in particular incidents of his political conduct; but never did it occur to political enemy—personal enemy he never could have had—to question for a moment the lofty sense of honour, the high and unimpeachable integrity, the truthfulness, the straightforwardness, which have characterised the whole of his long and illustrious career. When the history of Great Britain during the nineteenth century shall be written, not only will there be none among the statesmen who have adorned it, whose name will be associated with greater works in the onward path of political progress than that of Earl Russell, but there will be none to whom, personally, an admiring posterity will look back with greater veneration and respect. That this distinguished man should feel deeply aggrieved by the unworthy attack thus made on the Government of which he was a leading member, and on himself personally, it is easy to understand: but there are attacks which recoil upon those who make them; and of this nature are aspersions on the honesty and sincerity of Earl Russell.

'I have called this an "unexpected" course, for assuredly neither

the British Government nor the British people were prepared to expect that, after Great Britain had not only expressed, openly and before the world, her "regret" that vessels should have left her shores which afterwards did damage to American commerce, but had voluntarily consented to make good that damage, if it could be shown that any want of sufficient care on the part of the British authorities had rendered the equipment and evasion of those vessels possible—on an occasion when, in the peaceful and amicable settlement of any claim the United States might have against Great Britain, the remembrance of past grievances or past resentments was to be for ever buried, and the many ties which should bind these two great nations together, drawn closer for the time to come—advantage should be taken to revive with acrimonious bitterness every angry recollection of the past, and, as it would seem, to pour forth the pent-up venom of national and personal hate. Deploing the course which has thus been taken, as one calculated to mar the work of peace on which we are engaged, I comfort myself with the conviction that a great nation, like the people of the United States, seeing in the present attitude of Great Britain a cordial and sincere desire of reconciliation and enduring friendship, animated itself by a kindred spirit, will not approve of the hostile and insulting tone thus offensively and unnecessarily adopted towards Great Britain, her statesmen, and her institutions, throughout the whole course of the case and argument presented on behalf of the United States.'

We have given these passages at full, because whatever opinions may be entertained of the advantages of international arbitration, or of the present remarkable example of it, it would become impossible for any nation which respected itself to engage in it, if it were to be made the vehicle of railing accusations and of national rancour, which no diplomatist would venture to address or exhibit to another. These things should have been rebuked by the Tribunal, and it should not have been left to the representative of Great Britain to vindicate the first elements of international propriety and courtesy.

Passing by, however, these minor criticisms, and addressing ourselves to the substance of this remarkable treatise, we cordially express the highest admiration of it. Whether as regards the discussion of legal principles or the analysis of the facts before him, it is lucid, vigorous, copious, and exhaustive. It is plain from its exordium that the Lord Chief Justice felt painfully the chains which the Rules of the Treaty imposed on him. He regrets that the whole question had not been left open to the tribunal to be decided on the true principles of international law and justice. The Rules, he says, and says very truly, were 'a great and generous concession: and though the effect of it might be a pecuniary sacrifice on the part of Great Britain, it was cheerfully made,' and he hopes.

be appreciated. The United States, however, hardly seem to have appreciated it, for they professed to hold it to be no concession at all. But the main object which the Chief Justice seems to have in view in placing on record this elaborate exposition of his opinions was twofold—to vindicate the true principles of international law, and to vindicate the honour, good faith, and reputation of the country to which he belongs. We think he has accomplished the double task with singular power and complete success.

He deals with his subject in the following order:—

1. The true principle of international law as to the building, equipping, and furnishing of vessels of war by a neutral for a belligerent, illustrating the subject by copious citations from works of authority.

2. The history and nature of the Foreign Enlistment Act.

3. The legal import of 'due diligence.'

4. The means at our disposal for the enforcement of the Act, compared with those of other nations.

5. Historical illustrations of the proceedings of other nations, especially the United States, when they were neutrals.

6. The evidence of the thorough earnestness and legality of the British Government, as evinced by their acts.

And after this elaborate and detailed disquisition he proceeds to deal with the escape of the vessels, the commissions granted by the Confederate Government, and the supplies furnished in British ports.

We have no intention of following him through this long and varied journey. The escape of the 'Alabama' and her companions is now in the regions of history, and need trouble us no more. As far as the good faith of this country was concerned the demonstration is complete; and, judged by the standard of international law for which the Chief Justice contends, there never was a shadow or a pretence for the claims of the United States—not even, as we think, in the case of the 'Alabama' herself. But we pursue this part of the theme no farther, and only intend shortly to consider those matters which will require future adjustment—the general principles involved in the three Rules, the effect of belligerent commissions, and the lawfulness of supplies furnished to these vessels in British ports abroad. These are all questions which are still of great moment, and may be considered without the slightest reference to America.

Sir Alexander Cockburn commences by demonstrating—which he does, as we think, conclusively—that the law of the Treaty was never recognised as international law before the

Treaty. The view which he takes is in entire accordance with that which we indicated in our number for last April—that dealing in vessels of war is only one form of dealing in contraband of war; that no neutral Government is under any international obligation to prevent its own subjects from dealing in contraband of war; that the only belligerent right in regard to contraband of war is that of capture at sea: and that the Foreign Enlistment Act was a purely municipal statute, in administering which we were under no international obligation, and was not in substance an international treaty. This theme he exhausts with such copious and thorough command of authority, and with so much fullness and research, as to baffle analysis or criticism. The views of all the publicists who have written or expressed opinions on this subject are digested into a complete repertory of jurisprudence. There is nothing left to be suggested in addition to his full and vigorous exposition. He treats very thoroughly of the opposite school of modern writers, of whom Hautefeuille and Blüntschli are the leaders; but we think he demonstrates, beyond all cavil, the truth of the propositions to which we have referred.

On one point his reasoning is very conclusive and timely. In some of the discussions, both in Parliament and out of it, an idea has prevailed that the sale, by a neutral to a belligerent, of a vessel adapted for war, made the port of delivery a base of hostile operations, and thereby distinguished that particular traffic from the ordinary commerce in contraband. Sir Alexander Cockburn refutes this notion very thoroughly, and shows that by the law of nations the traffic in ships of war, in the ordinary case, was simply traffic in contraband. Indeed, the United States never maintained that the mere sale of a ship intended for warlike purposes had any other effect. They make the case of the Confederates a special one, and contend that as the Confederates had no base of maritime operations, the port from which the vessel departed must be considered a base of hostile operations; otherwise the vessel, they say, had no base; in other words, that the ship-builder might deal with the Federals, but might not deal with the Confederates.

There may be some show of reason in this view, and it has its force. But it could only be applied to a belligerent like the Southern States, hermetically sealed from the rest of the world. It is enough for our purpose that it can only apply to the special case; and that as a general rule the sale to a belligerent of a ship suited for war in the Mersey or the Clyde does not make the territory of Liverpool or Glasgow a base.

hostile operations, any more than sailcloth bought at Dundee, rifles purchased at Birmingham, or men recruited in Darmstadt would have the same effect in regard to these places. The Lord Chief Justice defines the term 'base of operations' with his usual precision :—

'The term "base of operations" is a military term, and has a well-known sense. It signifies a local position which serves as a point of departure *and return* in military operations, and with which a constant connexion and communication can be kept up, and which may be fallen back upon whenever necessary. In naval warfare it would mean something analogous—a port or water from which a fleet or ship of war might watch an enemy, and sally forth to attack him, with the possibility of falling back on the port or water in question for fresh supplies, a shelter, or a renewal of operations.' (P. 4269.)

The authorities the Chief Justice quotes entirely confirm the accuracy of his definition, and we are glad to dispel an impression which had at one time prevailed in quarters too acute in general for the reception of fallacies.

The general result of his dissertation on the international principle—which is a mine of learning, all ore, in which no one can dig in vain—is thus summarised :—

'But it is here, when we proceed to apply, practically, the test of due diligence to the conduct of the Government, that the anomaly of the present position, to which I adverted in the outset, makes itself sensibly felt.

'As I have shown upon abundant authority, the equipping of a ship for sale to a belligerent, in the way of trade, was at the time in question no offence against the law of nations, or a violation of neutrality, though it was an offence against the municipal law of Great Britain. The Government of Her Majesty, though, like every other Government, it was bound to prevent any known violation of the law, was under no obligation to a belligerent to enforce the law for his benefit, and incurred no liability to such belligerent for not doing so, so long as the law was not enforced against the latter any more than against his enemy. Any hostile expedition permitted to leave the shores of Great Britain, which the Government by the exercise of reasonable diligence could have prevented, would have amounted to a breach of neutrality, for which it might have been held responsible. But for the mere equipping of a vessel, by ship-builders in the way of trade, though intended for a belligerent, the Government would not be responsible; and though every Government is no doubt bound to prevent infractions of the law, so far as it knows of them and can prevent them, still this general duty which it owes to its own country, is obviously a very different thing from the responsibility it incurs as representing the State, in relation to a foreign Power. In the one case, the maintenance of the law is left to the ordinary authorities, and to the individuals who have occasion to seek protection or redress from its operation; in the other, the action of the Government by its immediate officers becomes necessary for its own

protection. No doubt, as a matter of comity, and from a sense of justice, a Government would pay ready attention to the representatives of a belligerent Power complaining of an infraction of the municipal law in a matter in which the interests of the belligerent were affected—more especially in a matter lying as it were on the confines of municipal and international law—and would call into action the preventive powers it possessed, to keep the law from being broken. But, under such circumstances, it might fairly leave to the representative of the belligerent to make out a case for the application of the law, just as it is left so to do to an ordinary individual who desires to put the law in motion in order to obtain redress on his own behalf. Hence, no doubt, had arisen the practice, common to the Governments both of the United States and Great Britain, of requiring the representative of a belligerent Power, invoking the aid of the Government, to produce evidence by which the action of the Executive, when brought to the test of judicial inquiry, can be justified and upheld.'

While entirely coinciding in the accuracy of these views, we feel some surprise that one illustration of the argument has been so uniformly omitted. In considering the effect given to the Foreign Enlistment Act by the Treaty of Washington, *foreign enlistment* itself is always left entirely out of view. It is singular that the very acts on the part of neutrals which gave birth and name to this statute seem to be entirely forgotten. Great Britain has ships to sell, but she has few men to spare. Other nations stand in a position exactly the reverse. Is she, as a neutral, to be prohibited from traffic in ships, while the recruiting-sergeant is to traverse unmolested the whole neutral territory of Europe? The United States were as much in want of men as the Confederate States were in want of ships, and they procured them by contributions of men levied from the civilised world. Had the Confederates prospered and become a strong people, would their claims on those nations who had permitted enlistment of their subjects in the ranks of the North not have been quite as reasonable as those which were the theme of the deliberations of the Tribunal at Geneva? Gay said of 'Aye' and 'No'—

'They parted with a thousand kisses,
And henceforth fight for pay, like Swisses.'

It might have been startling to have been told, on that historic soil, that to permit the hiring of mercenaries was a breach of neutrality, and warranted reprisals; yet this subject also must be regulated, and subjected to the same regimen of duty and due diligence which is applied to the building of ships.

But the far more important, and indeed the momentous, question for us is, where are we now to turn? Are we to proceed

to fulfil the further obligation of the Treaty, and to commend the three Rules, with the Genevan commentary on them, to other Powers for their acceptance, even although we should be persuaded by the Chief Justice that so construed their basis is erroneous? Are we to invite the nations of the Continent to join with us in accepting a code of neutral obligation which binds them on the one hand to heavy burdens, without regard to their internal legislation, and on the other gives no rule or standard by which the nature and extent of the obligation can be measured? To accredit the Genevan version of the three Rules to foreign Powers is manifestly out of the question. After all this wandering we think we must revert to first principles again and start from the proposition which Sir Alexander Cockburn has demonstrated, that traffic in ships of war is only traffic in contraband, which no neutral is internationally bound to prevent.

We believe we shall find no unreasonable haste on the part of America on this head in pressing the fulfilment of the clause of the Treaty, nor any difficulty in departing from it, should we desire to do so. Until we are at one as to its meaning, of course it is impossible for us to recommend it to others. But we should imagine that America had no impatient desires on the subject. With the chance of neutrality in the next great war before her, she can have no wish to bind herself with these voluntary cords, now that her immediate object has been gained; indeed, we doubt much if America is at all prepared to join us in any such enterprise. She has already prepared for herself with considerable skill two outlets for retreat, and for the evacuation of a very untenable fortress. In the first place, it would appear that her statesmen entirely agree with Sir Alexander Cockburn in regarding the sale of ships of war by a neutral State as a mere commercial transaction, which neutral States are under no international obligation to prevent, excepting in the case of blockade, a reservation which was all she required in the recent controversy. Such was the law contended for by Mr. Evarts before the Genevan Tribunal, and laid down by Mr. Adams in the letter to Lord Russell in 1863, from which we quoted. The American view, in short, is, that the international obligation under which we lay was an incident of the existing blockade, and leaves the general law on the footing on which the Chief Justice has placed it; and such, we may expect, will be the rule of their own conduct hereafter. Again, the American construction of the term 'due diligence' is precisely what the

Arbitrators have adopted. Mr. Adams, in giving the grounds of his judgment, says: 'In the struggle which took place in America "due diligence" in regard to the commercial interests of one of the belligerents meant a very different thing from the same words applied to the other.' (P. 4406.) What the same words might mean in a war between this country and Russia or Germany, in which the United States were neutrals, remains as uncertain as if the Treaty had never been concluded. We have, therefore, no security whatever that the three Rules will assist us in any way in the future. We must look this state of matters steadily in the face, and consider from first principles the true position of neutral States. The Treaty and the Arbitration seem to have done nothing to aid the solution of this important general question.

In hazarding one or two general remarks on this subject, we can only suggest the direction in which, as it seems to us, the most reasonable and expedient solution is to be found. Amid the conflicting opinions to which we have referred, most of them stamped with high authority, dogmatism would be idle. The topic is surrounded with difficulties, both theoretical and practical. We can only indicate the considerations which seem most likely to lead to a stable and permanent settlement.

The first observation we make is, that it rests with Great Britain herself to decide the terms of her own neutrality. Without saying that she is strong enough to make the law on this subject for the world, she is quite strong enough to make it for herself. If she once decide, as the rule of her own conduct, what she will permit, or what she will avoid, as a neutral, future belligerents will be obliged to respect and submit to her resolution, whatever it may be, and to accept her neutrality on her own terms; and if these be once clearly announced, there would be the less risk of misunderstanding hereafter. The interests of neutrals, as well as the power of neutrals to protect and enforce them, has hitherto entered far too little into the International Code, chiefly because they have not been asserted by States having both power and right on their side. But this country is at present in a position to do lasting service to the cause of justice and of peace throughout the world, by proclaiming, as the intended rule of her conduct as a neutral, a code of law just to her own citizens, and yet mindful of the reasonable claims and expectations of belligerents.

In the second place, we should carefully consider, and come to a clear apprehension of, what is the true interest of this country, as regards the rights and demands of foreign belligerents in regard to neutral trade. Of course, the other side of the

shield must be looked at also; namely, our interest as belligerents. But, in the first instance, we must ascertain wherein our real interest as neutrals consists—not only because, as we trust, we are likely to be neutrals in the future more frequently than we have been in the past, but also because in this matter of contraband of war we have probably the largest stake in the world. Our country is an emporium of contraband of war: that is to say, our citizens manufacture and produce, as part of their ordinary commercial pursuits, in time of peace, as well as in that of war, those things which men use in warfare. We build ships, we raise coal, we manufacture iron, we make swords and bayonets, cannon and muskets, sailcloth and cordage, not from any love or hatred of any other nation, or from a desire that one may prevail over the other, but entirely out of regard to our own interest as traders. It so happens that the materials of which these articles are made, and the skill and capital for pursuing their manufacture, are found in this country in combination, to a greater extent than in any other. It follows that any general restrictions on trading in these things must, in their direct effect, be proportionally more injurious to us than they can be to any other of the great Powers. Before, therefore, it can be our interest to increase or enlarge the restraints on dealing in such articles, by our own traders, we must see some equivalent advantage to our interests as neutrals; or else must have a proportionate prospective interest, in the event of our going to war. Now our only interest in submitting to such restrictions on our own staples, while we are neutrals, must be the danger of involving ourselves in the quarrels of belligerents. A notion seemed to pervade some of the discussions at Geneva that the rule by which a neutral should be guided, was to treat the belligerent as he would wish the belligerent to treat him. But those who suggested such a canon of neutral policy forgot that there were two belligerents. Had we been at war we should have wished the North to refrain from selling ships to our enemy, if our enemy were blockaded by us; but we should have wished them to sell ships to us if we were ourselves blockaded. We could hardly so treat both Federal and Confederate as we should have wished to be treated if we changed places with either. The question is, do these restrictions on our trade diminish the risk we run of being involved in the foreign quarrel? and if it does, is the benefit sufficient to compensate for the restrictions?

To the best of our judgment, the risk is at least equal either way; of the truth of which we have had the most signal example. We have not only spontaneously passed an Act for

the purpose of restraining the commerce of our people, for the benefit of other nations who quarrel—but we have issued proclamations, and consented to be tormented and worried by eternal representations from one of the belligerents, about breaches of our own Act, for four consecutive years, and undertaken inquiries and prosecutions without end—for no benefit to ourselves, and all for that of our neighbour—and when all was done we not only were given no thanks, but were plunged into altercations sufficient to have produced half-a-dozen wars, and have been glad, as we fear we must admit, to purchase peace at the price of 3,000,000*l*. What worse could have befallen us had we done nothing, it is hard to see. The North would not have provoked a war with us while her struggle with the South lasted; and we have a strong conviction that when it was over she would have considered well before risking such chances as she must have encountered by assailing us.

We are, therefore, greatly inclined to doubt whether any risk of complication is in truth avoided by these restrictive laws; or that any benefit to be derived in that direction is at all equal to the voluntary injury they inflict. On the contrary, for every restriction we impose, we give fresh handle for cavil, and more pretence for discontent and imputations. If belligerents knew that no favour of this kind would be shown them, they would at least not be disappointed; and favour it is, not neutrality, when we shut our shops because one customer wishes to purchase, and another is well supplied. But if, in addition to the restrictions placed on our trade we throw into the scale an international obligation of 'due diligence' to be constantly exerted by us, the standard of which is utterly uncertain, but for which other nations have an unlimited right to hold us accountable, our detriment is largely increased. To say nothing of the expense and annoyance of a perpetual system of espionage, not only on our own traders, but on both belligerents, hunting up emissaries, intercepting correspondence, not only at home, but in all our possessions over the world, such a system of liability would be more cumbrous and irksome to us than to any other nation. We have few means at hand for such a duty, and the careful constitutional limits which with us restrict the Executive, although they have proved insufficient to exempt us from liability under this Treaty, will place us at great disadvantage, and would certainly require a very large allowance of gain on the other side to make it tolerable.

Farther, we have only seen the beginning of the demands

and exactions of belligerents in this direction. The concessions of the Treaty were limited to ships intended for war. But there is no reason why the same system should not be extended to the whole catalogue of contraband. During the war between Germany and France very similar demands were not very gently indicated from Prussia as to supplies of arms and coal. If the Confederates had thriven they might have made reclamations against us for furnishing sailcloth and cordage and artillery to the Federals, and against the Germans for furnishing them with recruits. There is no limit in this way to the fetters which neutrals are to endure as a penalty for the quarrels of their neighbours.

The other view, however, of this question of national interest in these neutrality laws is no doubt very serious. We have the largest merchant navy afloat, and to a large extent monopolise the carrying trade of the world. In war, we should suffer in proportion, if Alabamas and Floridas roamed the seas, and preyed on our merchantmen; and therefore it has been considered a cardinal point in public policy to secure that whatever our enemy might be able to effect in this direction on his own account and by his own resources he should not use the building yards of a neutral for this purpose.

This is truly the hinge of the whole controversy. It is a subject of deep moment, and is the kernel of the question. We fully appreciate its importance, and are far from saying that any view we can suggest satisfactorily solves it. But we think it has been too hastily assumed that the advantage to be derived by ourselves as belligerents will balance the restrictions with which it is proposed to burden our neutrality.

We are at present confining our remarks entirely to dealings in contraband of war—to purely commercial transactions. The great law of nations, that no neutral State is entitled to permit its territory to be made the base for military or naval operations is not affected by the views of the Chief Justice, and has never been made a subject of doubt. Unquestionably were any neutral State to permit such a thing to be done to our disadvantage as belligerents, we should at once resent it, and appeal to an argument stronger than protocols. But the question is, whether, if we, when at war with Russia, should blockade the Baltic and the Black Sea, it would not be well that we had a right internationally to prevent the United States from allowing Russian vessels of war to leave American ports to prey on our commerce.

All this resolves into the right of the stronger. If America, for her own peace, chooses to forbid such traffic to her citizens,

so much the better for us ; but if she does not, what the better are we of the international obligation ? We should have only obtained a fertile field for cultivating altercation, and the effect of the blockade and the standard of 'due diligence' would be fought over again on paper, and probably with more serious weapons afterwards, at a time when we had enough on our hands otherwise. In short, if we were strong enough to enforce such an obligation, we should not require it, and if we were not strong enough, it would be useless.

If we go to war we must pay the penalties of war, nor is it amiss that our recognisances to keep at peace should be heavy. If, of all the Great Powers, we have most to lose by maritime plunder, we have also most means of protection. It is to these we must trust should such a crisis arise ; but how we are to be aided by a compact among nations to refuse supplies to a belligerent exactly in proportion to his need of them, we are at a loss to see.

Further, it would seem certain that we should lose more by trying to enforce the obligation than we could ever gain by its recognition. In addition to keeping a sharp eye on our enemy, it would be necessary for us to be suspicious and watchful of all our friends. If we consent to shut our own workshops when we are neutrals, so must our friends when we are belligerents. But will they ? Is there any reason to think that if we were at war, either Germany or Switzerland would prohibit the enlistment of soldiers in the ranks of our belligerent enemy ? It is quite certain that they would not ; and even as regards the single matter of ships, before we could enforce the principle in our own favour, we should be embroiled with half the world. We think therefore that these rules are a losing bargain for Great Britain, and that her interest lies in the opposite direction. But in this matter there is no law which binds her excepting her interest. In the view of justice and equity a belligerent has no pretence for complaint against a neutral for selling anything which he has to sell, as long as he himself may purchase in the same market. The idea that the amount of the neutral's trade is to be restricted in proportion to the necessities of the belligerent, is one utterly inconsistent with real neutrality. Equity, on the other hand, clearly demands that the neutral should not suffer in any way by quarrels in which he has no share.

We conclude then, first, that Great Britain should decide on her own rights as a neutral, and should definitively announce them, while as yet peace prevails. Her safety lies in speaking out firmly and clearly, and announcing her own intentions for

the future. And, in the second place, if the Treaty leave her free to do so, that she should once for all declare, that whatever restrictions she may choose to impose on her own subjects for her own benefit, while she is in the position of a neutral, and while ready in courtesy to receive and consider any communication from foreign belligerents, she repudiates all international responsibility for the trade of her own subjects, and will neither receive nor act on any representations made on an opposite footing.

The result of this course would be to leave the belligerents to the only remedy which the custom of nations has ever allowed them, the capture of contraband at sea. Sir Alexander Cockburn has so fully dealt with this subject that we need not enlarge on it. This, and this alone, is the belligerent privilege which the public law of Europe has sanctioned in the matter of contraband. It is a large privilege, and one barely defensible on any theory of justice; but at all events it rests on universal usage.

But whatever course this country may think fit to take on this important distinction between our international obligations and our municipal legislation in the matter of contraband, the question ought to be settled by herself, and once for all. The present is as good an opportunity as is likely to occur—a time when we cannot be suspected of undue favour or disfavour to any other Power. If it be thought that our true interest lies in making such obligations international, and that the principle of the Treaty admits of being brought to a distinct and precise general application, the efforts of our Government should be directed to solving the difficulties to which we have referred, and to concerting in some European Conference a clear and intelligible code—not only on the subject of ships, but in regard to all contraband of war. Any course would be preferable to allowing the position of neutral States, and the rightful claims of belligerents upon them, to remain enveloped in the mists by which they are now surrounded. If, on the other hand, the nation should come to concur with the views of Sir Alexander Cockburn, to which we ourselves strongly incline, as pointing out by far the safest path, we should then require to consider for ourselves the further question, what our municipal legislation should be.

We indicated in our former number the doubts we entertained whether even the acknowledged code of contraband is not too burdensome for a neutral State; and whether it did not bear distinct marks of having been imposed by powerful belligerents on feeble neutrals. That the code to a

large extent has been our own work is quite true; but we were in the habit of carrying matters with a high hand; and some of the law, of which Lord Stowell was the profound and able expositor, bore more hardly on the neutral than we now think either just or convenient, as was clearly proved by Lord Kingsdown's memorable judgments during the Russian war.

For our own part, without going into details for which we have no space, our opinion lies entirely in the direction of greater freedom, rather than that of greater restriction. As regards those things which are purely articles of commerce, we think a neutral State ought not to interfere with the ordinary transactions of its own subjects. It can be of no moment to the neutral—he is not even bound to know—who his customer may be, provided he get his price. It was nothing to us, during the French and German war, whether the arms or the coal we furnished were an advantage to one side or to the other. We took part with neither; and being ready to sell to either, or to any one else, no one was entitled, or should have been permitted, to remonstrate.

Take the case of coal. It is a natural product. It is not even an article manufactured, like a war-vessel, or a cannon, for hostile purposes, as little so as the water it heats in the boiler. Where can the justice be of preventing the coal-masters of this country from selling their coal in the best market? It is the fruit of our own territory—one of the main staples of our commerce. The question is not whether coal may not become contraband, so as to be liable to seizure. Let the belligerent try that question in the proper jurisdiction of a prize court. But in regard to an article of pure commerce, and one of the ordinary subjects of our merchandise, we cannot see the justice or sense of laying an embargo on it, because one nation of the world may need it more than its adversary does in its wars with another.

In 1674, a period of our history in which these questions were better understood than they are now, Sir Leoline Jenkins gave an opinion to King Charles II., in which will be found the germ of our true policy, from which we have very widely departed. The question related to a cargo of pitch and tar belonging to an English subject seized by the Spanish on board a Swedish vessel. Sir Leoline Jenkins said: 'It is not probable that Sweden hath suffered or allowed in any treaty of theirs with Spain, that their own native commodities—pitch and tar—should be reputed contraband.' But that which Sir Leoline Jenkins thought so improbable, because so foolish, on the part of Sweden, we have in part done

own accord, and were not long ago asked, and urged, and pressed to do wholly. The exception of commodities the growth or staple of a particular country, rests on a very evident principle of good sense—namely, that undue assistance to one belligerent cannot be inferred from dealing in the ordinary wares of the country. And so Valin tells us that in 1700 tar and pitch, although held contraband in general, were exempted when found on board Swedish vessels, because they were the produce of the country.

The case of ships of war is more difficult only in this respect, that under some circumstances they are more likely to be connected, in addition to their character as articles of ordinary commerce, with a hostile use of the territory in which they are constructed. No illustration of this can be better than the position of the Confederate States. The home of their ships and sailors was, literally, on the deep. They had no other home accessible, excepting neutral ports. If by a series of mercantile transactions in England they had organised a fleet, waiting in English waters to emerge simultaneously, our ports would no doubt to some extent have performed the part which Charleston or New Orleans would have borne had they not been blockaded. In the same way, if we were to blockade the Baltic, we should regard with great jealousy Russian vessels lying outside our blockade, in Prussian or Danish harbours. In these cases, although the distinction is not on the surface, there is no doubt that the neutral port is, to a certain extent, used not merely as a place of construction, but as a place of departure also; and the benefit of the blockade is thereby lessened to the other belligerent. The same result may follow from mere territorial proximity, even although there were no blockade. During our war with France, even although the ports of France were not blockaded, it would have been a great advantage to France, and a great injury to us, if vessels built in the ports of the United States could have sailed direct to the coast of Canada on their hostile errand—so great an injury that we might have gone to war with the United States rather than submit to it.

While there is some abstract force in this view, we still incline to the broader ground: that even in the circumstances supposed there is no real breach of neutrality, but only the incidence of one of the chances of war. Our neutrality in the present instance would have been precisely the same, although the blockade of the Confederate ports had been raised. In relations of this kind between States it is a mistake to run into legal refinements, or to make the character of

the act on the part of the neutral State depend, not on its own intrinsic quality, but on some extrinsic consequence. The safer principle seems to be to hold that the consequence to one of the belligerents cannot of itself affect the character of the act of the neutral. Still, it may be quite right that in such cases the Executive of the neutral State should have in their hands the means of preventing the use of their ports for such objects, when the use which is made of them is not merely commercial, but is also for hostile and strategic purposes. The Foreign Enlistment Act, as it was originally passed in 1819, was not at variance with the freedom of neutral commerce, for the acts prohibited implied something beyond construction—an equipping and arming within the territory which were not necessarily incident to the commercial transaction. Whether the recent addition to it has not materially altered its real character well deserves to be re-considered. But there are powers which, although rightly vested in the Executive as a matter of internal regulation, ought to be entirely within their own control, to be used or not used as justice and the well-being of the State may demand. When they are made the subject of external obligation their character is entirely changed, and they become, in the language of Sir Roundell Palmer, in his masterly pleading before the Arbitrators, ‘a series of traps and pitfalls,’ fraught with vexation and danger to the State which undertakes them, neutralising the object they were meant to serve, and inviting the very perils they were intended to avoid.

The other two general questions which are dealt with by Sir Alexander Cockburn we shall speak of very shortly. They were difficult, in the circumstances in which they arose, and may come, in future belligerent operations, to be of more moment even than the main issue involved. The first of these was whether the escaped ships, which afterwards put into British ports abroad, with a regular commission from the Confederate States, ought to have been seized and detained by the British authorities, and whether the neglect or failure to detain them was a breach of neutrality. The Arbitrators hold that they should have been detained.

It seems quite clear, on acknowledged principles of public law, that the commission from the Confederate States—an acknowledged belligerent Power, with a Government *de facto*—was a commission which all neutral Powers were bound to respect. It is also certain that a ship belonging to a foreign Power remains foreign territory, not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of any other Power into the ports of which it

may have occasion to come. These two propositions are very clearly demonstrated in the 'Protest,' which contains a very complete exposition of a branch of public law in these days rarely studied. It was not, however, on either of them that the difficulty of the Arbitrators arose. It was contended for the United States that, conceding this to be the general law, the Confederates had been guilty of a breach of the neutral character of British territory by removing the vessels; that the British authorities were entitled to have pursued and brought them back; and that consequently, when they came again within their power, still in the hands of the wrong-doer, they were entitled and bound to have seized and detained them.

If the view of the Chief Justice in regard to the nature of the Foreign Enlistment Act is right, and if the removal of the vessels were only a breach of our own municipal law, it certainly lay with us to enforce our rights or not as we thought fit, and the non-detention of the vessels could be no legitimate ground of complaint. But if the Arbitrators were right in holding that we were internationally bound to the United States to prevent the escape of these vessels, the international obligation might plausibly be said to have continued, as long as the wrong we had done admitted of remedy.

We think, however, that to seize on such grounds a lawfully commissioned ship would, in any view of the general question, be an act subject to the gravest doubt. The ship was to all the rest of the world lawfully accredited. She was entitled to be treated by all the other Powers as a ship of war, belonging to a recognised belligerent, and could claim from them all the privileges and immunities belonging to that character. It might be true that we had claims against the Confederate States for the removal of the vessel in breach of our laws; but it did not follow that this would justify us in depriving the regularly commissioned officers and crew of the vessel of which they were in charge, merely because they had brought her into the asylum of a British port, without any warning of the fate which awaited them. As we were not at war with the Confederate States, but were, on the contrary, at peace with them, and had made no denunciation in regard to this matter, or demanded reparation from them, we think we were bound to have accorded them the same recognition which we should certainly claim for vessels under the British flag, and to have made our claim for redress in another form.

Such is our impression from a perusal of the views expressed by the counsel and the Arbitrators; but the question is novel, and has not, as far as we know, ever been the subject of adju-

dication, although it once arose in the American Courts. The dissertation of the Lord Chief Justice on this head will well repay study.

The remaining question, in regard to the supplies of coal given to these Confederate vessels in British ports abroad, also possesses some novelty. These supplies were clearly not excessive in amount, if they had been furnished to an ordinary cruiser. The peculiarity of the question arises from the fact that the cruisers were homeless wanderers; that they did not put into port for supplies to enable them to prosecute their journey to its end, for they had no destination. Their calls from time to time at these ports were to enable them to continue their predatory career, and therefore constituted these ports themselves their only base of operations.

We state the question, without stopping to solve it. But the argument would seem to prove too much, by reaching the conclusion that no port in the world was entitled to give to a Confederate vessel the same supplies which it gave to the Federals without committing a breach of neutrality. It resolves again into the maritime *status* and rights of a Power whose ships are at sea, but whose ports are blockaded.

We are now at the close of this last chapter of a very interesting but unsatisfactory episode. We are glad to take leave of it. We have rather tried to point the moral it teaches for the future, than to dwell on its details. We entertain a very sanguine hope, indeed a very thorough conviction, that the two great nations who were the actors in it will be found far more in accord for the future on the great principles involved in it, than they appear to have been in the voluminous pleadings before the Arbitrators at Geneva. The result has left no heartburnings behind it on this side the Atlantic, and ought to produce some complacency on the other. But there is a lesson involved in it which we ought to learn. If we wish to avoid such complications for the future, we should know our own minds clearly, and choose the ground we mean to occupy carefully; having done so, we should intimate to all that the conditions of our own neutrality rest entirely with ourselves, and proclaim the terms on which alone our conduct will be guided. The last time which should be chosen for remodeling and patching our own code of laws as neutrals, is when the clash of arms and of interests around us drowns the voice of reason and prudence.

NOTE

on ART. III. in No. CCLXXVIII. on the '*Memorials of Baron Stockmar.*'

We have received the following letter from General Sir William Codrington, with reference to a passage which occurs at p. 389 of our last Number, and it gives us great pleasure to correct a misapprehension which may have appeared, though it certainly was not intended, to reflect on the gallant Admiral who commanded the fleet in the Downs in 1831:—

To the Editor of the 'Edinburgh Review.'

November 1, 1872.

Sir,—In your review of the '*Life of Baron Stockmar*' is the following statement relating to the separation of Holland and Belgium in 1831:

'The King appealed to France and England for assistance. Admiral Codrington appeared with the fleet off the Scheldt, but declined to go up the river. On the 10th Marshal Gérard entered Belgium at the head of a French army.'

This statement, as far as regards Admiral Codrington, is incorrect. The evolutionary squadron under his command in the Channel was ordered to the English anchorage of the Downs, and remained there from the 9th to the 18th of August, 1831. He had no directions even to cross over to the coast of Holland: he certainly did not 'decline to go up the river Scheldt,' nor was he likely to decline if ordered.

Your obedient servant,
W. CODRINGTON.
General.

The fact is, as stated by Sir William Codrington and by Baron Stockmar's biographer, p. 178 of the German edition, that it was not the Admiral who declined to go up the Scheldt, but the British Government, which remained deaf to the entreaties of the Belgian Plenipotentiaries that he might be sent there. Nobody doubts that Sir Edward Codrington would have performed any duty on which he was sent with spirit and ability; but the writer of the article was mistaken in supposing that he had any discretionary powers to enter the Scheldt at that time.

As we have occasion to revert to this subject, we may mention that at p. 390 of the same article M. Gendebien is erroneously named as the coadjutor of M. Van de Weyer at the London Conference, instead of M. Goblet, who filled that post.

In speaking of King Leopold's annuity of 50,000*l.* a year, which, as we have shown, was never renounced by that Sovereign, though he ceased to draw any part of it for his own use, we might have added that it was secured to him, not only by Act of Parliament, but by the Treaty which was formally signed between England and Prince Leopold on his marriage with the Princess Charlotte, and that Baron Stockmar's own stipend, to which his services to the King so well entitled him, was paid out of this very fund to the end of his life—a circumstance which his son and biographer appears unaccountably to have overlooked.

No. CCLXXX. will be published in April.

THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1873.

No. CCLXXX.

- ART. I.—1. *A Report on the Expedition to Western Yünan viâ Bhamô.* By JOHN ANDERSON, M.D., Medical Officer and Naturalist to the Expedition. Calcutta: 1871.
2. *Through Burmah to Western China; being a Journey in 1863 to establish the Practicability of a Trade Route between the Irrawaddi and the Yang-tse-Kiang.* By CLEMENT WILLIAMS. Edinburgh and London: 1868.
3. *Correspondence respecting direct commerce with the West of China from Rangoon.* Presented to the House of Commons, 1865.
4. *La Mission du Thibet, de 1855 à 1870, d'après les Lettres de M. l'Abbé Desgodins.* Verdun et Paris: 1872.
5. *Travels in Indo-China and the Chinese Empire.* By LOUIS DE CARNÉ, Member of the Commission of Exploration of the Mekong. Translated from the French. London: 1872.

FOR more than a century past, geographers and ethnologists have bent an eager but unsatisfied gaze upon the region which stretches eastward from the mountains of Tibet, reaching on one side the southern shores of the China Sea, and on the other the waters of the Bay of Bengal. Roughly speaking, this area may be described as the segment of a circle, with radii formed by the mighty streams that issue from a common centre at the eastern extremity of the Himalayas. The Irrawaddy, which traverses Burmah to discharge its waters into the Gulf of Martaban; the Brahmaputra, falling into the Bay of Bengal at no great distance from the same spot, after a

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course directed at right angles to that of the last-named river; the Yang-tsze-Kiang, which bisects with its leviathan flow the central provinces of China; and the Lan-tsang Kiang, or Mekong, flowing south to find an outlet at the extremity of the Cambodian peninsula, are all fed by the snows of one tremendous mountain-range piled up within narrow limits between the elevated plateaux of Kokonor and the plains of China. The outer circuit of this immense water-system is parcelled out between Burmah, Siam, Cambodia, and An-nam; but in an inner zone of mountainous, semi-savage border land the frontiers of all these states approach and become confounded with those of China, and find a common meeting-ground around the Chinese province of Yün-nan. Although farthest removed from the seat of Imperial government, and brought latest of all within the scope of Chinese civilisation, this division of the empire has for centuries past enjoyed a reputation for wealth and productiveness such as we find foreshadowed, indeed, in Marco Polo's narrative. In the 'Caraian' of the great Venetian traveller geographers have long since recognised part of the territory of modern Yün-nan; and the minute researches brought to bear by Pauthier and Yule in their late magnificent editions of his work have not alone verified some of its most singular descriptions, but have also brought into notice the flourishing state of this region at the close of the thirteenth century, very shortly after its conquest by the Mongol invaders. In the five hundred years that have elapsed since Marco Polo traversed Yün-nan on his way to Burmah, one European only—the Jesuit Du Chatz, at the close of the seventeenth century—has performed the same journey from beginning to end; and, up to a far more recent period than that of his visit, the country between the Yang-tsze Kiang and the Irrawaddy remained as much a *terra incognita* as the most secluded regions of Central Asia. At length, in the course of that magnificent survey of his dominions which was undertaken by the Emperor Kang-hi, and which is not sufficiently recognised as the virtual starting-point of modern geographical research, the Jesuit Fathers Fridelli, Bonjour, and Régis were employed in 1713–1715 in drawing up the map of Yün-nan. Successive geographers have borne testimony to the skill and accuracy with which this labour was performed; but as the missionary surveyors confined their observations to the limits of Chinese sovereignty, they were compelled to leave problems in an unsettled state with regard to the origin and lower course of the great rivers traversing Yün-nan on their way to the Indian seas, which still continue subject to scientific contention. The

brief gleam of enlightenment and of hospitality towards imported knowledge and means of progress which distinguished the reign of Kang-hi was followed by an era of hostility and intolerance, raising once more an impenetrable wall around the Celestial Empire. It is only in our own day that the spell has been forcibly broken, and a series of remarkable events have drawn China, with her galaxy of kindred nations, into active communication with the Western world. The motive agent which was signified by Archimedes has made its appearance, for the modern requirements of commerce are a lever potent enough to defy the most resolute immobility; and thanks to such influences, the inmost recesses of a territory long wholly sealed against European research, have now been made accessible to exploration and study.

From the reports of the Jesuit missionaries and from native accounts, the west of China was already known as a region abounding in natural resources, and especially in mineral wealth. Covering an area of more than 100,000 square miles, its southern borders lost in the depths of tropical forests, and overshadowed on its northern frontier by the glaciers of Tibet, the province of Yün-nan can boast an extent of surface and a diversity of feature in which it is barely rivalled by any other section of the empire. Uncivilised, almost savage, tribes still occupy the mountain ranges which surround and intersect the province, whilst busy emporia of industry and trade have grown up in its central plains. Its climate naturally varies from the extreme of tropical heat to the inclemency of an Alpine region; but even in its lower latitudes, a temperate zone may be reached upon the elevated plateaux overlooking the gorges of the Salwen and the great lakes which constitute a peculiar feature of the province. Metals, such as silver, copper, lead, and tin, have been drawn for centuries past from the mines for which Yün-nan is specially famous; gold is present in the sands of almost every rivulet; and both soil and climate afford conditions highly favourable to the cultivation of such important staples as the tea-plant, rice, and silk. While the capital, Yün-nan Fu, has enjoyed a peculiar renown for commercial activity no less than for the literary genius and the refinement of its educated classes, it has been customary with the Chinese of other provinces to express their envy of the abundance and cheapness of all necessities of life in this favoured region. Notwithstanding occasional interruptions through warfare or revolt, a flourishing trade has subsisted for centuries between Yün-nan and the adjacent countries, especially with Burmah, whose staple productions, including cot-

wax, ivory, and drugs of many kinds, were taken in exchange for the silk and manufactured or mineral wares of Western China. For this traffic two main routes are indicated, indeed, by Nature in the course of the great rivers which constitute a link between Yün-nan and the far-off sea. While the Lantsang Kiang has afforded a channel for intercourse with Siam and Cambodia, the Salwen (Lu Kiang), flowing westward, invites to communication with the Burmese territories; and the Irrawaddy, although its main stream is hidden in the depths of a savage border land, may yet be included through its navigable affluents among the rivers of the province.

In lieu, however, of dwelling upon the fair prospect of industry and commercial activity once fostered by these various natural advantages, we are compelled to exhibit this portion of the Chinese Empire as a scene of wide-spread desolation, reduced by rebellion and warfare of fifteen years' duration to the condition of either a camp or a desert. In an earlier number of this Review* a recent attempt at establishing a Mussulman sovereignty in Western Yün-nan has already been described, and subsequent events have brought this insurrectionary movement into increasing prominence. Between two and three millions of Mahomedans, descended from the Bukharian soldiery by whom Yün-nan was subjugated under the leadership of one of Kublai Khan's lieutenants, were scattered a few years ago throughout the province, and notably in its western half, where Ta-li Fu, a city ranking second only to the provincial capital in size and importance, was their principal centre. Notwithstanding the lapse of ages since the arrival of their forefathers in Yün-nan, and although by length of residence and constant intermarriage almost wholly identified with the pure Chinese in features, language, and social usages, this immigrant race had remained steadfast in adherence to the Mahomedan creed. Their original language—an offshoot of the Persian—had become wholly extinct; in each generation only a few ulemas preserved sufficient knowledge of the sacred text of the Koran to keep its doctrine alive in the midst of an idolatrous people; they obeyed the same laws, and shared in every privilege, with the bulk of their fellow-Chinese; but religious isolation still kept the traditions and the prejudices of an alien descent alive in their minds. Roused into active enmity against their non-Mussulman neighbours by a series of disputes, which at length culminated, in 1856, in frightful massacres, the Mahomedans rose in organised revolt

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under the leadership of one of their notables, a man named Tu Wên-siu, whose commanding personal qualities had long previously made him their spokesman in an abortive attempt to obtain justice at the foot of the Imperial throne. The Chinese officials, left at this juncture without help from their superiors, whose efforts were wholly absorbed in the more pressing struggle involved by the then pending Taiping rebellion, could offer no effectual resistance to the furious Mahomedan outbreak. City after city fell into the insurgents' hands, beginning with the important fortress of Ta-li Fu; and with accustomed submissiveness the non-Mussulman Chinese, although largely outnumbering the Mahomedan revolters, accepted the rule of a new claimant to sovereign power.

The substantial successes achieved by Tu Wên-siu led, within a very few months from the first outbreak, to his being acclaimed as the founder of a victorious Mussulman state. His generals hailed him by the title of Sultan Suleiman, reviving thus the traditions of their western origin, although in the new system of government which was now introduced the precedents of former Chinese dynasties were adopted rather than the military institutions of Islam, and for fully fifteen years the commands of this potentate were obeyed throughout at least one-third of the area of Yün-nan. Meanwhile the remainder of the province was either from time to time overrun by his invading armies, or was with difficulty guarded by the Chinese troops, whose predatory excesses were no less fatal to industry and commerce than those of the insurgents themselves. Chinese revolutions are long in coming to the ears of the outer world, and Yün-nan had long suffered in the agonies of this conflict before its echoes attracted, even momentarily, a European hearing. The rise of a new Mussulman power, emerging under the name of the 'Panthay rebellion,'* from the darkness which shrouded all the internal affairs of China,

* The Mahomedans of Yün-nan are designated by the name of Panthays by their Burmese neighbours, and the title has thus passed into European usage, although unrecognised by the Mahomedans themselves, and of doubtful origin and meaning. It has been viewed as a corruption of the Burmese word *Puthee*, signifying 'Mahomedan,' but strong objections may be urged against this derivation; and there seems to be reason for believing that the word Panthay, or Pansee, (as it was first written) is employed by the Burmese in designating the frontier-region of which the insurgents possessed themselves. From this it might easily pass into the application it now receives. The Mahomedans themselves claim no other national title than that *Hwei-tze*—the ordinary Chinese designation for a Mussulman pe

was first brought into notice in consequence of the investigations with respect to the trade of Upper Burmah and Western China which were undertaken by Dr. Clement Williams, an adventurous and successful explorer. Having left the British service for that of the King of Burmah, Dr. Williams enjoyed opportunities for collecting information which was peculiarly valuable at a moment when the revival of friendly relations with the Burmese Court, after a long interval of hostility, was made the occasion for extending our commercial relations. The question of intercourse between Burmah and Western China was, indeed, no unbroken field of study. Traces still exist in the East Indian archives of 'factories' established by the British and Dutch, so far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century, on the frontiers of Upper Burmah; and although all recollection of this commercial venture, and, indeed, of its actual site, had long passed away, the later servants of the East India Company were not neglectful of the important traffic carried on between China and Burmah by means of their river communications. Dr. Hamilton Buchanan, in 1795, and Crawford, thirty years later, on the occasion of his mission to Ava, were able to accumulate a mass of information relating to this subject; and in 1835 Captain Pemberton, in his Report on the Eastern Frontiers of British India, laid stress on the commercial prospects held out by the proximity of the Chinese to the now extended British frontier. At the same time Colonel Burney, while stationed as British Resident at the Court of Ava, was engaged in collecting and publishing a series of contributions upon the geography, history, and resources of Upper Burmah, together with itineraries of the routes connecting this country with China. The subsequent development of British trade at the ports of Rangoon and Moulmein, and the knowledge obtained with regard to the traffic carried on by Chinese merchants at the mart of Bhamô, on the Upper Irrawaddy, gave an inevitable impulse to schemes which aimed at the extension of commercial intercourse between the British ports and Western China. The more sanguine class of projectors indulged their imagination in dreams of trading highways on a magnificent scale, to unite the busy producing districts of Central China with ports in the Bay of Bengal, and by a mingled system of land and water carriage to supersede in part, if not altogether, the existing means of intercourse with China. During a series of years the well-known Captain Sprye was indefatigable in his efforts to enlist public support on behalf of a trade route he had devised. His project aimed at connecting the port of

Rangoon on the Irrawaddy with Esmok, a Chinese town in the extreme south of Yün-nan, by means of a tramway, which should be carried diagonally across Pegu and Burmah, passing by the town of Shwégýeen, on the river Salwen, and thence proceeding to its terminus, at what the projector believed to be an important entrepôt of Chinese trade. Subsequent investigations showed, indeed, that the Esmok * of Captain Sprye was in reality no centre of commerce, but a mere frontier-post on the verge of the Chinese dominions, and that the route by which it was proposed to reach this point abounded in well-nigh insuperable obstacles. It must be admitted at the same time, that, however greatly Captain Sprye may have been mistaken with regard to the commercial advantages and the practicability of a road to Esmok, he deserves the credit of having aroused, by his persistency in advocating the opening of trade with Western China, that pressure of public opinion in its favour which could alone secure the necessary official action in the matter. Numerous memorials were presented to the Foreign Office in 1860 by Chambers of Commerce throughout the country, in which the British Government was urged to take steps for giving effect to Captain Sprye's proposals; and in consequence of these and similar representations, orders were communicated in 1862 by the Government of India to Sir Arthur Phayre, when negotiating a treaty with the King of Burmah, to include in it provisions for facilitating the commerce of British merchants with Yün-nan, and for their residence at the emporium of Bhamô. Dr. Williams, whose work now before us embodies the information previously communicated in a Report to the Indian Government, had already called attention to the trade anciently subsisting at this point of contact between Burmah and Yün-nan.

Situated at the junction of the river Tapeng with the Irrawaddy, some 300 miles above the present capital of Burmah, and on the very verge of the frontier-zone in which Burmese and Chinese influences commingle, the town of Bhamô † has long

* More correctly, Sze-mao, the name by which this town is known to the Chinese.

† We follow the common method of spelling with regard to this name, although its correctness is open to question. The name of the town appears to be derived from that of the ancient Shan principality once occupying its site, and which was probably designated *Man-mó* or *Ban-mó*. By a process of elision, this sound becomes vocalised as *Ba-mó*, or *Ba-maw*, a mode of spelling which, according to Major Sladen, very nearly represents the exact local pronunciation. The Chinese still make use of the characters *Man-mo* to indicate the loca¹

been known as the established point of intercourse between the two adjacent countries. A community of Chinese traders occupy here, with reference to their own countrymen and the Burmese, a position somewhat similar to that of the 'factories' or 'settlements' of Europeans established at the Chinese seaports; and next to the Burmese governor or *woon* of Bhamô, the headman of the Chinese traders is the most important personage of the place. The silk, copper, gold, orpiment, drugs, paper, and textile fabrics of Western China found a market here in exchange for Burmese staples, whilst at Bhamô, also, the frontier-tribes were supplied with the principal article—salt—which makes them dependent upon extraneous trade. The traffic with Yün-nan was conducted by trains of baggage-animals, and from Bhamô to Mandalay and Rangoon the Irrawaddy affords an uninterrupted means of water carriage; but at the same time a purely overland trade may be carried on independently of this channel. It was proposed by the King of Burmah himself, says Dr. Williams, to start from the river at the capital and follow the ancient trading-highway across the frontier districts of Thong-ze and Thein-nee, an overland route by which caravans of merchandise have long been in the habit of travelling to Ava and Mandalay; but for European purposes, the land-journey stood at a disadvantage beside the attractions of Bhamô, with its river-communications stretching on either hand, especially as the line of travel offered no facilities for improved means of transit. Dr. Williams investigated the passes by which the Thein-nee route is carried over the frontier range, and found them impracticable, in his judgment, for any kind of rail or tram-way. His conclusions, pronounced emphatically in favour of an attempt at opening trade with Bhamô, after a personal visit to that place, were approved by Colonel Fytche, while stationed as Resident at the Burmese Court, and at the suggestion of this authority an exploring expedition was at length commissioned by the Indian Government for the ascent of the Irrawaddy. The schemes for rendering the Salwen available for navigation had already been investigated, and reported as impracticable, and towards the close of 1867 the Bhamô expedition was organised under the command of Major Sladen, who was accompanied by Dr. John Anderson, in the capacity of medical officer and naturalist. To the careful and discriminating manner in

in general, but their name for the present town is simply *Sin Kiai*, or New Street, in contradistinction from Old Bhamô, which was destroyed a century or two ago.

which this gentleman recorded his observations during the journey, and to the research which he subsequently brought to bear in elucidating the geographical features, the history, and the ethnology of regions hitherto practically unknown, we are indebted for the extremely comprehensive and instructive report which has now issued from the Government press at Calcutta.

The objects Major Sladen had in view were the ascent of the Irrawaddy as far as Bhamô by steamer—an achievement as yet unperformed—an investigation of the nature of the trade at this point, and a careful examination of the routes proceeding from this point into Western China. We are informed by Dr. Anderson, that—

‘The expedition left Mandalay on January 13, 1868, in the King of Burmah’s steamer the “Yaynan-Sekia.” It was composed of Major Sladen, Captain Williams, and myself, with Messrs. Bowers, Stewart, and Burn as the representatives of the commercial community of Rangoon. Our guard of police, fifty strong, was a mixed one of Burmese and Mahomedans. A Chinese, whom the King had made over to Sladen on account of his knowledge of the language, and of the localities we were to visit, also formed one of the party. This individual, Moung-shuay Yah by name, half Burmese and half Chinese by birth, proved eminently useful so long as he abstained from samshu. Our crew was entirely Burmese, from the captain to the firemen, and bearing in mind the brief experience the Burmese have had of steamers, it was surprising in how thoroughly workmanlike a way the management of the ship was conducted.’

The voyage was commenced with promises of active co-operation on the part of all Burmese officials, under the direct commands of the King, and an officer of the court accompanied Major Sladen as far as Bhamô, with the nominal duty of rendering all necessary assistance; but later experience showed plainly enough that beneath a mask of cordiality there lurked a profound dislike to the expedition, and that its success in achieving its objects would receive no efficient support from Burmese quarters. Himself a keen trader, and looking upon foreign commerce as his private monopoly, the King, it is easy to believe, was by no means anxious to witness the establishment of Europeans, with their treaty privileges and their demands for exactitude in such matters as customs’ duties, at an advanced post like Bhamô; and from this feeling arose, very probably, the suggestions made to Dr. Williams concerning the superior advantages of the overland caravan route *vid* Theinnee. A traffic carried on without permanent settlements at interior marts, and by its very nature confined almost necessarily to Burmese or Chinese hands, would doubtless prove less r

trant than a community of European traders to the exactions which an arbitrary will might seek to impose. But motives of this nature, if they existed, were at least courteously veiled (although, perhaps, allowed to peep forth in the sullen, unfriendly demeanour of the Burmese captain of the 'Yaynan-Sekia,' which Dr. Anderson pointedly records); and despite all undercurrents of opposition, the ascent of the Irrawaddy was safely and satisfactorily accomplished in a voyage of nine days' duration. In his interesting summary of the results of this journey, read before the Royal Geographical Society on the 26th June, 1871, Major Sladen states that—

'The Burmese Government had publicly declared that no steamer could possibly ascend the Irrawaddy so far north as Bhamô at that time, or during certain seasons of the year, when the river was said to be at its lowest depth. Our steamer, however, the draught of which did not exceed three feet, reached Bhamô without difficulty of any kind in river navigation; and the result of our trip proves generally that the Irrawaddy is navigable for steamers of moderate draught at all seasons of the year as far north as Bhamô, a distance of 900 miles from our starting-point at Rangoon, and 300 miles above the royal capital of Mandalay.'

On the evening of January 22, after bidding farewell to the varied but ever beautiful scenery of the defiles through which the Irrawaddy threads its course, the party found themselves in sight of the town of Bhamô,

'situated on an elevated bank overlooking the river, the *tees* of its few pagodas glittering brightly in the setting sun. About fifteen miles to the right of the town, looking up the river, the high range of the Kakhyen hills is seen stretching away in an unbroken line; and to the west a low range of undulating hills, thickly clad with trees, bends round to the south to join those which form the western side of the defile.'

The tract of country of which the first view was thus obtained, is part of the outer fringe of that debatable frontier which in its long and sinuous sweep divides Burmah, Siam, Cambodia, and Annam from the Chinese Empire. Curving downwards from the eastern foot of the Himalayas, this line of country is inhabited throughout the greater portion of its area by a race known to the Burmese as Shans—styled by themselves, it is said, *Tai* or 'free-men'—and by the Chinese called *Lao-chwa*, the *Lawa* or *Laos* of European writers. At present split up into a multitude of petty states or tribes, some enjoying an entire independence under their hereditary chiefs, and others owing allegiance to Burmah, China, or Siam, according to their situation in proximity to one or other of these coun-

tries, the Shans of the present day are the scattered remnants of a people, which, as Dr. Anderson has been the first to make clear, was for many centuries constituted as a powerful state on the frontiers of Burmah and China. The 'Kingdom of Pong,' originally traced by Captain Pemberton, by means of a MS. chronicle which he discovered in 1835 at Munipore, appears to have existed as long ago as the commencement of the Christian era, with a capital near the southern limits of the present province of Yün-nan. In this kingdom of Pong, which is reported to have flourished in its greatest vigour from the eighth to the fourteenth century, there is little difficulty in recognising the Mung or Nan-Chao, described in Chinese history as occupying the area of modern Yün-nan during the seventh and eighth centuries, and maintaining a not unequal struggle against the power of the Chinese Empire. According to Chinese writers, the tribes of Mung were in full possession of south-western Yün-nan at the time of the Mongol conquest, and it is probably to this period that we must refer the great disruption which has befallen them. Traces of their former ascendancy in Yün-nan are forthcoming, as Dr. Anderson observes, in the frequent occurrence of names pertaining to the language of the modern Shans in connexion with districts and cities in various parts of the province; and to this region we may perhaps refer the seat of the kingdom of Tay-yay (Taï) which Siamese traditions indicate as the origin of their own race. Dr. Anderson quotes the remarks made by Du Halde, a century and a half ago upon this point, and suggests that the kingdom of the 'great Siams,' or Shans, probably comprised that extensive tract of country to the north-west and north of Maing-leng-gyee, on the right and left banks of the Irrawaddy, between the twenty-first and twenty-sixth parallels of latitude, and stretching from the ninety-fifth to the one hundredth degree of east longitude. The whole of this region supports at present a Shan population, and the same race is found extending over the entire tract of country between the Salwen and the Mekong, as low certainly as the sixteenth degree of latitude. By intermarriage with the races into whose territories they have penetrated, and through the influence also of climatic conditions, a great diversity has been wrought in the physical appearance and in the national usages of this widely scattered people; and there is little outward appearance of kinship between the hardy, intelligent, and fair-skinned mountaineers on the borders of northern Burmah and the dusky--indolent Laotians who are found organised in a multitude of petty states throughout the basins of the Mekong a

Menam; but affinities of language exist which leave little doubt with regard to their common origin.

The region intervening between the borders of Yün-nan and the Irrawaddy at Bhamô is the site of the Koshanpyi, or nine Shan states, originally made mention of by Duhalde, in whose days the territory in question had become famous owing to the struggles for the mastery of it which long prevailed between Burmah and China. The Burmese having succeeded in extending their rule, a couple of centuries ago, over the principality of Bhamô, eight states remain in possession of a *quasi* independence, governed by their hereditary chiefs or *tsaubwas*, who, in exchange for a nominal allegiance and tribute to the Chinese sovereigns, have been rewarded with high-sounding titles, and the right to wear the insignia of Chinese functionaries of superior rank. The entire Laotian race has long since been subjected to the humanising influences of Buddhism, and the northern Shans especially have made material advances towards a civilised condition. In the main a peaceable folk, they are on good terms with their powerful neighbours on either side, but in the neighbourhood of Bhamô—once entirely occupied by a Shan population—the incursions of a wilder race have within the last two centuries given far less congenial neighbours to the Burmese. The pressure of numbers, increasing more rapidly than the means of subsistence, has driven large masses of the Singpho population occupying the valleys of the Upper Irrawaddy, to the eastward of Assam, in progressive migrations southward, and they are now found spread in a multitude of semi-savage clans throughout the mountain region dividing Bhamô from Yün-nan. In the immediate neighbourhood of the Burmese frontier they have almost wholly superseded the Shan population, and although occupying themselves in general with agriculture and petty traffic, their character for predatory habits and bloodthirstiness is depicted at Bhamô in terms resembling those which the early settlers of Massachusetts were accustomed to apply to the Indians of the adjacent forests. Calling themselves generically Chingpaw, a word signifying ‘man’ in their own language (and doubtless identical with the ‘Singpho’ of eastern Assam), this people have received from the Burmese the designation Kak-hyen, under which name we find them playing a part of great importance in connexion with Major Sladen’s undertaking.

From the moment of his arrival at Bhamô, indeed, the leader of the expedition found these savage neighbours held in supreme dread by the inhabitants, both traders and officials; but the secret of the evil reports of the Burmese concerning them was

soon found to lie in the fact that the intolerable oppression and extortion to which the Kakhyens have been subjected, when compelled to visit Bhamô for the purchase of salt and other necessities, have driven them to retaliate on the Burmese-Shan villages of the district and to indulge in depredations upon wayfarers when opportunity offers. They seldom display courage in open attack, and before entering upon one of their accustomed forays are usually inflamed by deep potations of rice-spirit or with opium, to the use of which they are greatly addicted. Their captives are carried off and reduced to a state of slavery; but in proportion as the Chinese frontier is approached excesses of this kind are less frequently heard of. The religious conceptions of the Kakhyens are of the same character with those prevailing, so far as can be judged, among all the aboriginal tribes of the Irrawaddy region, that is to say they consist mainly in a belief in the universal presence of good or evil spirits,—the *nâts* which even in the Buddhism of the orthodox Burmese retain so marked an influence. A propitiation of these unseen genii is an indispensable preliminary to almost every action of a Kakhyen's life. Their chiefs, known as *Tsaubwas* to the Burmese, derive a revenue from the caravans which pass through their territories, and acknowledge a species of allegiance to both Burmese and Chinese authorities. We must now, however, revert to Dr. Anderson's pages for a description of Bhamô. The town, he writes, is

'situated in latitude 24° 16' N. and longitude 96° 53' 47" E., on a high prominence on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, about two miles below the mouth of the Tapeng river. It is a narrow town, one mile in length, widening towards the middle, and is enclosed by a stockade about nine feet high, consisting in the halves of trees driven side by side into the ground. It contains about 500 houses, and allowing five persons to each, the population may be estimated at 2,500 persons, and it may be referred to two portions, one Chinese and the other Shan. There are three principal streets, one running parallel to the river the whole length of the town. . . . The houses are all small, one-storied cottages, built of sundried bricks, with grey tiles of the same material, on concave roofs, with deep projecting eaves.'

With the exception of the Chinese colony, numbering some two hundred persons, the population consists in a mixed race of Shan-Burmese, with a small sprinkling of Burmese officials. At the time of Major Sladen's arrival at Bhamô the government of the place was vested in the hands of two *Tsikkeys* or magistrates, the *Woon* or governor having recently been murdered at an outlying point of his jurisdiction. This ci

stance proved vexatious enough, for in the absence of a chief authority the magistrates declined to carry out the royal instructions for the supply of transport to the expedition, and four weeks were wasted in fruitless discussions. Burmese and Chinese were found alike opposed to the further advance of the party; and in addition to their efforts at dissuasion, by representing the difficulties to be encountered as insuperable, the Tsikkays took measures to intimidate every person who might be useful as an interpreter from rendering services to Major Sladen. An accidental rencontre with a native of India, named Deen Mahomed, who had been for ten years a slave among the Kakhyens, supplied the expedition with the necessary means of communicating with this people; and the constant influx of small companies of trading Kakhyens, together with the arrival of Shan caravans, belied the assurances of the Burmese magistrates that all traffic in the direction of Western China was interrupted by the Panthay insurrection. Major Sladen at length resolved upon turning the flank of the treacherous Burmese by securing the aid of the Kakhyen chiefs, and by opening communications with the Panthay commander at the frontier-city of Momien. Three Kakhyens were induced to become bearers of a letter addressed to this dignitary, in which stress was laid upon the advantages to be derived from a reopening of the route for trading caravans between Yün-nan and Bhamô, and his assistance was requested in enabling the party to advance. At the same time the Kakhyen chief or Tsaubwa of Ponline was induced to pay Major Sladen a visit. He made his appearance on board the steamer

‘dressed as a mandarin of the blue button, and attended by six to eight men, armed with matchlocks and dâhs. He wore a chocolate-coloured long satin coat, richly decorated with gold dragons and other grotesque-looking figures, and the members of his staff were dressed in blue Shan jackets and loose breeches of the same colour reaching to the knee, and their shins were bandaged in long rolls of dark blue cloth. The Tsaubwa is a tall, thin man with a stoop, a contracted chest, long thin neck, very small retreating forehead, flat face with high cheek-bones, oblique eyes, with a deep depression instead of a bridge to his nose. Suspicion and deceit are written on his face.’

This unattractive chieftain, after being encouraged to throw off the reserve at first imposed upon him by the presence of Burmese officials, and warmed into friendliness by Major Sladen’s brandy, undertook to supply the party with one hundred mules and to convey them in safety as far as Manwyne, the first town in the Shan country near the Chinese frontier.

A prospect was thus at length held out of overcoming the difficulties which had seemed to menace the expedition with failure. From Bhamô to Momien, the nearest frontier-city in Yün-nan, a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles, three routes present themselves, following either the northern or the southern side of the narrow valley through which the Tapeng precipitates itself in its passage athwart the Kakhien hills to join the Irrawaddy at Bhamô. These thoroughfares, known respectively as the Loaylone, Ponline, and Sawaddy routes, unite in one at the Shan town of Nantin, some twenty-one miles from the city of Têng-yüeh Chow in Yün-nan, which still remains known to the Burmese by its ancient Shan designation of Momien. This was the point which it was now desired to reach; and after some three weeks' further delay the expedition was at length enabled to commence its overland journey on the 26th of February, when the mules provided by the Kakhien chief were declared to be in readiness at Tsitkaw, a village twenty-one miles from Bhamô, up to which point the baggage was conveyed by water. Numbering in all about one hundred persons, the party were met at Tsitkaw by their Kakhien ally, together with other chiefs or their representatives, whose first request was for liquor, and all of whom, with one exception, were more or less intoxicated before the day was far spent. A penchant for unlimited supplies of brandy, and the cupidity aroused by a sight of the money-chest which unhappily formed part of Major Sladen's outfit, were destined, indeed, to mark only too prominently the features of his intercourse with this race of highlanders, whose similarity in many respects to the wild adherents of Rob Roy is increased by the readiness with which, on slight provocation, their formidable dâhs or broadswords flash threateningly in the air. Only the utmost patience and good management could have steered the expedition through the difficulties which continually arose from the drunken violence and the preposterous greed of the Kakhien chiefs; but these qualities were fortunately exercised in such manner as not alone to carry the party in safety to their destination, but also to create in the end, it would seem, a degree of respect and regard for Europeans and a desire to encourage their visits on the part of the wild mountaineers, who became at length fully alive to the advantages that must accrue from the passage of trading caravans through their territories. Beyond the gently undulating tract of country, about twenty-one miles in extent, which reaches from Bhamô to Tsitkaw, an abrupt ascent leads to an elevation of about five hundred feet, connected by a spur with the main mass of the Kakhien

tains, which the party now found themselves required to ascend to an altitude of about fifteen hundred feet. The tracks pursued by the Kakhyens and other mountain tribes in this region are selected, Dr. Anderson observes, not as being the easiest but as the shortest route, and where a steep hillspur intervenes between a Kakhyen and a point he wishes to reach he prefers going *over* to finding a way *round* the obstacle. In following the existing hill-paths, therefore, ascent and descent follow each other with wearying frequency, and the traveller accustomed to more civilised methods of engineering looks down with a sigh of regret from the precipitous heights he has with difficulty scaled upon comparatively easy slopes over which the roadway might have been carried by a slight *détour*.

The first night in the Kakhyen hills was spent at a native house in the village of Ponline, where a fresh delay was incurred owing to extravagant demands for money on the part of the Kakhyen ruler. For some time after their arrival a part of the mule train was missing, and when the absentees were at length brought in it was found that many boxes had been opened and 'liberally looted' by the mule-men. These, however, were insignificant miseries in comparison with the disaster of a complete standstill to which Major Sladen found himself reduced on reaching Ponsee, a Kakhyen town, at the end of the first week's journey. Here the party were deserted by all their muleteers, in consequence, it was stated, of warnings they had received from the Shans, whose territory was now close at hand, to render no further assistance to the European travellers. Chinese intrigues emanating from Bhamô were probably at the bottom of this manœuvre, and Major Sladen was already aware that the Chinese traders at that place had privately communicated with one of their own countrymen, known to be operating with a guerilla force on the flank of the Panthays, with the object of preventing his advance; but all these schemes were frustrated through the success of his happily conceived appeal to the Panthay commander at Momien. During the enforced halt at Ponsee, the Kakhyen messengers who had been sent forward with letters presented themselves on their return, accompanied by a Panthay officer, and bringing with them a missive from the Mahomedan chieftain. This document, being couched in Arabic and Chinese, was not intelligible by any member of the party, but verbal assurances were conveyed by the messengers to Major Sladen, informing him of the anxious desire entertained by the Panthay leader to see him conducted in safety to Momien. A good impression was produced on the wild Kakhyens by this intelligence, and

the Shan chieftains eventually showed themselves willing to furnish means of transport for the expedition. After a delay of nearly two months at Ponsee—a period not wholly wasted, inasmuch as it enabled Dr. Anderson to accumulate a fund of knowledge with respect to the language and usages of the hill tribes, and the physical features of their country—representatives from the Shan towns at length made their appearance in Major Sladen's camp, where their cleanly persons and intelligent features—presenting a strong contrast to the ignorant and filthy Kakhyens—caused them to be hailed with delight. By this time, unfortunately, the spring was far advanced, and the lateness of the season compelled an abandonment of the objects of the expedition, in respect of a complete survey of the routes between Burmah and the Chinese frontier. It was considered advisable to reduce the numbers of the party, and Captain Williams, with Mr. Stewart and part of the escort, were consequently sent back from this point to Bhamô. On breaking up the camp at Ponsee, even the tents of the party were abandoned, and they pressed on, in reduced numbers and in the lightest marching order, conscious of the great advantage which seemed likely to accrue from their actually setting foot within the Panthay territory.

From Ponsee, the height of which above the sea-level is estimated at 3,185 feet, a steep descent led down to a comparatively level country, covered with many rice terraces, to Manwyne, the first town of the Shan country. Passing through richly cultivated fields, and by many villages half buried in picturesque clumps of bamboos, Manwyne was reached on May 11, and was found to be situated on a slight rising ground on the right bank of the Tapeng. The town is a collection of detached houses, each surrounded by its courtyard, in which cattle and farming implements are kept, and fortified with a low wall of sun-dried bricks. Outside this city wall a bazaar is held daily, where the party were enabled to study the peculiarities of the race with whom they had now come into contact, and to take note of the productions offered for sale. Besides grains, such as Indian corn, rice, and barley, with fruits, sweetmeats, and other eatables, unbleached cotton cloth, of native manufacture, was seen exposed for sale side by side with a small sprinkling of English piece goods and red and green broadcloth. The Shans—men, women, and children—crowded freely about their visitors, and Dr. Anderson's medical services became greatly in request for a variety of ailments. As appears to be not unusual among this people, the ruler of Manwyne was for the nonce a woman, the dowager.

tainess, or Tsaubwa-gadaw, 'a little stout woman, with a round 'fair face,' who entertained Major Sladen very hospitably, and expressed pleasure at the prospect of reopening trade with Burmah. Dr. Anderson thus describes the Shan women and their costume. They are, he says,

'very fair and good-looking, and their dress peculiar but picturesque. The head-dress is a long, blue turban, coiled with great precision and neatness, and so arranged over the forehead that each successive coil exposes a narrow crescentic margin of the one below it, stretching from ear to ear, and the effect of this is to throw the turban slightly backward. It towers nearly a foot above the head, and the back hair is plaited with silk, and twisted over and incorporated with the last coil of the turban. The back of the head is exposed in the hollow of its blue inverted cone, and is ornamented with large silver buttons. The women wear neat, little light or dark blue-coloured jackets, usually ornamented here and there with red trimming, and fastened with square, enamelled silver brooches, and the sleeve is turned back so far as to expose a plump little arm, with a silver bracelet. The petticoat reaches to the ankle, but is usually tucked up a short way to nearly the knee, and is bound round the waist by a roll of blue cloth, and this, with a small apron, completes the attire. There was a good sprinkling of Chinese women among the crowd, dressed in the usual costume of their country, and with dwarfed feet, but they were much more poorly clad than the Shans, and were evidently not in such good circumstances. The Shan and Chinese men were all dressed in dark blue; the Shan peasantry wore blue turbans, with their long hair plaited with a pigtail, which is wound up among the coils of the head-dress; while the townsmen, Tartar-like, had skull-caps with pendent pigtails, and each carried a long pipe either with a small clay or brass bowl.'

Jewellery appears to be a passion among the Shan ladies, and Dr. Anderson devotes several pages to a description of the principal types in vogue, in the shape of ear-rings, neck-hoops or torques, finger-rings, and bracelets. Our readers may be surprised to learn that, in a region so remote from the influences of taste and fashion, silver flask-shaped scent bottles and variously formed chatelaines are favourite ornaments among the fair sex. What these elegant trifles are to the ladies, the dâh and tobacco-pipe are in the eyes of a masculine Shan. The sword consists in a blade from two to three feet in length, gradually expanding from the hilt towards the almost square point, and secured in a wooden handle bound with cord and ornamented with silver foil and tufts of red goat's hair. Only one side of the blade is covered by the wooden scabbard. The tobacco-pipes are remarkable on account of their elaborate silver stems, which are frequently a yard in length. As in the jewellery of the women, enamel is also largely employed in decorating the men's pipes. The silversmiths are in certain

portions of the Shan territory no other than the Buddhist priests, whose yellow robes are seen on every side; but farther from the Chinese frontier the trade is confined to laymen. The Shans are described as excellent workers in straw, producing broad-brimmed hats that would compete with the finest Tuscany, and they are equally expert as blacksmiths. Their swords are forged from iron brought from Yün-nan. Among the arts in which this self-sufficing people are proficient is that of manufacturing cotton-cloths.

‘The women are largely engaged in weaving and dyeing with indigo, as the Shans generally are clad in home-grown, home-spun, and home-dyed cotton cloth. The cloths are of all degrees of texture, and the finer kinds used for jackets are soft, and usually figured with large lozenge-shaped patterns of the same colour as the groundwork. They are also adepts at silken embroidery and needle-work.

‘Agriculture is the principal occupation of the main body of the Shans, and as cultivators they are perhaps unrivalled. Their principal crop is rice, which is grown in square fields, shut in on all sides by small bunds for irrigation. Men and women work together in the fields, but the planting out of the crops is chiefly done by the men. Opium, tobacco, and cotton are important crops to the Shans. The white variety of the poppy is the one cultivated; but as the Shans are not, as a rule, opium-smokers, the growth has reference to the wants of the Chinese, Leesaws, and Kakhyens, and the requirements of the Bhamô and Mogoung markets.’

From these and an abundance of other interesting details recorded by Dr. Anderson, it is plain that the people whom he may be said to have introduced to European notice have attained a by no means despicable stage of civilisation, and to be but slightly, if at all, inferior to the Chinese in artistic skill, or in the enjoyment of material comfort. Much of their social advancement they doubtless owe to Chinese influences; which, evidently, have impressed themselves in a marked degree upon the manners and mode of life of the Shans.

After a short and pleasant stay at Manwyne, the expedition set out for the chief town of the next principality, Sanda, which was reached by a short day's journey along the banks of the Tapeng, passing through a succession of villages, whose inhabitants greeted the party with shouts of *kara, kara*—‘you are welcome,’ although at one point some shots were fired, which seemed to indicate less friendly sentiments. Muang-la, the seat or residence of another Tsaubwa, with a population of some 1,500 souls, and paying an annual tribute of 1,500 baskets of rice to the Panthays, was the next stage reached; and here a guard of Mahomedans, commanded by three officials from Momien, undertook the escort of the party for

the remainder of the journey, through a tract of wild hill-country, where hostile bands of Chinese were known to lurk under the command of a certain Leeseetai, a former notable of Momien and a determined opponent of the Panthay rule. The valley of the Tapeng was shortly exchanged for that of its tributary, the Tahô, and on approaching the walled town of Mynetee the first of those singular achievements in the art of bridge-building was seen, in which European invention has been effectively, although rudely anticipated.

'The river, as it leaves the Nantin valley through a deep gorge with precipitous, rocky banks, is spanned by an elegant iron-chain suspension bridge, with massive stone buttresses and an arched gateway on either bank. The span is about 100 feet, and planks are laid crosswise over the chains and covered with earth and straw, while one of the chains sweeps down from the gateway in a graceful curve as a kind of protection or railing to the sides.'

Suspension bridges of this description are found at several points on the western frontier of China, where their construction has probably been suggested by the ruder bridges of twisted rattans or ropes, which are thrown across the precipitous gorges of rivers otherwise impassable; but it is a singular fact that, notwithstanding the great utility and strength of this system of construction, no bridge of the kind is known to exist in any of the eastern and more civilised provinces of China. The use of iron in bridge-building has nevertheless been recognised for centuries as a substitute for granite piers, and the ruins of more than one ancient bridge, formerly supported by columns of cast-iron, may be seen at no great distance from the settlements frequented by Europeans on the coast. So long a period has elapsed since useful undertakings of this nature have fallen into desuetude that the bridge-builders of old are now either forgotten or lost in a cloud of legend, and the Chinese, who centuries ago might have instructed the world in metallurgy as in many other useful arts, are now compelled to become learners in handicraft under European tuition.

After running the gauntlet of an attack by the 'brigands' or mosstroopers of Leeseetai, who under cover of the dense jungle succeeded in killing two of the Panthay officers and making off with some mule-loads of baggage, the party at length came in sight of their destination, the town of Momien (or T'êng-yüeh Chow) on the evening of the 26th May. Momien is a walled city, lying in the centre of a fertile valley about four miles long and two broad, shut in on all sides by grassy hills, except at the point where the Tahô has forced

itself a passage. The river, which flows immediately under the walls of the town, is here about twenty yards in breadth, with a depth of some three feet. Major Sladen's party had now fully entered the dominions of the Panthay Sultan, one of whose four chief officers of state, called *Ta Sze K'ung*, a title corrupted by the Burmese into *Tasakon*, had long been charged with the defence and government of the frontier city. It was to the intervention of this dignitary that Major Sladen owed his safe transit across the territories of the Shan tribes, and he now extended a courteous welcome to his visitors, who, as the first Europeans ever seen in this secluded region, were escorted on their entrance into the city by great but well-behaved crowds. The result of fifteen years of continuous warfare was apparent in the ruinous condition of most of the buildings, and in the poverty-stricken appearance of both Mahomedans and Chinese; but the Panthay governor was nevertheless able to display a certain degree of pomp in his reception of the European party, and neither rich costumes nor the luxuries of the Chinese table were wanting at his entertainments. As is usual in most Chinese towns, the 'bazaar,' or place of trade, was found situate outside the walls, forming a street about half a mile in length, where shops for the sale of every description of merchandise in demand among the Chinese, Shans, and Kakhyens were to be seen. Among the provision merchants, dealers in tobacco, metal ware, salt, and sundry other necessities, a few shops were noticed in which, besides Chinese cloths and yarns, a small stock of English calicoes and cloth was exposed for sale. At the house of the principal Chinese merchant a friendly reception was given to Major Sladen, and the advantages of a revival of trade formed a congenial topic for discussion. There seemed to be reason for believing that the Chinese portion of the population would welcome the return of their old rulers, notwithstanding an assumption of indifference on the subject. Bitter complaints were heard of the reverses of fortune experienced in consequence of the political revolution; and indications of the insecurity prevailing in the immediate neighbourhood of Momien were of frequent occurrence. The town was in fact constantly harassed by the forays of Chinese partisan bands in the immediate neighbourhood, and Major Sladen was compelled to renounce all intention of proceeding farther in the direction of the Panthay capital. It was ascertained that Yung-ch'ang Fu, the nearest city of importance, and formerly a noted centre of trade, lay at a distance of about 64 miles (or four marches) to the eastward, forming the first stage on the road to Ta-li Fu. In traversing

this distance two large rivers, the Lung-ch'wan (Shwéli) and Lu Kiang (Salwen), are crossed, the former by means of an iron suspension bridge. From Yung-ch'ang a farther distance of 80 miles completes the journey to Ta-li Fu, beyond which nineteen marches, or about 190 miles, are reckoned as the distance to the provincial capital. This city is said to be forty days from Mandalay, by the Theinne, or overland caravan route, whilst from Bhamô, by the way of Momien, twenty-eight days were formerly sufficient for reaching Yün-nan Fu.

The height of Momien above the sea-level was found to be 4,517 feet, and its climate, although the town is situate no farther north than the 24th degree, is in consequence comparatively temperate. Rain fell in abundance during the stay of the expedition, and the range of the thermometer in June and July was between 62° and 79° Fahrenheit. Snow falls during the winter months, but does not lie long, and frost is of frequent occurrence. According to native testimony, the climate is much to be dreaded by strangers, and Dr. Anderson's experience corroborates this statement. After the clear exhilarating atmosphere of the Kakhyen hills the damp experienced at Momien exerted a very depressing influence, and the majority of the party suffered more or less from sickness.

Having entered into arrangements with the friendly Panthay governor in reference to future trade, including the basis upon which duties should hereafter be levied, Major Sladen took his departure from Momien on the 13th July, after overcoming sundry difficulties connected with the ever-recurring question of transport. The return journey was accomplished under circumstances of less difficulty than had been met with in the first instance, and among the Shan population a friendly demeanour was universally shown. Bhamô was once more reached on the 5th September, and here Dr. Anderson acted as official witness to the Kakhyen ceremony of swearing eternal friendship to their British visitors, accompanying the oath with a solemn engagement to afford protection in future to British merchants or travellers through their hills. Two buffaloes having been sacrificed to the unseen powers, the blood of the animals was drunk by an assemblage of the wild chieftains from a bowl in which the points of their spears had first been dipped. This ceremony is said to be regarded by the Kakhyens as constituting an inviolable oath.

From the information obtained by personal survey and extensive inquiries, Dr. Anderson is enabled to embody in his work a mass of details respecting the gradients and other engineering features of the routes which proceed from the neigh-

bourhood of Bhamô to Momien. The experience gained in effecting the journey to the Chinese frontier amply demonstrated the practicability of the existing roads for the passage of caravans, even under the least favourable circumstances; and Dr. Anderson pronounces the opinion that, were a railway projected across the same line of country, the difficulties to be encountered, although doubtless considerable, would be trifling in comparison with those undertaken every day in the construction of hill roads in the Himalayas. He adds, however, with commendable good sense, that

‘the proposition to construct a railway to China at the present time, before any interchange of the commodities of the two countries worthy of the name of trade exists, seems so premature as to be as yet scarcely worthy of serious consideration. In future years, if a trade should spring up between the two countries, on such a scale that the profits likely to accrue from it would be such as to justify the construction of a railway, there would be a reasonable prospect of its being seriously entertained; but now, as little exists either between Rangoon or Bhamô and China, it appears to me that the project at the present day could only emanate from the brains of scheming or interested enthusiasts.’

Dr. Anderson, in fact, while laying merited stress upon the facilities for intercommunication which his report has placed for the first time beyond question, puts in an equally strong light the unfavourable condition of affairs prevailing during the period to which his observations extended. Industry and commerce had alike been almost wholly suspended during the protracted warfare in Yün-nan, and it was evident from the first that, until either Panthays or Chinese should become definitively victorious, there was little hope of a revival of trade on a scale remunerative to Europeans in that quarter. The petty traffic which might be carried on in salt, cotton, and some slight quantity of British manufactures with the people of the Shan states could never reach an important value; although it must be admitted that the establishment of commercial relations on even a modest scale, in this direction, might exercise a powerful influence in paving the way towards future intercourse with the great and productive region beyond the Chinese frontier. It is satisfactory to observe that Dr. Anderson has not allowed himself to be dazzled by the visions of great ‘arterial’ trading highways, which should divert the ordinary maritime commerce of China into the ports of British India. With the Yang-tsze Kiang forming a natural highway fifteen hundred miles in length, intersecting the main producing districts of Central China and debouching in the

neighbourhood of great and convenient shipping ports—with the rivers of the southern maritime provinces draining other extensive areas, which, while yielding the principal Chinese staples, are at the same time divided from Yün-nan by an unbroken chain of mountains—with the ultra-conservatism of Chinese habits superadded to the habitual preference of trade for its accustomed associations, no sober mind will admit the probability of success in any attempt at substituting Rangoon or Calcutta for such ports as Shanghai, Foochow, and Canton in general dealings with the staples of the China trade.

Dismissing such projects as purely chimerical, and cherishing but modest anticipations in respect of the commercial advantages which may be looked for as the result of a revival of the trade between Burmah and Western China, we are nevertheless able to rejoice in the accessions to knowledge obtained by Major Sladen's accomplishment of his arduous undertaking. His ascent of the Irrawaddy by steamer to Bhamô was but the commencement, we may hope, of explorations which have long been eagerly demanded in the interest of geographical science. It is certainly not creditable to modern enterprise that the sources and even a large portion of the main stream of this magnificent river, which rivals the Ganges in magnitude, and flows for many hundred miles through British territory, should still remain unvisited and hidden in doubt. Dr. Anderson devotes a chapter of his work to an examination of the disputes which have prevailed since the early part of the last century with reference to the upper waters of the Irrawaddy, which D'Anville, in compiling his *Atlas of China* from the Jesuit surveys of Yün-nan and Tibet, erroneously connected with the Yarkiu Tsangpo of the last-named country. This river has been ascertained as being, beyond all reasonable doubt, the Dihong or Upper Brahmaputra; but, notwithstanding the surveys executed by British officers half a century ago, at the foot of the Himalayas, where the Brahmaputra, after receiving the waters of the Dihong, makes its great bend to the westward at Suddiya, French geographers have manfully adhered to the views propounded by D'Anville, and, at a later period, sustained by Klapproth. The last-named authority was misled by Chinese maps into connecting the Yarkiu of Tibet with the Tapeng (known to the Chinese as the Pin-lang Kiang), the comparatively insignificant stream which Dr. Anderson followed upwards through the Kakhyen hills; and a reference to the comprehensive *Atlas of China* which was published by an enlightened native Viceroy in 1862, upon the basis of the Jesuit surveys, gives a clue to the true explanation of this

and all preceding errors on the same subject. Between Tibet on the one side, and the western borders of Yün-nan on the other, the Jesuit surveys left a blank in their maps, consisting in the unexplored region through which the main stream of the Irrawaddy takes its course. At opposite extremities of this region, the Yarkiu and the Pin-lang Kiang were seen to be pursuing a course having the same general direction, and the Chinese mapmakers have not hesitated to effect a theoretical junction between the two widely separated streams. This appears to be the simple explanation* of a difficulty which has given rise to warm discussions between French and English geographers. While the latter have appealed to the testimony of ascertained facts, their French *confrères* have adhered to the theoretical delineations sanctioned by the authority of D'Anville and Malte Brun, and have for a time derived support from the assurances which French missionaries residing on the eastern borders of Tibet have given on this subject. Misled, it would seem, by their Parisian maps, the worthy fathers of the Bonga mission strove for several years to support the Yarkiu hypothesis for the origin of the Irrawaddy; but we have the pleasure of noticing that in a work quite lately published, the Abbé Desgodins, one of the missionaries until recently stationed on the borders of Tibet, confesses at length that the views hitherto entertained by himself and his colleagues on this subject are probably untenable. A glance, nevertheless, at the outline map which is appended to the Abbé's work, and a comparison of its delineation of the river-system of Tibet and Western China with those severally propounded by Colonel Yule, in the admirable maps drawn up by him in 1857, and by Dr. Anderson in his present work, brings to light a divergence of opinion so irreconcilable in many respects as to indicate an entire lack of authoritative data with regard to the physical features of this most interesting region. The information acquired through Major Sladen's expedition adds much, indeed, to the existing stock of geographical knowledge; but it is impossible that science should rest content until what is now a virtual blank in the chart of South-eastern Asia shall have been filled up, and the Irrawaddy have been traced to its Tibetan source, where, with the adjacent fountain-heads of its sister streams, it holds out a rich incentive to European exploration.

It must be, however, from the side of China that any

* The same view has been expressed by Colonel Yule in a communication published in 'Ocean Highways,' November, 1872.

attempts at penetrating the jealously guarded soil of Tibet are made, with real prospect of success; and the failure which befell the undertaking of so hardy and resolute a private explorer as Mr. T. T. Cooper, when in 1868 he endeavoured to pass from the head waters of the Yang-tze Kiang to the northern frontier of Assam, indicates plainly enough the impossibility of effecting such an enterprise unless with the full support of the Chinese Government. Political and not physical obstacles at present impede the access of scientific inquiry to the eastern slopes of the Himalayan range; but the time has arrived when even Tibetan seclusion must be disturbed.*

Among the most striking and unlooked-for consequences of Major Sladen's visit to the Panthay territory was the arrival in England in the summer of 1872 of an embassy from the 'Sultan' of Ta-li Fu, bearing solicitations, it was understood, for assistance or at least for countenance in the struggle for mastery in Yün-nan, together with propositions aiming at the establishment of intimate commercial relations on the western frontier. It was, of course, impossible that Her Majesty's Government should do otherwise than explain to the Mahomedan envoy its position with regard to the Chinese Empire, and the duties of neutrality imposed (if by no other considerations) by its treaties of amity and commerce with the Government of Peking; but the young and adventurous envoy, an adopted son of the Panthay ruler, was entertained in this country with becoming courtesy—a suitable return for the hospitality extended to Major Sladen at Momien—and was eventually despatched on his homeward journey under the escort of Mr. Cooper, the explorer whose journeys on the borders of Tibet and China we have referred to above. During the residence of the envoy in England it was understood that hostilities between the Panthays and Chinese had for some time been virtually suspended; and it seemed probable that the defensive attitude adopted by the Mahomedans might insure their undisturbed possession of south-western Yün-nan

* The first practical attempt towards a scientific survey of Tibet has already been made by Russia, with the quiet and successful perseverance which distinguishes her action throughout Eastern and Central Asia. An exploring party, accompanied by an escort of Cossacks, left Peking early in 1872, with passports and recommendatory letters obtained from the Chinese Government, for the purpose of travelling through Mongolia to Tibet, and thence across the Himalayas into British India. This is an achievement which British officers have long, although unsuccessfully, sought permission to undertake.

so long, at least, as the attention of the Chinese Government should continue distracted by other still more menacing attempts to throw off its yoke; but, on arriving at Rangoon, in December last, the Panthay ambassador was met by the intelligence of a crushing disaster to his father's arms. Ta-hi Fu was reported as having fallen, in consequence, most probably, of some treacherous defection from the Mahomedan ranks; and Momien, closely besieged, was almost the last remaining stronghold of the Panthay cause. A new complexion is thus imparted to affairs in Western China since communications were opened with its inhabitants by the British Indian authorities, and there seems little reason to doubt that a restoration of Imperial authority over its ancient area, including the tribes which exert control over the frontier region between China and Burmah, will now take place. It is impossible to contemplate without deep sorrow the consequences which defeat at the hands of a merciless foe must entail upon the Mahomedans of Yün-nan, whose unequal struggle, provoked by long-endured oppression, was most gallantly maintained; but the extinction of the Panthay rule will unquestionably be hailed as a blessing by a large majority of the population of Yün-nan, as the sole means by which peace can be restored to their homes. By the Burmese, who have never concealed their antipathy to the warlike neighbours who made their frontier insecure and interrupted their communications with the great empire whose friendship they sedulously cultivate, the downfall of the Panthay cause will be warmly rejoiced in; and it may be presumed that with returning tranquillity commerce will revive and once more seek its accustomed channels. The process of recovery is marvellously rapid in China, where an overflowing population, habits of intense industry, and favouring conditions of soil and climate, unite in repairing the havoc of the most exhausting contests with a celerity that has often astonished European observers. An increased degree of importance will consequently attach henceforth to the commercial facilities that have been secured for British subjects in Upper Burmah, and the experience of the next few years may decisively test the value of trading establishments at Bhamô. Already an astonishing degree of progress has been made at this point since Major Sladen's expedition, so lately as five years ago, for the first time awoke its echoes with the steam-whistle of the 'Yaynan-Sekia.' The navigation of the Upper Irrawaddy has now become a matter of frequent occurrence, and the Chinese trading community at Bhamô, once so jealous and apprehensive of rivalry in their petty trade on the part of

British merchants, have found to their great delight that new and hitherto undreamt-of sources of prosperity are open to them as agents for British commercial dealings. Since the date of Major Sladen's visit, the importance of Bhamô has been recognised by the Indian Government in the appointment of a 'Political Resident' at the spot. The functions of such an officer correspond very nearly with those discharged by the British Consuls on the seaboard of China, and a further approximation in the same direction might, we think, be productive of highly useful results. At Bhamô itself Chinese influence is so powerfully felt, as Dr. Anderson's narrative teaches, and in the region beyond it exerts so paramount a sway, as to suggest the necessity of special Chinese qualifications at the service of our agents in that quarter. A representative at Bhamô whose means of obtaining information are confined to the Indian or Burmese languages will find himself cut off from the most important sources of intelligence. For the protection of trade, moreover, if intercourse with Yün-nan should hereafter become developed on an extensive scale, communications with Chinese-speaking officials will become necessary; and in order that these may be well conducted, the British Resident on the frontier must not be left dependent upon chance assistance or secondhand interpretation. We are of opinion that the hill-country of the Shans and Kakhyens should be regarded as a link between the domain peculiar to the Indian Government and that of the British representation in China. At Bhamô a junction might usefully be effected between two services whose linguistic resources are needed there in combination for the purpose of watching over and interpreting the progress of events.

Limits of space permit us to do little more than glance at another geographical achievement, performed contemporaneously with Major Sladen's expedition and directed towards the same object—the discovery of a trade route into Western China, although from a widely-distant starting point. While the enthusiasm of our own countrymen has been excited during the last quarter of a century through the extension of British rule over the maritime provinces of Burmah, and the eager eyes of a host of projectors have been guided upwards along the course of the Irrawaddy and the Salwen to the central nucleus of wealth with which their waters communicate, a stimulus of the same nature has equally presented itself to French imaginations. On the opposite face of the great Indo-Chinese semi-circle an extensive colony has been called, almost unperceived, into existence by France on the borders of

Cochin-China and Siam. The campaign undertaken in 1859 for the protection of missionaries and their converts against the 'persecutions' of the Annamese Government was followed by the annexation of three of the most valuable provinces of Lower Cochin-China; and scarcely had French engineers concluded their task of sketching out the ground plan of a new Calcutta at Saigon, on the banks of Donnaï, before the acquisition of three additional provinces brought the whole of Lower Cochin-China under the sway of France, giving her undivided control over the delta of the Mekong, and carrying her dominion to the shores of the gulf of Siam. Through its extension westward, the French frontier became contiguous with that of Cambodia, a thinly-peopled, decrepid State, barely cherishing the recollection of its former grandeur, and lingering, as it has done for more than a century past, in hopeless dependence upon neighbours who have protected and despoiled it in turn. By this new proximity, glowing visions of extended political influence and of commercial advantages were aroused, causing the necessity for a thorough exploration of the great river, upon whose accessibility to navigation much of the anticipated value of French Cochin-China as a commercial colony must depend, to be quickly recognised. While acting as governor of the new possession in 1865, the French Admiral de la Grandière believed

'that he could attract to Saigon, a city laid out for half a million inhabitants, the important commerce which is carried on by caravans between Laos, Burmah, Tibet, and the western provinces of the Chinese Empire, thinking it by no means impossible to secure as its chief artery the Mekong, which diverts into the Indian Ocean the waters of the Himalayan plateaux. To secure for Europe in its trade with the Celestial Empire a vast entrepôt, of easy access, and at the same time to free the route from China, shortened by 1,200 miles, from that part of the voyage in which the periodical monsoons are particularly to be dreaded, would have been no inconsiderable service to the general commerce of the world, as well as to our own colony, which must, as the result, have become one of its principal centres.'

The passage we have here quoted is an extract from the touching preface which M. le Comte de Carné has added to the posthumous publication of a narrative by his son, M. Louis de Carné, of the expedition undertaken in pursuance of the views which are thus expressed. From the same source we learn that the Imperial Government was in reality dragged by the ardour of its subordinates into these projects of indefinite extension, and that before Admiral de la Grandière obtained sanction for the ascent of the Mekong by a surveying expedition,

he was called upon to oppose propositions advanced in the Emperor's councils for a total abandonment of French Cochinchina as a colony more costly than advantageous. The commission which was ultimately appointed consisted in Captain de Lagrée, of the Imperial navy, with Lieutenants Garnier and Delaporte, MM. Joubert and Thorel as surgeons and scientific observers, and the young author of the work now given to the public in an English version, who was deputed to act as a reporter for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. No one better fitted for carrying the scheme of exploration into effect could probably have been found than the leader of the party, Captain de Lagrée, who for several years previously had been conspicuous among the subordinate agents to whose enthusiasm and determination France was indebted for the recent large additions to her territory. At the time when M. de Carné arrived in Cochinchina his future leader was occupied in wresting from Siam the protectorate hitherto exercised over Cambodia by that Power,* and in transforming the pitiful young ruler, King Norodom, into a vassal receiving his crown from French hands. The singular details of this transaction, hitherto but obscurely known, are revealed in M. de Carné's opening chapters; and a veil is lifted besides from dreams of further aggrandisement, in which the outlines of a new Indian Empire, a glorious and worthy rival of those possessions which had at one time seemed to be within the reach of France, were glowingly depicted. Subsequent events, indeed, have thrown a cruel chill upon these, and even upon the more sober hopes of the present generation; but the result of Captain de Lagrée's expedition itself was sufficient to dispel whatever anti-

* It is not generally known that the late King of Siam despatched an agent to England in 1865 for the purpose of making known his grievances in respect of the French encroachments upon what he asserted to be an integral part of his dominions. A very curious paper, drawn up in English by the King himself, and setting forth his version of the history of Cambodia in its relations with Siam, formed part of the documents of the mission. In this paper the King endeavoured to show that since the year 1783, when a revolt of the Malays settled in Cambodia overthrew, with assistance from the Cochinchinese, the then reigning sovereign of the country, a regular protectorate had been established on the part of the Kings of Siam, by whom the Cochinchinese were expelled, and the Cambodian prince reinstated on his throne in the character of a 'Viceroy,' or feudatory of Siam. In somewhat quaint, but quite grammatical, English, King Maha Mongkut set forth the entire course of the subsequent relations between the two countries; but his arguments proved powerless to counteract the 'manifest destiny' arising from the propinquity of his French rivals.

pations had been formed with reference to a possible navigation of the Mekong.

Leaving Saigon in June, 1866, the party proceeded on board a steam gunboat as far as Craché, a point in the Cambodian territory about 250 miles from the sea, beyond which it was found impossible to advance in any European vessel. Although of great width and depth for many hundreds of miles higher up, the descent of the river is so rapid and so much interrupted with rocks and cataracts, as to present insuperable bars to navigation otherwise than by native canoes. It was in boats of this description, hollowed out from trunks of trees and covered with a simple thatch of palm-leaves, that Captain de Lagrée continued the ascent of the Mekong, completing, under circumstances of heavy discouragement and difficulty, a survey of the river from Craché in latitude 12° to a point some seven degrees of latitude farther north, in a region of the Laos country far beyond the utmost bounds of previous explorers. The southern point of the great Laotian belt, which we have already seen occupied in its more northern portion by the tribes whom the Burmese designate as Shans, is met with at Stung Treng, in latitude $13^{\circ}30'$ north, where the Attopéu, the lowest considerable affluent of the Mekong, joins the great river from the eastward. From this point northward a continuous Laotian population is met with, forming the kingdoms of Bassac, Vien-chang, and Luang-Prabang, which acknowledge themselves as tributaries of the King of Siam, and beyond these again other Laotian states exist under Burmese authority. In Bassac the formidable rapids and cataracts of Khong interpose, at once giving their name to the river* and completely discouraging all

* The name given to the river below its point of exit from the Chinese territory (up to which it is known by the names of Lan-tsang and Kiu Lung Kiang), is said to be Nam Khong—river or water of Khong; and Mekong, the name by which French geographers have made it known to science, appears to be a compound wholly unsanctioned by native usage. This is but one among many examples of an inaccuracy respecting geographical names to which the French are sadly prone. A flagrant instance in point is the misnomer of *Fleuve Bleu*, which they have saddled, wholly without authority, upon the great central river of China. We may point out that the true name of this river (called Yang-tze Kiang only for a short distance from its mouth) is Ta Kiang, or Great River, from Seu-chow Fu in Sze-chwan, near the borders of Yün-nan, and Kin-sha Kiang above this point. The only apparent justification for the French nomenclature is the name Tsing Ki—Blue or Green River—given to an insignificant stream joining the Ta Kiang below Seu-chow Fu.

hopes of seeing its course made available as an important artery of commerce.

Harassed by wearisome delays, exhausted by privations and sickness, and compelled to part with their European escort, who rebelled at an early stage against the hardships it was necessary for them to share with the leaders of the expedition, Captain de Lagrée's party nevertheless pushed on, and sixteen months after their departure from Saigon they enjoyed the satisfaction of entering Chinese territory, just at the time when Major Sladen's expedition was about to commence its voyage in the same direction from the Burmese capital. The point at which China was now entered, after an adventurous and toilsome march overland through the states of Burmese Laos, was Sze-mao, the Esmok of Captain Sprye, which was found to be a half-ruined military post, kept in continual alarm by the proximity of a Panthay army. From this point Yün-nan was successfully traversed from south to north, and the expedition eventually reached Shanghai, bringing with them, however, only the remains of their brave leader, M. de Lagrée, who died in March, 1868, at Tung-chwan, in Yün-nan, near the banks of the Yang-tsze. His young subordinate, Louis de Carné, whose sparkling narrative anticipates in some degree the as yet unpublished official report of the expedition, was prostrated on his return to France by the disease which his exposure in the tropical forests of the Mekong had implanted in his system, and barely lived to complete a partial record of the scenes he had passed through.

Although disappointing in its results as regards the navigation of the troubled Mekong, it is unquestionable that Captain de Lagrée's expedition constitutes one of the most remarkable among modern geographical feats, and that the Victoria Gold Medal bestowed by Sir Roderick Murchison as President of the Royal Geographical Society on Lieutenant Garnier at the anniversary meeting of the Society in 1870 was a merited as well as a graceful act of appreciation. In view of the important results in philology and ethnology as well as in other more technical departments of science which are known to have been accumulated, there is much reason to lament that the Report embodying these acquisitions should have remained so long unpublished,* owing to the political

* Since the above was in type, the narrative of Captain de Lagrée's expedition has at length been issued by MM. Hackette et C^{ie}, in two large quarto volumes, accompanied by two superb volumes of engravings and maps, under the editorship of Lieutenant Garnier.

state of France. We are unable to say that its place is satisfactorily taken by M. de Carné's work, which in fact lays no claim to scientific merit or accuracy of detail; but we should do the vivacious record of his observations injustice if we failed to admit that it presents an interesting picture of the manners and condition of the peoples scattered along the valleys of the Mekong and its tributaries, and moreover affords a valuable insight into the state of affairs prevailing in South-western China. From the moment of their entrance into Yün-nan, great as was the delight of the travellers on hailing such tokens of civilisation as now met their gaze in paved roads, walled cities, and varied industrial pursuits, they found everywhere ruin and desolation supplanting the once prosperous condition and thriving communities of this portion of the empire. At Sze-mao, only three days' march intervened between the expedition and the Mussulman army, which was at that moment threatening to repeat its former capture of the town. The suburbs and villages in the neighbourhood, which were said to have once contained a population of 30,000 souls, were a mass of ruins; and the interior of the town itself presented a similar spectacle. The conquerors appeared to have directed their greatest violence against the temples,* some having been entirely demolished, and others desecrated in a variety of ways. The richer classes had entirely deserted the town, and the population remaining consisted solely of officials, soldiery, and petty traders. The still more important city of P'u-urh (Po-heul in the French orthography) was found in even a worse plight, and as the party neared the provincial capital symptoms of misery grew more instead of less abundant. Everything bespoke the continuance of a cruelly-prolonged and exhausting contest. A daring attempt on the part of

* Although a certain degree of fanaticism is indicated by this treatment of the Buddhist or Taoist temples in conquered places, it is worthy of note that in a proclamation issued to his followers in 1868 by the generalissimo or 'Sultan' of the Panthays, the duty of religious toleration was especially inculcated, and severe reprobation for all violent acts of pillage or destruction was expressed. No feature in the constitution of the Mahomedan State of Ta-li was more singular, indeed, than the absence of any such claims to supremacy on behalf of the Mussulman faith as has been shown in other attempts at founding an empire on the Koran and the sword which have been witnessed of late years. So completely, in fact, had the Mahomedans of Yün-nan become subject to the influences of Chinese thought, that their rebellion was announced as undertaken in defence of 'the rights of the people,' without a syllable of reference to a 'holy war.'

Lieutenant Garnier and others of the party to strike through the Mahomedan lines and to reach Ta-li Fu was successfully accomplished, and in February 1868 the adventurous Frenchmen presented themselves under the walls of the Mahomedan capital; but their arrival from the Imperialist head-quarters was sufficient in itself to cause them to be regarded with suspicion, and the dislike thus incurred was augmented by the presence of a Roman Catholic missionary with the party. Concealed among the mountains to the north of Ta-li Fu Lieutenant Garnier encountered a devoted priest, Père Leguilcher, who had clung to this spot, his residence for many years, despite the warfare which had desolated the region around him. For fourteen years this pioneer of the Church had dwelt amid a small community of native converts, without having once set eyes upon a European face; and up to this moment, by carefully avoiding notice, he had escaped molestation on the part of the Mahomedan insurgents. Unfortunately for the success of the expedition Père Leguilcher was induced to accompany Lieutenant Garnier to Ta-li Fu in the capacity of interpreter. Symptoms of hostile feeling greeted the party on their first approach to the Panthay fortress; and it is somewhat to the credit of the rude Mahomedan soldiery by whom they were surrounded that no catastrophe befell them, when swords were actually drawn against the mob which crowded at their heels. Père Leguilcher was summoned to the presence of the Sultan himself, who insisted that the French explorers should return instantly by the way they had come, and warned them in a truculent manner against cherishing dreams of aggression upon his dominions. After a single night's residence in the Panthay capital Lieutenant Garnier and his party were accordingly compelled to withdraw, and beyond the geographical information obtained in reference to the route they followed, the results of this adventurous expedition were scarcely adequate to the risks incurred. So striking is the contrast between the hostility and defiance displayed at Ta-li Fu with the anxiety which was shown only a month or two later by the Mussulman governor of Momien to cultivate friendly relations with Major Sladen's party, that we are driven to search for an explanation of the discrepancy. This, it seems reasonable to believe, may be found in the presence of the Roman Catholic missionary, who, however estimable and inoffensive as an individual, yet represented an organisation whose encroachments upon native authority, under the protection of French officials, has been painfully conspicuous throughout China, and must have been well known by report to the

Mussulman leader.* Père Leguilcher was compelled, from regard to his future safety, to accompany the party on their return into Chinese territory, abandoning with mutual lamentations the simple flock among whom he had dwelt so long; and both he and his companions may have felt reason to reflect upon the injury which an excessive degree of official support to the missionary propaganda entails upon the political and religious interests of the French in China.

The two expeditions of which we have sketched the progress and results enable us to appreciate with some degree of accuracy the relative value and feasibility of the modes of communication between Western China and the Indian seas that have been proposed of late years, whilst the safety and success with which they respectively penetrated across hitherto untravelled regions into Chinese territory serve as a lesson that the obstacles to be encountered in future by research and enterprise need no longer be greatly feared. M. de Carné frankly admits the failure of such hopes as were based upon the prospect of diverting into a French colonial port, by the channel of the Mekong, whatever amount of foreign trade may be expected to grow up hereafter in South-western China; and the certainty acquired upon this point has deep importance for ourselves, inasmuch as it serves to concentrate attention for the future upon the Irrawaddy route, with its already ascertained facilities. The ardent young Frenchman falls back, indeed, upon projects for a new commission, which, he urged, should ascend the Songkoi or river of Tongkin, to its sources in the heart of Yün-nan; but this undertaking was admittedly proposed with a view to territorial aggrandisement at the expense of the sovereign of Annam, whose northern territories were coveted in addition to the provinces of which he has been despoiled in the south, rather than in any well-founded hope of discovering a means of access by European shipping into Chinese territory by way of the Songkoi. Ambitious projects of this kind may well have been set at rest by the changes that have supervened in France since Louis de Carné gave the rein to fancy before sinking to his untimely grave; but notwithstanding all existing embarrassments the

* We have been informed that the Panthay envoy, who recently visited England, when questioned with reference to the treatment met with by Lieut. Garnier at Ta-li Fu, replied unhesitatingly that apprehensions of a desire to compel his subjects to submit to proselytism was the cause of Sultan Suleiman's inhospitable conduct. Possibly Père Leguilcher may have let fall expressions during his interview which gave ground for suspicions of this nature.

French Government have still found time to organise a fresh expedition of discovery in the direction thus suggested. If we are rightly informed, a surveying party commanded by one of Captain de Lagrée's former subordinates will ere long ascend the Songkoï and penetrate into Yün-nan from the east, completing the work of exploration by which the province has already been approached from the south and west. The experience of the future alone can decide whether these persevering attempts to establish intercourse between seaports under European control and the far western extremity of the Chinese Empire will achieve success in the growth of a lucrative commerce; but be that as it may, science will have cause to rejoice in the opening afforded to its inquiries in fields so long inaccessible, and with our own unrivalled advantages of position and superiority of means, as also of material interests at stake, we shall have but ourselves to blame if the rewards of enterprise be carried off by less favoured competitors.

ART. II.—*Le Sommeil et les Rêves*. Par L. F. ALFRED MAURY, Membre de l'Institut. Troisième Édition. Paris: 1865.

WE place M. Maury's volume at the head of this article, as one of the most recent and remarkable on the phenomena of Sleep and Dreams. He is among the few authors who have made them the subject of experiment as well as of simple observation. But in reviewing his work we shall have occasion to refer to several others, in which these phenomena are treated of, either especially or as a part of human physiology; many of them works of much intrinsic value, though not, as we think, wholly exhausting the subject. Attention has been somewhat too exclusively given to the physical causes and conditions of sleep, without adequate notice of the wonderful characters which connect it with the other portion of our existence; rendering it, through dreams, an interpreter of many of those complex relations of mind and body which have perplexed philosophy in every age of the world. Sleep and dreams may justly be deemed one of the great mysteries of our nature. Our knowledge of them is far from having reached the realities of a science. Many of the problems, physical and psychological, they involve, are among the most profound in mental philosophy, and meet us at the very threshold of the inquiry. And if some of these questions do admit of solution, others are so deeply hidden in the ultimate mystery of the mind itself, as

to be wholly inscrutable by any means human reason can apply to them.

It may seem strange to many of our readers, that we should preface the subject of Sleep and Dreams by phrases thus grave and forbidding in their tenor. Acts so familiar, and periodically habitual in our lives, might be thought of easy interpretation. The sleep of the rocking-cradle, of the bed, of the arm-chair or carriage, witnessed in their ever-recurring routine, would seem to tell all that can or need be known on these subjects. But it is this very familiarity which disguises their nature, and begets indifference to the greatest marvel of our existence. This, indeed, is one of the numerous instances where we look heedlessly upon phenomena become habitual to us, but which, seen as solitary or infrequent events, are the subjects of admiration or terror. We gaze with careless eye on the daily march of the Sun through the heavens, on the midnight magnificence of the starry sky. Our wonder and awe are reserved for the comet or the eclipse. We witness the flowing and ebbing of the ocean and river tides at their calculated times, ignorant or indifferent to the fact that these changes express the action of the greatest law of the universe. Travelling by railroad, we look with idle eyes on those thin wire lines, traversing the air beside us, which at the very moment are carrying currents of electricity under human bidding—the instantaneous transmitters of human language and thought. We think and speak, we see and hear, breathe and walk, indifferent as to the nature of these marvellous functions, or how their unceasing work is carried on. And well it is for our happiness, and for the integrity of the functions themselves, that it should be so. The mere act of mental attention to any one of them, is enough to alter or disturb its natural action—a fact of supreme importance in human physiology.

All this is eminently true as regards the subject before us. An habitual indifference to the phenomena of sleep is found as much among men of general intelligence as in the mass of the unthinking world. Assembled in the morning round the breakfast-table, we laugh and jest over tales of the dreams of the night; not reflecting that these wild and entangled vagaries—illusions as to persons, time, and place—are part and parcel of that continuous personal identity, which at other times manifests itself in acts of reason, discourse, and deliberate functions of the will. We are jesting here upon things which have perplexed the philosophy of all ages. No less a problem than the intimate nature of the human soul is concerned in these phenomena. Where more than a fourth part of life, even

in its adult and healthiest stages, is passed in sleeping and dreaming, these functions must be taken as an integral and necessary part of our existence—not less natural than our waking acts, and associated with them by various intermediate phenomena, to which we shall presently allude. These phenomena, indeed, may be said really to maintain that unity of the thinking and conscious being which in other ways they seem so strangely to disturb. A line of rigid demarcation between the states of waking and sleeping might well appear to dis sever this unity. But no such line exists; and it may readily be shown, under appeal to individual experience, that these various states endlessly commingle and graduate into each other; thus affording mutual illustration, and, as we believe, a more intimate knowledge of the mysteries of the human mind than can be obtained from any other source.

It would hardly be worth while to preface what we have to say on Sleep and Dreams, by citing what ancient writers—philosophers, physicians, and poets—have bequeathed to us on the subject. The phenomena were to them the same as to us—the dream, perhaps, more exciting to the imagination from its connexion with various superstitions of the age. Seeing, indeed, the tendency of their mythology and poetry to deify whatever is wonderful in man or nature, it is not surprising that they should clothe these great functions of life with a personality, vague indeed in kind, but such as to satisfy the popular and poetic feeling of the time. Nor can we wonder that they should have been the subjects of superstitious belief, seeing how variously and strangely these functions are blended with the spiritual part of our nature. Even now, when science imposes so many new checks upon credulity, the inspired dream—the *Ὀναρ ἐκ Διὸς*—has its occasional place among other still less rational beliefs of the world.

Aristotle, whose chapters on Sleep and Dreams rank foremost of all that the ancients have left us on the subject, says on the question of inspiration of dreams, that it is not easy 'either to despise the evidence or to be convinced by it' (*οὔτε καταφρονῆσαι βῆδιν, οὔτε πειθῆναι*). But with his wonted sagacity, he indicates the reasons which justify distrust as to a Divine interposition, thus partial and frivolous in its alleged ministrations to man. He sees clearly that the event is often the parent of the prophetic dream, and that in the endless and complex relations of human life, it must needfully happen that coincidences often occur without any real relation of the events so associated. These chapters of Aristotle well deserve perusal as evidences of the clear and acute intelligence of this great

philosopher. We have acquired more knowledge of the physiology of sleep as a vital function, but in its connexion with dreams are little advanced beyond what he has told us.

Cicero, in his Second Book '*De Divinatione*,' discusses the question whether there be a divine influence occasionally embodied in dreams still more largely and conclusively. Called upon to confront strong popular superstitions, he meets them fairly and boldly. But beyond this negative conclusion, his treatise does little to illustrate the phenomena or philosophy of the functions in question.

While revelling in the beauty of the poetry, ancient and modern, which has found a theme in sleep and dreams—and none more fertile for fancy to work upon—we cannot look for any fresh knowledge from this source. Lucretius, indeed, with his supreme mastery of verse, comprises something of the philosophy of dreams in his grand description of them. From Homer and the Greek dramatists down to Virgil, Ovid, Statius, &c., we have abundant passages, finely describing or invoking sleep, but it is the poetry only of the subject. We must not, however, quit this topic without referring to those many striking passages in Shakspeare where the genius of the man revels in the wild, fantastic world of our sleeping existence. He grasped human nature too universally to leave untouched this wonderful part of it. We need but refer to the passages in '*Henry IV.*,' '*Richard III.*,' '*Romeo and Juliet*,' '*Macbeth*,' and '*Midsummer Night's Dream*,' in proof of what we are saying. The memory of our readers will furnish them with numerous other passages on the subject from English, German, and Italian poets; but none, we think, so abounding in thought and poetry as those of Shakspeare.

We have already stated our reason for taking M. Maury's volume as the text for our article. We learn from his preface that he has zealously devoted himself to the subject for a long series of years; embodying his researches in successive publications, of which this is the latest. These researches comprise certain curious methods of experiment, ingeniously devised, and, as far as we know, never systematically used before. We cannot better illustrate these methods than by giving his own words. After speaking of the need of long, continuous, and cautious observation, to obtain any assured results, he adds:—

'Je m'observe tantôt dans mon lit, tantôt dans mon fauteuil, au moment où le sommeil me gagne. Je note exactement dans quelles dispositions je me trouvais avant de m'endormir; et je prie la personne qui est près de moi, de m'éveiller à des instants plus ou moins

éloignés du moment où je me suis assoupi. Réveillé en sursaut, la mémoire du rêve, auquel on m'a soudainement arraché, est encore présenté à mon esprit, dans la fraîcheur même de l'impression. Il m'est alors facile de rapprocher les détails de ce rêve des circonstances où je m'étais placé pour m'endormir. Je consigne sur un cahier ces observations, comme le fait un médecin pour les cas qu'il observe. Et en relisant le répertoire que je me suis ainsi dressé, j'ai saisi entre des rêves qui s'étaient produits à diverses époques de ma vie, des coïncidences, des analogies dont la similitude des circonstances qui les avaient provoquées m'ont bien souvent donné la clef.

M. Maury goes on to state the necessity of having a coadjutor with him in this inquiry, not solely for the purpose here mentioned of being awakened at particular times, but also for the due observation of what may be called the *utterances* of sleep. Sounds made and words spoken by the sleeper, must be recorded in relation to the dreams afterwards remembered. Even simple attitudes and movements of the body, especially such as express agitation, require the same record, and for the same purpose. M. Maury mentions his own habits as to sleep, as being singularly favourable to these methods of observation; and we are well disposed to believe in the results thus obtained. Nevertheless, the chances of error are so great in this land of shadows, that we should be glad to find the research taken up by others, with such variations as individual temperament may suggest. It is obvious that the latter point is one of singular importance. The sleep and dreams of one man interpret only partially and doubtfully those of another, and we must check as well as multiply the proofs before setting down anything as certain. In common life, the very nature of a dream gives a sanction to a loose or exaggerated relation of it. No one is disposed to quarrel with the relater for filling up gaps in his dream with the little parentheses needed to complete his story; or, if a little of the marvellous be brought into the subject—one of those strange coincidences to which the vision of the night contributes its part—we generally find truth more deeply trepassed upon. Stories, vague and loose in their origin, are made more compact by successive additions, and often go on from one generation to another, acquiring a sort of spurious credit from age, and from the impossibility of refuting them by any living evidence.

We come now more directly to the subject before us, embodying, as M. Maury has done, under a single title our consideration of these great acts of life—Sleep and Dreaming. They cannot, in truth, be treated of separately. Their conjunction is so general, if not universal, and they are linked together by such complex ties, that we are almost compelled to

view them as a single function of our being. Still there are certain considerations which must be admitted as possible grounds of distinction. We cannot *prove* that the conjunction of sleep and dreams is absolute and universal. There may be times and conditions of sleep, in which there is a total inactivity of brain—a complete absence of those images and trains of thought which form the dream. In connexion with this comes the further consideration, that sleep is a necessity of our nature—a state required for the rest and repair of functions, both bodily and mental, which are incapable of being repaired in any other way. The same cannot be said of dreams. They depend on functions of the brain, which, though unchecked by the senses and the will, and distorted in their mode of action, are yet identical in kind with those which are exercised in evolving the thoughts and emotions of the waking state. The notion of repair and restoration can hardly therefore be associated with the act of dreaming. Frequent experience, moreover, teaches us that what we call ‘unrefreshing nights’ are attended by troublous dreams; and, though this may often admit of other explanation, yet is the fact significant as regards the distinction just drawn. The repose and restoration obtained from sleep would seem to be in an inverse ratio to the intensity of the dreams attending it.

Is there then any condition or moment of sleep absolutely devoid of dreaming? a state in which all thoughts and emotions, whether connected or vaguely incongruous, are annulled, and our mental or conscious existence lost in the simple physical condition of sleep? The import of this question will readily be understood. The answer might seem easy, but is far from being so. Positive proof is wholly wanting, and the only evidence attainable is that derived from the memory of the dreamer, or the observations of those who watch him during those hours of which he has no remembrance. It is certain from such observation, and indeed from common experience, that dreams are of very frequent occurrence; of which all instant memory is lost. Aristotle, in discussing this very topic, puts the question, why some sleep occurs with dreams, other sleep without? or, if always dreaming, why some dreams are remembered, others not? The question, so propounded, marks the clear intelligence of the philosopher. In the memory or oblivion of dreams we trace their connexion with our physical organisation, and thus gain a step, though a slight one, to the better understanding of their nature.

The doubt just denoted as to the universality of dreams during sleep, has continued to our time. If ever resolved, it

must be by some such methods as those adopted by M. Maury. He does not himself, indeed, meet the question in its distinct form, or dwell upon its profound metaphysical relations. Other writers on the subject, among whom we may name Sir William Hamilton, Sir Henry Holland, Drs. Carpenter, Laycock, and Macnish, have severally, in one way or other, encountered this problem. Lord Brougham has grappled with it, amidst the many other questions which exercised his bold and facile pen. He considers dreams an incidental not a constant part of sleep—a sort of fringe edging its borders. Sir W. Hamilton, on the contrary, believes that no condition of sleep exists without dreaming; but all have felt the difficulty of dealing only with incomplete or negative evidence, and the question remains in abeyance for future research or hypothesis to work upon.

Hypothesis and speculation may well indeed be awakened by this particular mystery of our nature. In theory we cannot affirm that a total suspension of the mental functions is more impossible than the actual changes they undergo in dreaming, in the delirium of fever, insanity, intoxication, and other morbid conditions of the brain. The sleep of the newly-born infant cannot be construed otherwise than as a state in which sensorial actions either do not exist, or are limited to some vague recurrence of the simple impressions made on the untutored senses. An ordinary fainting-fit leaves no trace behind of anything having passed during the time of deliquium. To the patient this time is a nullity of his being. It may be that the memory only is annihilated, that the mind never actually ceases in its workings; but this view is little more than a subterfuge to meet a difficulty which we cannot otherwise encounter.

Plunging thus far into the metaphysical perplexities of this question, whether the mind, or sensorial consciousness, is actually *lost* during certain times of sleep, and *recovered*, as far as dreaming can be called recovery, we are bound to notice a doctrine closely connected with this inquiry, to which the name and writings of Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Laycock, and others have justly given authority. This is, the hypothesis of ‘Unconscious Cerebration’—so termed, because it supposes the brain capable, under certain conditions, of acts or changes, utterly *without mental consciousness*, yet strictly analogous to those through which it ministers to mental functions—acts of intellect, detached, as it were, from the intellectual personality of our being. This is a bold assumption; but curious cases are produced which might seem to authenticate it. Such are instances where some question left on the mind at bed-time unsolved, has been found in the morning thoroughly worked

out. Verses—Latin as well as English—are said to have been made in the night, with no consciousness of the fact till they came to the morning memory. Nevertheless, we must regard the evidence here as insufficient, seeing how commonly such statements are careless or exaggerated; how broken and desultory are the conditions and memories of the night; and how likely it is that the time just antecedent to waking—‘*quum somnia vera*’—may be that in which these curious feats are accomplished. The drowsiness of the evening is often as much an impediment to thought as the light sleep of the morning.*

We must, then, relegate this matter to the limbo of questions admitting neither of proof or disproof. Like many others, in addition to its intrinsic difficulties, it is encumbered and perplexed by ambiguities of language. The very term of *consciousness*, so essential to the discussion, has hardly obtained a valid definition in its relation to sleep and dreams—an ambiguous one even in reference to our waking state. Everything, indeed, that concerns personal identity—the *Ego* of the different stages and states of our being—has been under the dominion of unsettled terms in all ages of philosophy. Words have not inaptly been called ‘the counters of wise men, and the money of fools.’ But even the wisest have been unwittingly governed by them in questions thus obscure or insoluble.

Quitting, however, this region of hypothesis, we willingly come to the more practical part of the subject—that which we learn from observation and experience regarding these phenomena. Here we must again mention the liabilities to error, which occur even in the simplest form of such investigation. Besides those already noticed, we find another in the undoubted diversity of the phenomena in different individuals. The writer on sleep and dreams is not entitled to repose on his own experience only. A dozen persons would probably give as

* If adopting this term of ‘*unconscious cerebration*,’ we might fairly apply it to various familiar acts of the waking state. For example: we try to recollect a name or word, fail to do so, and abandon the attempt. Soon afterwards, without intermediate consciousness or effort, the name in question rushes upon the memory, as if by a sudden inspiration. What has here been the intervening cerebral process?

In alluding to this common vagary of memory, we may notice another closely connected with it. A word is forgotten, and sought for in vain. But its initial letter, or some vague image of the word, hangs upon the mind, often furnishing a clue to its recovery. Such instances, trifling though they seem, serve well to illustrate the curious mechanism of this great faculty of our nature.

many different versions of their particular consciousness in the matter; and it is not easy to draw averages from these fleeting shadows of the night. They change with age, and other conditions of life, moral and intellectual, which govern sleep and the dreams associated with it. The simple, but touching lines,

‘Thou hast been called, O Sleep, the friend of woe,
But ’tis the happy who have called thee so,’

point at one familiar source of this diversity, but there are many others, of which we shall speak hereafter.

In prosecuting the subject, we must first refer again to Sleep in its general sense, as the function of life, destined to the restoration of those vital powers which are exhausted or impaired by the very act of living. Here we are on firmer ground. Whatever anomalies may present themselves, it is certain that sleep fulfils, and is intended to fulfil, this great office of our nature. That which is taught us by universal experience is amply confirmed and illustrated by physiological inquiry. The wonderful power, to which various names have been given, but which may best, and most simply, be described as *nerve-force*—an element acting through the brain and nervous system in all the phenomena of sensation, of motions voluntary and reflex, and of every function essential to animal life—is now so far subjected to research, that even the velocity of its transmission through the nerves of sensation and voluntary motion has been approximately ascertained. This eminent discovery, and the subtle methods by which it was accomplished, warrant the hope that further research may accomplish a similar numerical expression for the *amount* or *quantity* of the nerve-force at any given time—a matter bearing still more directly on the subject before us. If, indeed, this were attained, it would be only formulating in figures a fact of the reality of which we are well assured. We know that the force in question, thus acting through the total nervous system of the body, is the product (*secretion* we may venture to call it) of a peculiar organised tissue;—that it varies in amount in different individuals, and in the same individual at different times—that it is exhausted, more or less, by the vital actions, bodily and mental, to which it ministers—and that it can only be restored by food and sleep, each severally needed for the process of repair. This manner of viewing the nerve-power, or force, as an element to be estimated by *quantity*—by excess as well as deficiency—we believe to be not only just in itself, but denoting a principle of singular value in every part of physiology, and through physiology, in pathology and the

treatment of disease. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in commenting on this subject with his wonted ability, thus expresses the main facts, in which all other writers on Sleep more or less concur:—

‘Between this state (of sleep) and the waking state, the essential distinction is a great reduction of waste. The rate of waste falls so low, that the rate of repair exceeds it. It is not that during the period of activity waste goes on without repair, while during the period of inactivity repair goes on without waste, for the two always go on together. Very possibly—probably even—repair is as rapid during the day as during the night. But during the day the loss is greater than the gain; whereas during the night the gain is diminished by scarcely any loss. Hence results accumulation. There is a restoration of the nerve-tissue to its state of integrity.’

Here, then, is a force, an agent, whether we call it *material* or not, generated within the body, necessary in its nature to all the functions of the body, but exhausted in maintaining them, and requiring periods of rest for its reproduction in adequate amount. When calling sleep ‘Nature’s kind restorer,’ we use a poetical phrase, but express a physical fact. It is the restorer of that which is expended and lost. Its intermittent periods, its duration and degree, and even many of what seem its anomalies, have all reference, more or less direct, to this great function of repair—a function fulfilled, it may be, simply by suspension or modification of those actions which exhaust the nervous power, while reproduction of this force is going on—or possibly by changes in the brain itself, an effect of the conditions to which it is submitted in sleep.

For it must be remembered that sleep repairs not the vital functions only, but simultaneously those functions which we distinctively describe as mental attributes, and of which the brain is, to our present limited comprehension, the organic instrument. The intellectual part of our nature, taking the phrase in its largest sense, is exhausted by its continued exercise, in like manner as the bodily organs, and requires the same intermittent periods of repose and repair.

If other proof were needed of the great function which sleep fulfils in the economy of life, it may at once be found in the effects which follow the privation of this repair. A single sleepless night tells its tale, even to the most careless observer. A long series of such nights, resulting, as often happens, from an over-taxed and anxious brain, may often warrant serious apprehension, as an index of mischief already existing, or the cause of evil at hand. Instances of this kind, we believe, are familiar to the experience of every physician.

But here, as in so many other cases, the evil of deficiency has its counterpart in the evil of excess. Sleep protracted beyond the need of repair, and encroaching habitually upon the hours of waking action, impairs more or less the functions of the brain, and with them all the vital powers. This observation is as old as the days of Hippocrates and Aretæus, who severally and strongly comment upon it. The sleep of infancy, however, and that of old age, do not come under this category of excess. These are natural conditions, appertaining to the respective periods of life, and to be dealt with as such. In illness, moreover, all ordinary rule and measure of sleep must be put aside. Distinguishing it from Coma, there are very few cases in which it is not an unequivocal good; and even in comatose state the brain, we believe, gains more from repose than from any artificial attempts to rouse it into action.

There is another point to which we must here advert, in connexion with sleep as a function of repair. This is the fact familiarly known, that the portion of life so destined, is not limited to Man alone, but goes far down in the scale of animal creation—possibly, or probably, in one form or other, to the lowest grade and condition of animal life. The sleep even of plants has become a phrase, not merely of poetic fancy, but of scientific appropriation. The curious facts regarding the hybernation of certain animals, though they have kindred with the phenomena and even theory of ordinary sleep, yet present anomalies which associate them in some way with the vegetable world. But the circumstance of greatest interest in this matter is the *capacity for dreaming*, so clearly and curiously attested in those animals which come nearest to Man in the scale of being. How far that condition which can rightly be defined as dreaming descends in the scale, it would be impossible to say. Probably there is a gradation downwards in the same ratio as the sensorial faculties, and vanishing with them. The fact of dreaming in the higher animals is most familiar to us in the Dog—that noble creature—*ad hominum commoditates generatus*, as Cicero says of him—at once a companion and solace to man, and a subject for profound thought to all who care to reflect on the great problem of our relations to the inferior animal creation. The admission of the fact does not, however, carry us beyond the presumption that the dreams of other animals are a vague copy of the sensations and acts of their waking lives; with little of the intellectual part—if such it may be called—of the human dream. ‘To urge in dreams the forest chase’ is the happy phrase of a poet, than whom no one better knew, or better loved, the Dog. And nothing is more likely than the

fact here presumed. But seeing the difficulty of rightly remembering and expounding human dreams, there can be little chance of penetrating the mystery as presented to us in another and lower scale of being.

Thus far we have been speaking of the general characters of Sleep as a function of life. In what follows we shall seek, upon our own observation and that of others, to describe the phenomena more in detail; associating them with those of Dreams, from which, as we have seen, they can hardly be separated, even should there be certain conditions of sleep wholly free from this kindred.

The first step we have to make here is one essential to any successful prosecution of the inquiry. It is based on the clear recognition of the fact, that sleep, thus associated, is not *one state* merely, but a *multiplicity and continuous succession of states*; varying at every moment in kind or degree; graduating from the first yawn of drowsiness to the most profound sleep, and undergoing similar changes in the transition from this to the state of perfect wakefulness. Even thus simply stated, it will be seen how completely this fact governs and gives guidance to the whole inquiry, rendering its conditions, indeed, more complex, but affording a clue to many collateral phenomena otherwise wholly inexplicable. Sir H. Holland, who has two chapters on Sleep and Dreams in his volume of 'Mental Physiology,' strongly advocates this mode of treating the subject. We avail ourselves of a short passage from one of these chapters in illustration of our meaning:—

'Sleep, then, in the most general and correct sense of the term, must be regarded not as one single state, but a succession of states in constant variation;—this variation consisting, not only in the different degrees in which the same sense or faculty is submitted to it; but also in the different proportions in which these several powers are under its influence at the same time. We thus associate together under a common principle all the phenomena, however remote and anomalous they may seem;—from the bodily acts of the somnambulist; the vivid but inconsequent trains of thought excited by external impression; the occasional acute exercise of the intellect; and the energy of emotion—to that profound sleep, in which no impressions are received from the senses, no volition is exercised, and no consciousness or memory is left on waking, of the thoughts and feelings which have existed in the mind.'

To this we may add, that such mode of regarding sleep brings its phenomena into closer relation with those of our waking existence, making them serve to mutual illustration, and to the solution of many anomalies which depend on this

relation, and the manner in which the two states graduate into each other. It is impossible, indeed, for anyone, at all observant of the facts, to regard sleep as a single or simple function. We know that through the nervous system and circulation of the blood, all parts of the body, and more especially the organs of sense, are affected and altered by it. But these changes of state are ever varying in the same organ, as well as in the different organs of our complex frame; and the inter-relations thus produced, were they more accessible to observation, would give us deepest insight into this mysterious part of our nature. Every organ may be said to have a sleep of its own. The several senses, the voluntary power, the functions of the brain in their totality, are not merely affected in different degrees at different times, but are differently affected in degree at the same time. These facts are now generally recognised by physiologists. Bichat (a man of original genius, prematurely lost to science) thus tersely expresses them:—‘*Le sommeil général est l'ensemble des sommeils particuliers.*’ M. Maury, though less explicit in his statement of it, manifestly adopts the same view, which, in truth, affords the only just definition of sleep, and its concomitant phenomena. It is the view, moreover, which most clearly expounds the relation of these phenomena to the acts and changes of the waking state—a connexion which, however perplexed to our reason by the question of personal consciousness, will be found more intimate the closer we look into it. As in the series of waking thoughts, sudden changes are often made by impressions from without, so, as regards sleep and dreams, we may presume that the breaches which occur in their continuity depend on causes external to the brain itself, though, from the nature of the case, less open to observation. The links may escape observation, but we cannot hesitate in bringing these phenomena under the general law of Continuity, so universal throughout nature, organic or inorganic, living or lifeless. This law, scarcely recognised in philosophy or science before the time of Leibnitz, is now receiving confirmation from every new discovery, and becoming the interpreter of endless phenomena hitherto unexplained. Leibnitz himself applies it to the question of the suspension of *thinking in sleep*; deeming it impossible, on this consideration, that such entire suspension should ever really occur.

We shall speak more explicitly hereafter on the physiology of sleep as regards the physical changes concerned in producing or modifying it. But there are various other facts, natural or abnormal, belonging to the physiology of this function of life,

which require previous notice: some of them indeed so strangely anomalous as to have furnished food at once to sober philosophy and to the wildest dreams of credulity. We may best begin with what we may call the natural conditions of sleep, while admitting that these ever tend to graduate into more abnormal phenomena.

The various epithets applied to sleep—profound sleep, heavy sleep, light sleep, broken sleep, &c.—express actual realities of state; but these so mingled with each other, so fitful in change, and so perplexed by the vagaries of dreams and disturbing causes from within and without, that even the sleeper himself is generally at fault in defining them. ‘I have not slept a wink,’ is often the piteous exclamation of the morning, when only some short portion of the night has been made wakeful and restless by disordered digestion, or one of those compulsory trains of thought which fasten pertinaciously on the mind, despite every effort to shake them off. But, though we cannot measure the amount of sleep by hours, or the consciousness of the sleeper, there is much real difference in its degree in relation to the great function of repair. A certain quantity of work is to be done, but it is done at very different rates. This diversity occurs in different persons, and in the same person at different times. One hour in one case may comprise as much of what is true sleep, as two or many hours in another; and the only fair or probable test is to be found in the greater or less difficulty of arousing the sleeper by external action on the senses of touch and hearing. Individual temperament of body and mind, habits of life, and the immediate antecedents of sleep, are all concerned in this matter. The Duke of Wellington, in that hour of his recorded sleep on the field of Salamanca, when the two armies were closely pressing to their conflict, probably slept more soundly than any of the idlers of a city life at home. The *Somnus agrestium lenis virorum* of Horace, is more powerfully expressed by Shakspeare in describing the dreamless sleep of the day-hireling,

‘Who with a body fill’d and vacant mind,
Gets him to rest, cramm’d with distressful bread,
Sleeps in Elysium,’ &c.

And who can forget that noble soliloquy in the Second Part of ‘Henry IV.,’ where the king upbraids sleep for deserting ‘the perfumed chambers of the great,’ and giving its repose to the wet sea-boy in the midst of storms?—

‘Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast
Seal up the ship-boy’s eyes and rock his brains
In cradle of the rude imperious surge?’

We might well go on through the whole of this wonderful passage. If forgotten by anyone, it ought promptly to be renewed to memory.

We need not dwell further on a fact, so familiar to common experience. But the diversity of forms which sleep assumes is more interesting to the physiologist in its relation to the particular organs and functions affected by it. We have already alluded to this topic; one which, associated as it is with the phenomena of dreams, offers a special mode of mental analysis as connected with material organisation, and may even in certain cases be made the subject of experiment. It does not, indeed, carry us farther into the mystery than a similar analysis of the waking state. But in showing how the two states commingle and graduate into one other, it serves as fresh proof of the unity of our nature; and explains many of those anomalous conditions which seem to violate this unity, and have furnished food for credulity in all ages.

Pursuing this analysis of the functions affected in sleep, the external senses—sight, hearing, and touch—are most obvious to familiar observation. Their sensibility is suspended to all ordinary impressions coming from without; and there are degrees, even of natural sleep, so profound—*σάνατον ἄρχιστον εἰς αὐτὸν*—that it is difficult to arouse them from it. We cannot affirm that all the senses are equally affected at the same time; though under the conditions of sound and healthy sleep it is probable that they are so. In the passage from drowsiness and somnolence into actual sleep, it is interesting to note (and to a certain point the sleeper can do this for himself) the dimness gradually overshadowing those subtle organisations which connect us with the outer world. The condition is one so familiar, that we are wont to regard these changes—if regarding them at all—rather as matter of amusement than curiosity. To the physiologist, looking on them with more watchful eye, they become the interpreter of much that is of deep interest to his science.

These natural and simpler conditions of sleep may be studied in various ways, but in no manner so effectually as by watching the moments of passage *into* sleep and the passage *out* of it. Each by circumstances may be rendered so sudden as to leave little scope for observation. But, under ordinary conditions, the passage is gradual enough to allow those successive changes to be marked which occur both in bodily and sensorial functions during this transition state. Take the instance of slumber supervening on a dull book, an easy arm-chair, a warm fire, and other appliances of repose. The somnolent himself is conscious of

the early changes—the apprehension becoming dull, the page before him dim or partially lost to sight, the head nodding, the book tottering in his hands. Out of this state he may be momentarily aroused by some sound or excitement from without, or even by the loss of that muscular instinct or *balancing power*, as we may call it, which belongs to the waking state. He is startled by the book dropping from his hands, or the sudden fall of the head, but speedily lapses again into somnolency, ending in more perfect sleep. Here the consciousness of change ceases to himself; but in this gradation of state, and even in what may be deemed the soundest sleep, an observer without, if diligent in his watch, will detect many curious changes going on; due to the influence of passing dreams, of nervous sensations from the action of the vital organs within, and even from bodily posture. These are the changes to which M. Maury's methods of observation, already mentioned, especially apply. They are abundantly furnished by those nights of broken and disordered sleep which must be counted among the ills of man, though too often only the penalty paid for his luxury or other faults of life.

The most interesting part of such inspection is what may be termed the *disseverment* of the Will from the organs habitually acted upon by it. This is often strikingly testified during the passage from perfect sleep to the waking state. The sensibility is awakened before the will, or rather we must say (for the very word is entangled in a metaphysical web) before Volition can bring the muscles into action. In the latter stage of sleep, when dreams are passing into realities of the senses, there is often an effort to speak, made distressing by the difficulty or impossibility of utterance. Or when under sleep in a sitting posture, the head, deprived of the controlling muscular support, has dropt upon the chest, the attempt to raise it is often for a time painfully frustrated by the impotence of the muscles in their relation to the will. At such times volition is more awake than the instruments through which it acts.

We have just mentioned the curious knowledge that may be obtained from broken or imperfect sleep. The rapidly-shifting changes and alternations of sleep and waking which then occur, can only be interpreted by regarding the two states as gliding gradually, physically and mentally, into each other—*interlacing*, it might be called, from the impossibility of drawing a definite line between them. Dante, with his wonted compression of language, finely describes this transition:—

‘E pensamento in sogno trasmutai.’

In this intermediate condition, as already remarked, and

especially during the passage from drowsiness into natural sleep, these alternations may generally be noted by the sleeper himself, though, from their familiarity, little heeded or remembered. Under certain circumstances they may even be counted as they occur. From the slumber over a book, or in a carriage, or yet more in any situation where, from necessity or decorum, a struggle has to be made against sleep, we obtain an easy estimate, sufficient to show how rapid are the fluctuations which thus affect the most important organ of our frame. A sudden drop of the head awakens to a consciousness, which is often lost again in a few seconds of time; and such alternations, as is well known, are repeated over and over again. Anyone who has passed a dozen or twenty hours on horseback (we speak from frequent experience) must well recollect the effects of this hurried repetition—the loss of balance from momentary slumber, the sudden awaking in the effort to retrieve it, and the distressing efforts to prevent relapse into sleep. Without pretending to exactness in a matter thus vague and fluctuating even in the terms applied, we venture to say on observation that three or four distinct alternations of sleep and waking—that is, of consciousness lost and restored—may and do occur within a single minute of time. Strange and sudden as these changes in our sensorial existence may seem to be, they are yet compatible with that continuity by gradation, already indicated as the sole method of rightly interpreting the phenomena.

Connected with this subject is the curious *chronometry* so often impressed upon sleep, testified by the power of awaking invariably at some one determinate hour. The explanation of this fact must be sought for in what may be called the general *chronometry* of life; in the tendency, more or less, of all vital functions to assume a periodical character, either from original constitution, or from engendered habits acquiring the force and persistency of natural functions. This topic has hardly yet received all the attention it deserves as a branch of animal physiology. It might merit a treatise in itself.

We have hitherto been speaking chiefly of what may be considered as the natural forms of sleep. But there are many anomalous aspects of this great function which we are equally bound to notice—some of them depending on casual and not always obvious causes—others on artificial means used to produce sleep or those states akin to it in which there is a suspended action, more or less, of the senses connecting us with the outer world. Some of these states, which may well

be called *waking dreams*, are of deep interest in the mental and moral, as well as physical relations they disclose to us; involving the intellectual faculties, and even the emotions, as well as the simple functions of the senses.

Somnambulism, though we may class it among the anomalous aspects of sleep, is probably not more than an exaggerated form of phenomena of ordinary occurrence. The retention of a certain voluntary power, while the senses are more or less wrapt up in slumber, and this unequal slumber of the senses themselves, are well known to us in the common case of *talking in sleep*, and other bodily motions associated with dreams. Somnambulism is doubtless always thus associated. Why in certain persons this connexion is so strikingly attested it would be hard to say; but still it is only a gradation of state, and not a detached phenomenon. We may further presume (and many incidents related confirm this view), that somnambulism chiefly occurs during the time when the cerebral functions are already partially awake—another expression of the fact upon which we have so much dwelt, that sleep is a series of states ever fluctuating in kind and degree. We may accredit the statement that the passing dreams of those so affected are rarely remembered; and yet reconcile this with the view we have just taken of the phenomenon. The startling aspect of somnambulism, and the rarity of its occurrence, have given a mysterious colouring to this condition of sleep, and even made it a theme for dramatic representation, for poetry, and music. Like all other things unfamiliar to us, it is doubtless the subject of much exaggeration in particular instances. But enough remains to render it a striking exponent of these complex relations of the sensorial and other functions, in which so many of the mysteries of life have their source.

In following the history of sleep and dreams we are perpetually passing from one marvel or mystery to another. It may seem, perhaps, that these terms do not apply to the familiar effect of opiates and other soporifics in producing sleep. But it is this familiarity which conceals from us the wonder of the fact, that a mere grain or two swallowed of a particular vegetable extract should have the power for a time of bringing the whole mental and bodily mechanism under its control; or that a still more minute quantity of opium or morphia, inserted under the skin, should speedily subdue the most acute neuralgic pain. A physical cause must be concerned in all this, but no known physical law can be brought to its explanation. The only scope for speculation here is that afforded by reference to other facts more or less alike in kind. The

whole class of poisons, as they are termed, may be quoted as instances of such analogy ; some of these bodies—Strychnia, Woorara, the Upas-poison, &c.—furnishing curious examples of what may be called *selective power* in their action on the respective organs and functions of the body. The animal poisons, again, those which give material to contagious diseases, come under the same category. In all these cases there lies the great mystery of vital organs seized upon, and life itself often extinguished, by quantities incredibly small of substances, the elements of which, combined in other proportions, are perfectly innocuous in effect. We may seek to explain these things upon the theory of fermentation, and the doctrines of atomic and molecular affinities, but never do we get further than to *possibilities*, incomprehensible to our reason.

Within the same field of inquiry come those anæsthetic agents of artificial creation—Ether, Chloroform, the Nitrous Oxide, &c.—which, while inducing a state of stupor, more or less profound, do at the same time so wonderfully annul the sensibility to pain. The records of modern surgery copiously illustrate the practical value of this great discovery, which under its theoretical aspect is closely associated with the nature and phenomena of sleep. It affords another example of the manner in which these various states of the sensorium graduate into one another throughout.

We have yet to speak here of certain other phenomena, in which sleep, or states akin to it, assume still more anomalous and startling forms. We allude to those conditions of the sensorium, occurring in persons of a peculiar temperament, and often associated with bodily or mental disorder, which are known under the names of *trance*, *catalepsy*, *mesmeric sleep*, &c.—names almost as vague as the aberrations they denote. These several states, and even the more familiar incidents of *reverie* and *absence of mind*, have all a certain community of character, the differences being chiefly of degree, or due to the immediate causes producing them. They all furnish examples of that *disseverment*, so to express it, of the sensorial functions, which leaves a portion of them awake, while others lie in a state of slumber more or less profound. What we have said and shall further have to say, of dreams in their relations to sleep, may perhaps afford the best interpretation of many of these strange phenomena.

As regards the most notable of them—Mesmeric sleep—so much has been written and argued to and fro, and the simple question as it first stood been turned into so many collateral channels, that we shall not seek to go beyond what is essential

to our subject. Is there, we may ask, any such special form or mode of sleep as that denoted under this name—produced by a certain subtle influence, emanating from one person, and affecting, even without actual contact, the body of another? We may say at once that neither in the sleep so produced, nor in the collateral effects assigned to it, do we find anything that has not kindred with the natural phenomena of sleep and dreams, and which is not explicable by the anomalous forms these so often assume without any external influences. As regards the simple effect in question, we believe we might as well speak of sermon sleep, of rocking-cradle sleep, of the sleep of an easy arm-chair, or of a dull book, as of Mesmeric sleep. The experiments of Mr. Braid, embodied under the name of Hypnotism, show the effects even of posture or fixed direction of vision in bringing on this state. So multiplied and various, indeed, are the conditions, bodily and mental, tending to it, that the marvel of being awake is almost as great as that of sleep, produced by the manipulations and other appliances which the mesmeriser brings to his aid. Among these appliances we must especially reckon the age, sex, and personal temperament of those who are usually the subjects of these exhibitions. Anyone who cares to examine the records of them will see how important is the part these conditions play in the drama of mesmerism.

Granted that the facts are strange and difficult of explanation. But so, and from the same causes, are all the ordinary phenomena of sleep and dreams. Their familiarity disguises what is equally wonderful in them. It is well worthy of note in this, as in many other questions of the kind, how much subordinate objects usurp the place of those of higher import. In the so-called mesmeric phenomena, as proffered to our belief, the mesmeriser plays a far more important part than the person acted upon. The facts presented pass into utter insignificance, unless it can be shown that they depend upon some *direct emanation of power* from the former. Prove that such influence actually issues from one living being, thus changing the condition of another in its proximity, and we have a new and wonderful element, material or spiritual, brought at once into the arena of life. It is admitted, indeed, that this mysterious power is possessed by few individuals only—a limitation, if the facts be real, almost as strange as the power itself. But we may at once state our belief that no such peculiar power exists. The operator himself cannot furnish evidence of it. The effects he produces by his manipulations and other devices are closely analogous, often identical, with those to which indi-

viduals of a certain nervous temperament are liable from other and very different exciting causes. This, then, we apprehend to be the crucial question in all that appertains to mesmeric sleep, under its various aspects. The simple fact of sleep thus produced was known long ago; but it was reserved for our time to erect it into a mysterious principle, altering, were it real, all our views of mental phenomena.

But that it would be straying too far from our subject, we might speak here of certain bolder impositions upon human credulity which have gained a recent notoriety. Connected in some points with mesmeric effects, and often admitting of similar interpretation, they go far beyond these in their pretensions; bringing us into contact and communication with the world of deceased spirits, through the intervention of persons—*mediums* as they are called—gifted with the power of thus summoning spirits from the dead. We put this in the simplest terms, because the mere enunciation of it may well annul the gross pretension it involves. And when examining further into the methods employed to exhibit and attest these spiritual appearances—the puerile and pantomimic devices of spirit-rapping, table-turning, &c., and the vulgar and ignorant talk which these *révenans* are made to utter, we may be content to leave such things to their own eventual refutation. Argument is of little avail with those who can lend a facile faith to these fantastic performances, rendered more suspicious by a mercenary ingredient often mixed with them. The contrivances employed we cannot always explain. But exactly the same may be said of the performances of the fair-dealing professional conjurer, who puzzles and tells you that he means to do so. That some very intelligent men should have given partial credit to these illusions, is but another example of the incongruities which are found even in minds of the highest genius and culture. Human life abounds in such instances.

We have thus far been speaking of Sleep in its more general characters, natural or anomalous; connecting it, indeed, with that wonderful adjunct of Dreaming, from which it can hardly be separated. But some distinct consideration must be given to the latter—to those fleeting shadows, the *μυήματα ζωής*, which so strangely divide, yet link together, the successive portions of our lives. In writing on this subject, the plural personality of an anonymous reviewer becomes somewhat inconvenient. If we have to speak of *our* experience, it must be understood only in an individual sense. Here, indeed, we

may fairly ask our readers to become critics also; for each and all have some experimental knowledge of their own, wherewith to confirm or contradict what is set before them. But this knowledge, from causes already assigned, is generally vague and transient. The memory of the dream is speedily discarded by the waking events that follow, and dreams are often so intermingled in the same night that no effort of recollection can disentangle them. We doubt if anyone has ever attempted a successive written record of these erratic visions of our sleeping hours. If carefully and honestly executed, it would be more curious and valuable than many of those diaries of ordinary events which amuse the leisure, or innocently please the little vanities, of those who keep them. A certain number of records of dreams, coming from authentic sources, and indicating especially their relations to acts or events immediately or remotely antecedent, might justify conclusions attainable in no other way—a shadowy science, it may be admitted, yet better than none.

We have used the term *honestly* here, because from causes already assigned, there is much proneness to exaggeration, as well as great facility for it, in the relation of dreams. To give completeness to a vague story is a temptation to the narrator, and it may be indulged without fear of contradiction. This temptation becomes stronger where a certain superstitious feeling creeps in, suggested, as we have elsewhere remarked, by some one of the many strange coincidences of events which, casual though they be, take strong hold of the imagination. We might vivify our subject by half-a-dozen stories of such dreams; some of them of old date, but keeping their vitality as anecdotes by the seeming mystery they involve. It is needless to say that these stories lose nothing of their marvellous character by long repetition. The original dreamers, we believe, would often be perplexed by the shapes their dreams have gradually assumed, with positive affirmation at each step of the story. A simple question will often disturb narratives of this kind. We recollect an instance where the mystery related was a dream by an officer in America of the death of a friend in India, whose death was stated to have occurred at the very hour of the dream. A dry sceptic at the table blighted the anecdote by asking, if due allowance had been made for the difference of longitude of the two countries? So few of these harmless superstitions are left to us, that the interruption to the story might have been charitably spared.

We have already said much of the marvel of dreams, as a portion of life alternating with the higher functions of the

waking state. Contrasting the two states, it could hardly be supposed that one should be the best expounder of the other. Yet such is in reality the case. Dreams, even in their strangest incongruities, are in no way so well interpreted as through the acts of the mind awake. The law of continuity is preserved here also, though often and variously infringed upon by those complex and intermingling relations of body and mind to which, whether awake or sleep, we are unceasingly subjected. As we *feel* and recollect them in ourselves, and note them in others, dreams go through every grade of intensity and reality; and this, probably, in a certain inverse ratio to the soundness of the sleep. We are using here terms of vague acceptation thus applied, but we possess no true vocabulary for the functions in question. What we may affirm is, that sleep in its purely physical part, and dreams in their aberrant intellectual phenomena, are ever acting upon each other, and in every degree of activity; such mutual influence being especially testified in the acts of going to sleep and awakening from it. It is the same mysterious union which pervades and gives continuity to life, and which has excited and baffled curiosity in every age of the world.

We have already discussed the question which here naturally recurs, whether there is any condition of sleep utterly devoid of dreaming? The vague and broken memories of dreams tell us nothing certain as to their time or duration, and without this aid we are helpless as to any sure result. But, though failing in this particular case, the memory is the faculty on which we must mainly depend for our knowledge of them, and of the enigmas they present. Aristotle, as already noticed, puts the question pertinently, 'Why do we remember some dreams, others not?'—implying, of course, what we know by observation, that the state of dreaming exists even when there is no after recollection to attest it. The question admits of being plausibly answered. The best-remembered dream is that which immediately antecedes the moment of waking, when the functions suspended by sleep have partially regained their power. The dream itself, indeed, especially if sensational in kind, is often the direct cause of the change of state; and such dreams may occur repeatedly in the same night, each leaving its own impress on the brain. Whether there be any absolute blank in this complex series of changes is the question yet unsolved. Bearing on this point is the fact, that dreams, forgotten in the morning, are sometimes suddenly recalled by later incidents of the day. A clue once got through some casual association, the recollection often retraces these

past visions of the night, which, but for such casualty, would never have been revived.

We must not, however, speak of their annihilation. Dreams leave traces on the brain, the same in kind, though perhaps less forcibly marked, than those impressed by the sensations, emotions, and volitions of the waking state. We may plausibly from this source seek explanation of those vague shadows of past events which now and then come across the mind, perplexing it with a sort of semi-reality, but not attested by any collateral recollection. Most of our readers have probably experienced this curious wandering of the mind amidst what we believe to be the shades of old dateless dreams, called suddenly into life, and as suddenly flitting away. If this be, as we suppose, an act of Memory reviving ancient dreams, it is but one of the endless wonders of this great faculty of our nature, the study of which, under its many anomalies—in health and disease, in its sleeping as well as waking moods—carries us further into the mystery of the mind itself than we can reach by any other approach. That there is a certain material mechanism of memory, an organisation upon which impressions are made and retained, the facts compel us to believe. Whether we shall ever acquire a more intimate knowledge of its nature is very doubtful. The minute anatomy of the human brain and its appendages, while disclosing much that is curious in structure and in relation to the senses and vital organs, has failed to detect any apparatus of memory, or those conditions which make recollection an act of the human will.

Ignorant here, we are still able to affirm that the memory and the recollection (*μνήμη, ανάμνησις*; the faculty and the act) are strictly analogous in their application to the visions of the night as to the events of the day. In each case the recollection works its backward way through the successive antecedent states of the sensorium; guided by the same associations, and stopt by the same impediments. Anyone caring to examine his own consciousness on the subject will see how similar the process is in kind, though, as regards the dream, rendered more partial and perplexing by the other conditions of sleep.

But we may carry this analogy on to another point. Many anecdotes are familiar to us, and these sanctioned by individual observation, showing how much and what variety of thought, emotion, and event may be comprised in a dream of the briefest duration. The chronology of the night is generally an obscure one; but this particular fact is easily tested, especially in the broken dreams of the morning hours. It proves that the period of a few minutes may include a whole story of incidents, in

which the perceptions of place, time, and persons are removed from the outer world into those of the little world within. This may seem strange to the unobservant of themselves, but it will not so seem to any who are capable of examining with care the sequence of their waking thoughts. We live, the mind lives, in a constant series or succession of states, each one having its own individuality and excluding others, yet linked together by a mechanism which we vainly seek to interpret. No one without close examination can conceive the multitude of these sequent states which may be, and actually are, crowded into short spaces of time—ever liable, indeed, to be interrupted by causes from without and within, and merging into new series, which in their continuous succession form the totality of our mental life. Of the internal causes acting on these series, the Will is that most important—often indeed a slave to vagrant habits of thought, but capable of becoming their master. The highest faculty of man, intellectual and moral, lies in the power of controlling and guiding them in their passage through the mind; so directing them as to ennoble the character of thought itself, and the acts derived from it.

Without pursuing this subject further, instructive though it be as a method of mental analysis, we proceed to another chapter in the History of Dreams, embodied in the question, What are the materials of these visions of our sleep? Of what 'stuff are dreams made?' The first and natural comment upon the question is, that dreams, like waking thoughts, must be different in different minds, and with some explicit reference to their individuality. Such is doubtless the case, and among classes of men as well as individuals. We have already alluded to this curious inquiry, one admitting of the strongest presumption, if not of direct proof. Passing by the dreams of infant life, as inaccessible to observation, can we suppose those of the idle schoolboy to be moulded like the dreams of a man immersed in worldly care and anxieties? or like those of old age wandering vaguely over the memories and feelings of past life? How are we to compare the dreams of the day-labourer in the field, the factory, or the mine, with those of men whose faculties have been exercised and exalted by literature, science, and the arts; or by the political struggles which enter into the government of the world? The sleeping minds of Bacon and Newton, of Dante, Shakspeare, and Milton, of Michel Angelo and Raphael, of Julius Cæsar and Napoleon, must have been tenanted with visions very different from those of ordinary men. Who, again, can tell us what are the dreams of madness in its many forms, some of these forms having close

kindred physiologically with the act of dreaming? The dreams of the idiot may resemble those of early childhood, or the second childhood of old age. What shall we conjecture as to those of the man who has undergone years of solitary confinement, changeless in sensations and events? Such questions might be variously multiplied. They tell us how much we have to learn, and the difficulty of learning it. Hardly can we reduce into shape the fleeting memories of our own dreams. Harder still is it to authenticate those of others, especially of classes of mankind little prone to take account either of their sleeping or waking existence.

A word more here as to the relative rapidity with which the successive images and thoughts of dreams pass through the mind. The analogies we have been pursuing may again give an answer. Though we cannot bring numbers into the question, we have every reason to believe that the succession of mental acts, while awake, is habitually more rapid in some minds than others, and even in the same mind at different times. We think *more rapidly*, as well as *more vividly*, in one state of the sensorium than in another. If this be so, we may fairly presume the same as to the conditions of dreaming in different minds. But we cannot go beyond this presumption.

Reverting to the question before us, what are the *materials* out of which dreams are formed? The obvious and sole answer is—from the sensations, ideas, emotions, acts, and events of antecedent life. Putting aside all notions, ancient or modern, of supernatural intervention, the phenomena of waking existence are those alone to which we can look for their interpretation. The passage of Cicero, quoted below, while well expressing this fact, denotes also those strange perturbations, which form the distinctive character of dreams and the great mystery of their nature.* We can understand (or fancy we understand) the memories of past images or events impressed upon the brain. But the manner of their grouping in the mind during sleep is the marvel with which we are here concerned. Loosened from all fetters of time and place, and freed from control of the will, the dream makes a little world of its own, bringing into strangely broken succession scenes which have no counterpart in actual life; conjunctions of persons, places, times, and incidents, which never did or could have occurred in such combination. The complete dream disregards

* 'Animus incidit in visa varia et incerta, ex reliquiis in hærentibus earum rerum quas vigilans gesserit aut cogitavit; quarum perturbatione mirabiles interdum existunt species somniorum.'

all realities. It brings the dead back among the living without surprise to the dreamer, and embodies them in the entangled stories which have no recollected beginning or end; which run abruptly into one another; confuse personal identities; and blend impossibilities with the most common incidents of life. Shakspeare has well called dreams, 'the children of an idle brain.' That power in fact is dormant which gives sequence and congruity to the acts of the waking mind.

But still, even here, analogies press closely upon us. The images of sensible objects occurring in dreams would seem to be closely akin to those which the memory furnishes to the mind awake, either by effort of will or by mere automatic connexions of thought. In this case, as in the other, they are vague and fleeting. No effort of will can long detain them before the waking consciousness; and in dreams, unaided by will, they are still more transient and disjointed. In both cases objects of vision minister chiefly to this *subjective* action, while the waking mind can create by will, or receive unbidden, a *sensorial memory* of rhythmical sounds, clothing itself often in actual melodies, the reflex music of the brain. This latter point, in its various physiological connexions, has scarcely had its due share of attention.

Regarding, then, the images of dreams, however perturbed in order, as derived from those of daily life, we still have to ask the question, whether this mimic imagery ever goes beyond, with inventions new to the senses? We think not. We may dream of the Centaurs or the winged Assyrian Bulls, as we have seen them in the British Museum, but we do not in our sleep *create* monstrosities of this kind. Under the most fantastic grouping of persons and incidents, the individual images are not unnatural or distorted. We believe this to be so; but here, as often elsewhere on this subject, we must ask our readers to consult their own experience.

That dreams, however, are generally formed out of unwonted or impossible combinations of events, and that they undergo sudden and fantastic changes as regards persons, times, and localities, are facts familiar to all. These three sources of disorder are, indeed, mainly concerned in the illusions of the night. The personages of the dream appear and disappear, shift, and interchange their acts and positions with magical rapidity. The realities of time and place are lost in the medley of incidents of which the vision is composed. One dream passes into another, as far as consciousness and memory can inform us, without continuity or connexion. This description, however, needs to be qualified in more than one respect. We have

already remarked that the act of dreaming is varied by the greater or less completeness of the conditions which constitute sleep. As the time of awakening approaches, these conditions change; the sensorial powers are partially revived, and the dreams, though still perhaps erratic in the points just mentioned, are more consecutive and consistent in the events they include. We may repeat our belief that to this fact we must look for explanation of those singular stories of problems solved, verses composed, and arguments logically pursued during the hours of sleep.

Again, as respects the erratic character of dreams, analogy is not wanting for its illustration. The mind awake, or nominally so, often wanders almost as strangely. Let anyone, even when thoroughly awake and under ordinary circumstances, seek to retrace the successive thoughts or mental acts of the antecedent half-hour. Unless the mind be engaged on some single and definite object, he will find the task difficult and laborious; and if partially successful in tracking backwards these sequent states, the chance is that they will be found variously broken and divergent, in effect of impressions from without or of internal conditions of the brain and other organs. Though we are all living in this unceasing series of mental changes, few take note of them, or mark how rapid and abrupt they often are even in the calmest moods of mind. All such aberrations are repeated and exaggerated in dreams. The brain, physically affected in sleep, loses more or less those perceptions of time, place, and personality which are wont to guide the succession of mental acts. In the varying degrees of this influence we may best find explanation of many of the anomalies of somnambulism, trance, hypnotism, hysteria, &c., of which we have already spoken. Here, however, as in many questions of like kind, the explanation merely removes one difficulty to bring us in contact with others yet more insuperable.

It has been a question how far the course and objects of dreams can be changed by external stimuli applied to the several senses of the dreamer. Such excitements, it is well known, may be applied as to modify variously the conditions of sleep without actually suspending it. The cradle of the sleeping child affords sufficient evidence of the fact. Shakespeare had this matter in his ever-pregnant mind when he brings in Queen Mab as a fairy experimentalist upon dreams. But graver experiments have been made on the subject—some of them due to M. Maury himself. Though we cannot doubt the reality of such influence in different modes and degrees, seeing

what we gather both from analogy and observation, yet are the particular proofs of difficult attainment, and experiments need to be often repeated and varied to give them their appropriate value. We have more certainty as to the influence of the internal organs on the course and character of dreams. The digestive organs more especially—disordered, it may be, by the dinner of the preceding day—betoken the *hesterna vitia* by troublous sensations and troubled dreams. Few so prudent as not to have had experience of nights thus disturbed. The night-mare is familiar as one example; but the particular effects are as numerous as the disorders producing them. The sensations arising from the excretory organs mingle themselves variously also with the incidents of dreams. Even posture, temperature, a hard or soft bed, have effect in modifying them, by altering the conditions of the sleep with which they are associated. Such influences cannot be doubted, difficult though it is to bring the facts into strict evidence. Dream-land is not the land of logic or close scientific induction.

Though less practically important, there is a deeper interest in tracing the connexion of dreams with the events of prior life, whether immediately or remotely antecedent. It may perhaps be affirmed that even in the most entangled series of incidents haunting the brain of the dreamer, there is always interwoven something of his own individuality, present or past. We have elsewhere spoken of the influence of personal temperament and habits of life on the character of dreams. Lucretius in some fine lines describes this, as does Chaucer in a striking passage of good old English verse. To the inimitable Queen Mab of Shakspeare we have just referred. But apart from all authority in verse or prose, we know from unequivocal experience how faithfully particular traits of character, emotions, passions, and personal propensities are portrayed in the dream. The feelings thus reflected from our waking lives, if sometimes pleasant, are often harassing and painful; rendered so in part by the physical conditions of sleep, and the impotence of the Will in regard to bodily functions. There is the feeling of something to be done which we cannot do—of entanglement in difficulties which we cannot throw off—the hurried pursuit of some object which we cannot reach—the effort to speak without the power of utterance—dreams which often awaken the sleeper, and from which, especially where painful memories are involved, it is happiness to be awakened. In young children, however, who do not so readily dis sever the real from the unreal, the images and agitation of a fearful dream often continue for an hour or two after sleep has come to an end.

It is a saying of Sir Thomas Brown, 'Virtuous thoughts of the day lay up good treasures for the night. Men act in sleep with some conformity to their awakened senses. Dreams intimately tell us of ourselves.' We remember to have read a sermon—and a very able one—inculcating the examination of dreams, as a means of recognising and rebuking our faults. They do in truth often denote not merely the grave, but also those lighter shades of character which are lost to our consciousness in the current and familiar events of the day.

We doubt whether the sense of personal identity is ever absent in dreaming, though some writers have supposed it to be so. Language here is incompetent to express things which even thought fails to comprehend. But we may perhaps affirm that the consciousness applied to these visionary events, however strange and incongruous their nature, is in essence the same as that which underlies our waking existence. To pursue the matter further would be merely to clothe poverty of knowledge with a garment of words.

The events immediately preceding dreams might naturally be expected to minister materials to them more largely than those of distant date. And such may probably be the case, especially when mental emotions are mingled with these events. But we may well marvel at the remoteness of those scenes of past life to which our retrospective dreams often extend. Incidents are repeated, and personalities restored, now never present to the waking thoughts of the dreamer, and which might seem wholly effaced from memory. Here again, as so often before, we come to analogy as the best mode of illustrating, if not explaining, these mysteries, and of bringing them into accordance with the unity and identity of our being. The memories of past life embodied in dreams have close kindred with those evoked by incidents, often very slight, of our waking hours. We know nothing of the actual nature of the impressions or images thus latent in the brain; but there they are—dormant, it may be, for ever, yet capable of being revived at any time, sleeping or waking, by coming into sudden relation with present sensations, emotions, or thoughts. In sleep these distant memories are usually vague and dateless—when awake they receive correction from the senses and other faculties. Their origin, however, is the same; and the further we press such examination the more intimate will be found the relations and resemblances disclosed.

We have spoken already of those pale spectra of former dreams, as we may best deem them, which now and then flit

across the memory, strangely mingling with passing events. Another phenomenon akin to this is the curious *hold on the brain* which certain dreams seem to acquire; shown by their frequent recurrence, with the same general incidents and feelings, yet without any actual reality of origin. Every observer of himself may here have his own particular tale to tell; but the general fact will probably be recognised! We know an instance where six such dreams, frequently but irregularly recurrent, and this during a period of very many years, are well attested by close observation of the person who is the subject of them. We may presume, though we cannot prove, that the peculiar grasp of these visions on the sleeping mind—the ‘dream of dreams,’ we may call them—depends on the force of the impressions in which they originated—strengthened, it may be, by repetition. In all our reasonings on these obscure points we are forced to recur to the conception just stated of actual material changes—utterly incomprehensible in their nature—made and infixed on the brain, and probably most forcibly impressed at those times of life when the mental faculties are in greatest vigour. Admitting the latter fact, it explains to us several seeming anomalies of memory; such as the frequent and vivid recollections in advanced age of the events of earlier life, while those of recent occurrence vanish speedily from the mind; and as regards dreams, the similar wandering of the brain among past memories, when present sensations are dimmed by age, and life itself is beginning to assume the character of a dream.

One point remains to be noticed, of which, however, notwithstanding its deep interest to mental physiology, we shall only briefly speak. This is the relation of sleep and dreams to those abnormal or diseased states of mind which we call Insanity—though, indeed, a single term feebly expresses the multifarious shapes of such disorders which observation unhappily brings before us. A manifest distinction offers itself here in the outset. The one condition is natural, and periodical only—the other is abnormal, and more or less permanent. But, nevertheless, there are certain links connecting them which cannot be overlooked—relations noticed by Cicero and other ancient writers, and more explicitly described by several eminent authors of our own time.* Many of the strange hallucina-

* ‘Quod si ita paratum esset, ut ea dormientes agerent, quæ somniarent, alligandi omnes essent, qui cubitum irent.’ (*Cicero De Divinatione*, lib. ii. 59.) In the valuable work on the ‘Physiology and Pathology of the Mind,’ by Dr. Maudsley, will be found much that relates to this interesting topic.

tions of insanity, though less changeful and fleeting than those of the dream, yet have various characters in common with the latter. Such especially are those where the mind may be considered wholly in a *subjective* state—the brain coining images, ideas, and associations within itself, uncorrected by the senses, or by any clear memories of the past. The singular phenomena of *spectral illusions*, in which the sense of hearing also is concerned, furnish a striking example of this connexion. Images of objects which have no reality, voices equally imaginary, haunt the brain of the madman as they do that of the dreamer—less urgently, indeed, in the latter case, and with powerlessness as to any consequent action, yet still marking a state of the sensorium common to both conditions.

We might dwell further on this subject, and its curious relations to the phenomena of ecstasy, hysteria, the delirium of fever, and drunkenness. But even if not admonished by want of space, we should be taxing the patience of our readers too severely by detaining them longer in this region of shadows, where realities and mockeries are so strangely intermingled, and where mental and bodily states mutually excite, control, or partially annul one another, leaving a long page of problems to be solved, if such solution be ever possible.

The only topic now remaining to us is that of the physical causes proximately concerned in producing sleep and dreams. Here, again, notwithstanding researches recently directed to this part of physiology, and valuable works describing them, we are still forced upon the admission of diversity of opinion and imperfect knowledge. These researches have chiefly regarded the influence of the circulation upon the functions of the brain, and upon sleep, as one of the most important of them. This varying influence is recognised in every part of the body, and at every minute of life; but the cerebral circulation has specialities distinguishing it from that of any other organ. The confinement of the brain within the close cavity of the cranium, and the peculiar distribution of the arterial and venous system in the medullary and cineritious substance, in the membranes and sinuses of this organ, have embarrassed hitherto every question on the subject. It has been the most general opinion of physiologists that a certain amount of pressure on the brain, chiefly from congestion of venous blood, was necessary for the state of sleep. More recently, this opinion has been modified, if not contradicted, by the experiments of Mr. Durham, Dr. Hammond, and others; furnishing evidence that sleep depends on a lessened quantity and force of blood in the brain, and especially in the arterial part of the

cerebral circulation. Though this inference is fortified by various known facts, such as the sleep produced by exposure to intense cold, by loss of blood, by pain, and other causes of vital exhaustion, it still leaves the physical theory an ambiguous one; embarrassed by our ignorance of the relative proportions of arterial and venous blood during sleep—by questions as to the mode of action of the vascular portion of the brain upon the medullary and other cerebral tissues—and by a further question, of higher interest but harder of solution, viz., the nature of those changes in the cerebral substance itself, through which dreams, and other concomitant phenomena of sleep, have their origin?

The latter question involves difficulties which, with all just regard to the prowess and high attainments of modern science, we must yet believe to be insuperable. It is in truth the self-same problem as that put before us by the normal and waking state of our sensorial existence. The dream of the night is connected with the same organisation which ministers to the sensorial functions of the day. Through the microscope and other means much has been discovered of the minute anatomy of the brain and its appendages. Medullary cells and fibres, ganglionic centres, and new nervous inter-communications have been disclosed; and, though less assuredly, certain functions localised as regards the parts of the brain fulfilling them. But of the infinitesimal motions and changes in the nervous substance itself, we are as entirely ignorant as we are of that mystery which associates these changes in invisible mechanisms with the intellectual and spiritual part of our nature,—with the sensations, thoughts, memories, and emotions, which in their succession and combinations, constitute the mental being of man. We must not indeed vaunt our knowledge of the brain until all dispute is settled as to the functions of the Cerebellum—one of the most prominent part of the cerebral system, and unquestionably fulfilling functions essential to the integrity of the whole.

What, however, we are mainly concerned with here is the fact that actions analogous in kind, though variously altered in operation, occur alike in the sleeping and waking brain. In reasoning upon the physical causes of these phenomena, we do not reach our end in merely proving the influence of changes in the cerebral circulation and of varying pressure thus produced. We advance a step, but only one step, by this demonstration; leaving it unsettled whether the exhaustion of nerve force, the primary cause of sleep, is not also the immediate cause of these very changes in the vascular system of the

brain. The many cases where sleep, or states closely akin to it, can be produced by causes in which the circulation is little, if indeed at all, concerned, but where the nervous system is directly and powerfully acted upon, suffice to show how important is the influence of the latter in connexion with these complex and ever-changing phenomena.

A treatise on Sleep and Dreams, to be complete, should comprise also the pathology of these states, and the remedies—useful or useless—which have been suggested to remove or relieve the disorders affecting them. These topics, however, belong rather to professional works, and we cannot here do more than refer to them, important though they are to the physiologist as well as to the physician. It has been our object in the foregoing article, which we now bring to a close, to place before our readers simply and clearly what we may best call the Natural History of Sleep and Dreams. While avoiding as far as possible all technical language and the metaphysical subtleties into which such questions are prone to pass, we have sought to inculcate larger and more distinct conceptions of these great functions of our inner life, the very familiarity of which obscures them to our contemplation. And at the same time we have endeavoured, by pointing out the close relations and analogies of the phenomena to those of our waking existence, to establish here, also, that continuity and identity of Being, upon which these phenomena on first view seem so strangely to infringe.

ART. III.—1. *A Life of General Robert E. Lee.* By JOHN ESTEN COOKE. New York: 1871.

2. *History of the American Civil War.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, LL.D. London: 1871.

FIVE years have passed by since General Grant first publicly sought the Presidency of the great republic which owed so much to his services in war; but the peace which he then made his motto has not yet smiled on the reconquered South. The world from outside the narrow sphere of American politics looks on with surprise at the petty warfare against individuals which has succeeded the gigantic contest between Union and Secession. Amnesty upon amnesty, ever repeated, never complete, tells the tale of mistrust still nourished on the victor's side, or of party intrigue defeating

national generosity in its purposes. Traveller after traveller through the limits of the overthrown Confederacy brings back the sad story of ceaseless dissension and widespread ruin. Rival legislatures, born of mean fraud or open violence, contest the political supremacy here. There negro revolt, unchecked by law, threatens summary vengeance for the long-endured wrongs of the slave. In other districts secret and bloody societies strive by illegal combination to prolong the rule which has passed away from the white. Everywhere rises the same story of corrupt administration and finances involved to enrich the mean adventurers, who have swarmed in upon the prostrate States for booty, as fowl birds seek their prey when the carnage is over. And the ruler, who called upon the nation that elected him to join in the noble wish, 'Let us have peace,' has found his task of political pacification more arduous, more thankless, and withal far more prolonged, than the command of the Union armies for the overthrow of Secession.

If to us afar off this defeat of the first hopes that came with the victory of the Union seems sad and surprising, how must those feel it who dwell near the contending parties that prolong the strife, without sharing their political passions? Even among those that lend themselves to prolong the intolerable state of things in the reconquered States, must be many who regret the results bitterly, while they excuse the means used by the false reasoning of expediency. And doubtless in the Northern States there are thousands of good men to whom each phase of the political conflict that makes its market in the strife of the South seems an unmixed evil, which mars, in their view, the full freedom and growing greatness of the Union. But all these can look on with comparative serenity. For how much happier are such than those whose lot has been cast among the storms that sweep over the face of what they once dreamed of as an independent, well-governed republic: who have watched sorrowfully the growth of the evils they could not ward off from the States which gave them birth: who had offered their lives freely in battle to save these from what they deemed oppression, and yet, when the cause for which they had fought fell, bowed their heads meekly before the victors' yoke, in hopes that their submission, possibly their sacrifice, might save their humbler fellow-citizens from ruin: who, when called upon to set the example of prudence, thought it no shame to ask pardon at the hands of that government which once their victories had shaken: who urged the writers that would extol the brief-lived glories of the Con-

federacy to 'avoid all topics that would excite angry discussion 'or hostile feeling: '* who turned their faces steadfastly away from the ambitions and hopes of the dead past to seek compensation for defeat and loss in the steady performance of humble daily duties: whose blameless lives and peaceful bearing in adversity have testified to their love of country more gloriously than deaths upon the battle-field: whose conduct, in short, when conquered, has won involuntary admiration from the adversaries who once heaped curses upon their rebellious names. Many such there must have been, victims of fate, sacrifices to political necessity, innocent expiators, if the truth be told, of wrongs done in ages past to helpless Africans, among the leaders of the late Secession. One such, at least, all recognise in Robert Lee, General-in-Chief of the ex-Confederate forces, better known as the Commander of the Army of Virginia, who passed away, after five years' endurance of his altered position, without the sign of ailment outwardly, without a word of pain, that great heart which repined not for his own loss of dignity or of ancestral fortune, giving way at last under the continued pressure of the ruin and degradation of the beloved State to the freedom of which the prospects of his whole life had been sacrificed.

Whilst he lived, General Lee never ceased to contemplate (as we know from his private correspondence with ourselves) giving a record of his own career to the world. But the time never came when in his judgment this could be honestly and fully done without stirring up the bitter feelings he would have sacrificed all he could give to allay. Now that he has passed away, others cannot be so reticent. And Mr. Cooke has lately produced a life of the dead hero, which, if wanting in many particulars, is more so, perhaps, from the greatness of the subject than from the imperfections and partiality of the writer. A large part of his volume is, of course, directed to those campaigns which have placed the name of Lee in the very foremost rank of the world's great commanders. These, however, have long been well known and studied in England in their general outlines. They were known and admired here before the American public could bear a critical recital of the defeats of the Union generals. Be it our present task rather to speak of those portions of Lee's eventful life which are less known on this side of the Atlantic: what sacrifices he made

* General Lee's words to an author undertaking to write the life of 'Stonewall' Jackson.

when he cast in his lot with the South: how, brought into command by an accident, his first stroke raised him to the eminence he never lost: how he fell, carrying in his fall the tottering Confederacy which had ceased to hope in any other name: how he bore himself in his retirement when vanquished by fate, yet crowned with undying fame, he rivalled in patience the patriarch of Uz, and waited in sad watch over surrounding ruin through his appointed time for the change which he longed for but would not anticipate. Some eulogist, worthy of the grandeur of the theme, will, we hope, arise hereafter. But it is time that at least an attempt should be made to do justice to the virtue and patriotism of the man, known hitherto to Englishmen chiefly as one of the greatest of modern generals.

When the American colonies, finding remonstrance vain, rose in arms against the overbearing policy of the mother country, the descendants of the Cavalier families which had transplanted to Virginia the loyal traditions and sentiments of the King's party in the Civil War, were to a man found foremost among the defenders of local independence. How this apparent contradiction came about it is not here pretended to explain. But it is certain that the so-called Royalists of 1776 were for the most part very recent immigrants. Those of their fellow-citizens whose interests were fairly bound up by long association and descent with the fortunes of the rising colonies, espoused almost without exception the cause of the latter, no matter how earnest their loyalty had been in theory before. And it is of itself enough to condemn the measures of King George and his Ministers that they should have alienated from the very outset of the struggle the class whose natural sentiments would have been on the side of loyalty, had there been fair room left for them to doubt. One member of this aristocracy of Virginia, then a youth of twenty, was Henry Lee, a direct descendant of Richard Lee, of Stratford Laughton in Essex, who had been an ardent Cavalier in the Revolution, and one of many supporters of the falling cause of the Monarchy, whom fear of political persecution after the overthrow of the Royalists, or disgust at the then triumphant Puritan Government, had driven to hasty emigration. Settling in Virginia with considerable means, Robert Lee had built what was an exact reproduction of the old manor-house of a country gentleman in the east of England, acquired gradually a large estate, and maintained, so far as possible, the dignity of a rich esquire of the old country. For those were days when the abolition of primogeniture had not been introduced into

America; and settlers of Richard Lee's rank and fortune seem to have looked confidently forward to a continuance in the new country of all the privileges and enjoyments possessed by their class in Great Britain. A great English writer, who has made the 'Virginians' of the last century the subject of one of his most skilful and touching fictions, had in view precisely such a family, by race and tradition, as that from which General Lee was descended: and if Colonel Esmond had left descendants to our own times, they would have played the same part as the illustrious representative of this other Virginian race. In this manor-house of the Lees, once burnt, but soon rebuilt on the same spacious lines, the family were still living more than a century later, when young Henry Lee, just graduated at Princeton College, came forward to offer his services in the Revolutionary army, and received a commission from the Congress as captain of horse. From the very first he displayed military talent of a high order, and became before long the most noted leader of his arm for dashing enterprise in separate command. A special gold medal was awarded him by Congress for his capture of the fort at Paulus's Hook, and in 1781 he was sent to command the cavalry of the Republican forces in the Carolinas under General Greene, there matched against Cornwallis.

That Greene failed on the whole in his encounter, is well known. He was in fact in a position of inferiority, until Cornwallis left the South for Petersburg and the Richmond peninsula, in the vain hope of effecting the decisive junction with the forces of Clinton, which the timidity or insufficient resources of his commander-in-chief never allowed to be accomplished. Greene, however, though defeated, never ceased to hold his own stoutly against Cornwallis for the time, and afterwards recovered the Carolinas fully for Congress: and his successes were due in great part to the talents and energy of his young cavalry commander. General Henry Lee had a worthy opponent in Colonel Tarleton, a cavalry officer of no mean merit in light warfare. But the republican cavalier established his superiority very fully in the series of skirmishes that ensued. And although, in his own *Memoir of the War*, he has the modesty to attribute his own successes over Tarleton to his superiority in horseflesh, readers of his interesting work may discern for themselves that his own skill and judgment were the prime causes of the advantage, and will be disposed to agree to the full with General Greene, who wrote in his personal thanks, 'No man, in the progress of the campaign, had equal merit with yourself;' an expression of strong

meaning coming from a plain, blunt soldier of honest character. And this praise was fully confirmed by Washington's own words of 'love and thanks,' in a letter of later date, written long after enough to show how strong in that great man's mind was the memory of the services of 'Light-horse Harry,' as his contemporaries familiarly called General Henry Lee.

Retiring from command, when the close of the war turned the swords of revolutionary generals into ploughshares, Henry Lee married his second cousin, Matilda Lee, heiress of the old family estate of Stratford, and thus coming, as it were, into the place of the head of the family, gave himself up to local political life. Alternately Governor of his native State of Virginia, and her representative in Congress, he yet found leisure to write the really thoughtful and accurate account of his Southern campaigns already referred to, as well as to indulge largely in the open-handed hospitality which was the tradition of the family, and which in his case was carried so far as to impoverish his estate. By his cousin he had no family; but a second marriage gave him three sons, the second of whom, Robert Edward, became the renowned general, whose fame has almost caused that of his father's reputation for warlike prowess to be forgotten. He was born on January 19, 1807, in the same room where Richard Henry Lee, his father's cousin, first saw the light, the orator to whose charge was entrusted the moving of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the leading members of the original Congress which voted it.

'Robert was always good,' wrote his father some ten years later to a relative, in a description of his young family. The boy was then growing up in a healthy out-of-door life, taught to ride almost from his infancy, and enjoying the constant good health which a serene conscience and temperate habits preserved to him until the close of a long life. For several years of his later boyhood the family lived in the town of Alexandria, where there were facilities for education not attainable in the country, and here, after General Henry Lee's death, his widow remained for the same reason. Before arriving at manhood, Robert Lee had avowed his earnest desire to follow the military profession in which his father had been so distinguished. The services of the latter were too conspicuous to make it difficult to procure an appointment to West Point for his son; and in 1825 he entered the Military Academy for that long and complete course of study by which it is aimed in the United States to fit the future officer, not as with us for one, but for every branch of the service. Young Lee was as remarkable

here as through the rest of his career for the blameless simplicity of his life and his devotion to the duties of the hour. No entry was recorded against him in the defaulters' book during his four years' residence, and when his class graduated in 1829, he took the second place, and was appointed to the Topographical Engineers, a small corps regarded as the *élite* of a highly-trained service. His manly form, great personal beauty, and sweetness of manner were noted then; and in the young lieutenant's carriage and appearance were the pledge of the noble presence and calm bearing which won the instant confidence of the high-spirited but wilful troops of the Confederacy, almost from the first sight of their new commander thirty years later. Three years after being commissioned, he became the fortunate suitor of Mary Custis, the daughter and heiress of George Custis, Washington's adopted son. By his marriage with her he came into possession of the hereditary estates of the founder of American liberty, and was the nearest representative before the world of that great man's family. This fact, as well as the traditions of his own family, should be distinctly borne in mind by those who would understand fully his painful position at the outbreak of the Civil War.

Seventeen years of peace service passed by, and Captain Lee of the Engineers had hitherto found no special opportunity of distinction. In 1846, however, the Mexican War began, and his character and attainments were so well known as to cause him to be selected as Chief Engineer to the army under General Scott, in which capacity he served through the first campaign that any American officer of his standing shared in. It is not our purpose here to enter into the details of General Scott's difficulties and successes. Suffice it to say, that from first to last, Lee fully justified the choice which had been made of him for his post, and was mentioned in almost every important report. 'Indefatigable in the siege operations, in reconnoissances as daring as laborious, and of the utmost value everywhere,' was the character he earned in his commander's despatches. Three times specially breveted for his services, he returned to his own country after the close of hostilities, acknowledged as one of the most promising of her officers, and possessing the confidence of his chief beyond any other of the many distinguished men who had served with him. A few more years of peace engineer duty on the coast defences followed, and then came a change in his career. In a fit of sudden liberality, the Congress in 1855 voted two regiments of cavalry to be added to the permanent establishment of the army. Energetic officers of all branches naturally sought commissions

in the new corps, which were designed for active frontier duty; and Lee, being amongst the number applying for transfer, became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Cavalry, in which he found amongst his comrades Albert Johnston, whose death lost the Confederates their advantage at Shiloh, and, it has been declared, saved Grant's army from ruin; Thomas and Stoneman, in after days leading generals on the Northern side; with Hardee, Van Dorn, Kirby Smith, and Hood, who were equally well known on that of the South. The regiment was promptly ordered to Texas, where Lee spent the next five years.

The next event of Lee's life brought him prominently into collision with the stormy elements already brewing to burst later in civil war. He chanced to be on leave at Washington in the autumn of 1859, being then on a visit to his family at Arlington, his seat close by; when he was sent for very suddenly by President Buchanan. A gang of desperadoes, he learnt, under one John Brown, had attacked and taken the military dépôt at Harper's Ferry, and declared their intention of raising a servile war against the slaveowners of Virginia. To proceed there with the party of marines placed at his disposal, attack the rioters in the building they had fortified, and give them over, when presently captured, to the civil authorities of Virginia, was a duty executed with such completeness and promptitude as the service called for. But far-seeing and sagacious as Lee was, he probably, as little as any man in the States, could foresee that the small cloud thus easily dispersed was but the forerunner of a tempest of civil war of more terrible extent and fury than the world had ever witnessed. He was again in Texas, commanding his department, when the storm was gathering rapidly after the election of Lincoln in 1860; and early in the following spring he was recalled to head-quarters by General Scott, under whose command were the modest forces which were still the army of the now threatened Union.

Men's minds were on all sides growing fevered as the coming struggle revealed its inevitable shape more certainly. To none was it more vital and terrible than to the sons of Virginia, a State in which the sentiment of pride in the growing greatness of the Union balanced her natural inclination to side with her more forward and passionate sisters of the South. Bordering too on the capital of the country and the Northern States behind it, interest, as well as a loyal repugnance to break up the republic, united to arrest her tendency to follow the example of South Carolina, which had seceded in December. But when Lincoln issued his decisive proclamation, pronouncing secession

to be open rebellion, and calling on each State which had not departed from the Union to send its contingent to repress the contemplated crime, an absolute choice could no longer be deferred. Virginia must fight either with, or against the South. She chose the former alternative, as that which, if the more immediately dangerous, was the more certain to carry the sympathies of her people. On the 17th April her Ordinance of Secession was passed, and her lot for the future cast by this measure with the new Confederacy.

To none of her children was the crisis a severer trial than it was to Colonel Lee. On the one hand were the traditions of his family, whose whole career from the time of its establishment in Virginia had been identified with the honour and progress of the State. She was his country proper in his eyes, having been originally an independent colony, and only by her own act long afterwards leagued with other independent colonies into a Federation for the maintenance of common rights and liberties. Brought up in this faith, he could not view any other claim as more than subordinate to that of his native State.

On the other hand, his professional interests—we lay stress on this fact, because it has been hitherto unrecognised in England—were absolutely on the Union, since termed the Northern side. Distinguished by position and pedigree above all those of his standing in the service he had chosen, beloved and blameless in his private life, he had been recognised by all as one of the ablest of the country's officers during the Mexican War: and what was more important than all, he had impressed his genius for war so strongly on General Scott, that the Commander-in-Chief, conscious of his own growing infirmities, did not hesitate to announce his intention to propose Lee as his successor in his now weighty charge. A warm personal regard for his junior made the aged general all the more anxious not to lose his services. He recommended him, therefore, on his arrival at Washington for the first vacancy as Brigadier-General in the regular army. And although there is no record of the personal conversations which ensued when the conqueror of Mexico and his trusted staff officer were closeted together in that eventful April, we may be sure that no argument or appeal was left unused which could avail to save the Union the loss of Lee's services. Up to the last hour before the die was cast by the States Legislature at Richmond, Lee probably hoped that its decision might be stayed, and his own rendered unnecessary. But when certain news came that Secession was accomplished, and he must choose between the flag he honoured and the State

he loved, he decided that the latter claimed his first allegiance, and he could no longer delay what he believed to be his painful duty. His last sad interview with his old chief took place the following day, and found his resolution fixed unalterably. On the 20th he sent in his official resignation of his commission, and apologised thus for the two days' delay by saying,—

'It would have been presented at once but for the struggle it has cost me to separate myself from a service to which I have devoted all the best years of my life and all the ability I possessed. During the whole of that time—more than a quarter of a century—I have experienced nothing but kindness from my superiors, and the most cordial friendship from my comrades. To no one, General, have I been as much indebted as yourself. . . . Save in defence of my native State, I never again desire to draw my sword.'

Writing to his sister the same day, he lays bare his feelings with a candour which even those who least approve his decision must honour. No doubt his words express generally the feelings of many others less gifted with the power of expression; and in these days, when State independence has been swept away by the keen arbitrament of the sword, it is well to recall what was thought on the subject at that time by one of the most pureminded and unselfish of those who were forced to choose:—

'The whole South,' he writes, 'is in a state of revolution, into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn; and though I recognise no necessity for this state of things, and would have forborne and pleaded to the end for the redress of grievances, real or supposed, yet in my own person I had to meet the question whether I should take part against my native State. With all my devotion to the Union, and the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have therefore resigned my commission in the army.'

He adds here the same expression of his hope, before quoted, that he may not be called upon to serve save in defence of his own State: but Virginia's fortunes were now to be bound up for weal or woe with those of the Confederacy that she was about to join.

The very mansion of Arlington from which he wrote these letters was his first sacrifice to his decision. Situated as it was in sight of the capital, it must needs be abandoned, with the fine estate on which it stood. Perhaps in quitting it and leaving its contents intact, he may have vainly hoped that the venerated relics of Washington with which it was crowded, might save it from spoliation. But personal losses could weigh

nothing with such a soul as his; and leaving to its fate of almost certain occupation by the first advance guard of the Union army that house in which he had spent the happiest hours of his life, he set out for Richmond. Ere, however, he had reached the capital of this State, soon to become that of the Confederacy, he had been appointed Major-General of all the Virginian forces by the spontaneous choice of the Governor and Legislature, and on the 23rd he was publicly received in his new capacity at Richmond. He accepted the trust conferred on him in a few simple and dignified words, again expressing his sole desire to be to defend his native State. There was general joy, the American biographer states; for it had been feared that he would adhere to the Federal Government, and Virginia would have looked upon his loss as a public calamity.

He was now, though fifty-three years of age, still remarkable for the manly beauty of his face and form, as well as for his singular temperance and the calmness of his manner:—

‘Grave, silent, with a military composure of bearing that amounted at times to stiffness,’ says Mr. Cooke. And, he adds, that although then ‘looked upon by those who held intercourse with him as a personage of marked reserve, the truth and frankness of the man, under all circumstances, and his great, warm heart, full of honesty and unassuming simplicity, became known only in the course of the war.’

No doubt General Lee felt at that time the weight of his responsibilities and the serious character of his decision, and possibly he discouraged the frivolous conversation in which the excitement of lesser men would naturally vent itself at such a crisis. Be this as it may, it is clear that the innocent gaiety of heart for which in earlier years he had been noted, had disappeared under the weight of official duties, or was banished by the gravity of his new charge; for this included the whole supply and training of the State forces, which were collecting in large numbers, and gave him incessant employment. But the defence of Virginia soon became merged in that of the Confederacy which she joined formally in May. Her capital was declared the capital of the South. The Southern Congress soon met there. New men pressed in to take the lead in the affairs of what claimed to be a nation, and for a time General Lee was relegated to duties of a secondary character. His immediate charge for the present became that of fortifying Richmond. It is natural enough that the works he raised should have extorted admiration from the Northern generals whom they so long defied; but their best eulogy is contained in the simple fact, that though often threatened they were never seriously attacked. From the time that he thus girdled

Richmond with the full resources of the engineer's art, aided by the use of that 'eye for positions' for which he had been admired in Mexico, the capital was destined to fall only with the Confederacy itself. To other commanders, however, Davis assigned the first honours of the war, evidently at that time regarding Lee more as an engineer than a soldier.

Whilst the fortifying of Richmond went on, the battle of Bull's Run, the first great encounter of the war, was fought and won by Beauregard, aided by Johnston, who had marched to join him from the Shenandoah Valley. Though this event concerns us little here, it is right to say that the surprise of the Confederates on their flank was a real one, and their defeat at one time very near, being only averted by the superiority in steadiness of Jackson's troops to their comrades. And as we laughed so loud and long at the behaviour of the raw militia of McDowell when once in retreat, it is well to add that there is not the least reason to believe, judging from the testimony of Southern officers, that their men would have behaved one whit better had the reverse been on their side. More than this. Those among ourselves who know most of war are agreed that, however highly one may think of the spirit of the levies we call our Auxiliary Forces, there is no ground whatever, beyond a vulgar national vanity, for the common belief that a mass of these, once beaten and panic-stricken, would show conduct very different from that of McDowell's volunteers, or of the Mobiles of the Army of the Loire. 'Nations deceive themselves very much in this matter of their untrained troops,' was the remark recently made by the chief of the Swiss army—one composed wholly of militiamen. And what is true of Frenchmen, of Swiss, and of our own kith and kin in America, would hardly be greatly falsified if misfortune fell upon ourselves. Whatever may be thought of this deduction, certainly nothing could be more mistaken than the judgment hastily passed by our press on the conduct of McDowell's raw troops, sent as they were into the field untrained, and through the ignorance of Congress left unfurnished even with a staff. Nor was the general result of the battle at all as favourable to the Confederacy as was then supposed. For, in fact, the Northern army had been hitherto composed only of three-months' volunteers; and though not in proper fighting order, it was absolutely necessary to employ them, before they dispersed to their homes, in checking the hostile forces which had gathered to threaten Washington. And although completely defeated in his attack, McDowell yet left his enemy so shattered as to be not only quite incapable of an advance upon the capital of the Union,

but according to the confession of the best Southern officers, unfit for some time later for any serious operations. Brave as the Confederates individually were, there was not at this time any real power of discipline in their commanders' hands which could enable the latter to reap the fruits of victory. And what is more surprising, the best of their generals never wholly established this moral force over them. But discipline on the other side, though far from ever being established according to the European standard, was certainly improved during the war; and to this difference, hardly less than to the greater resources of the North, her final triumph was due.

Poor as the military results of the battle of Bull's Run were, and serious as its political effects proved in rousing the North and her leaders to real earnestness, it naturally caused great rejoicing for the hour at Richmond. Johnston, who was the senior officer from the time of his arrival on the ground, was confirmed in his command of the whole army of Northern Virginia, and Lee still remained at the capital completing its defences. But attention was soon directed to Western Virginia, the part of the State beyond the Alleghanies, which had from the first showed its Union sympathies. Into this McClellan, a hitherto unknown Federal officer, had been pushed from Pennsylvania. By July his forces were augmented to 20,000 men, giving him a large numerical superiority over the Confederate troops of Garnett, who attempted to hold it against him. In a series of skirmishes which followed, McClellan and his active lieutenant Rosecrans routed the Confederates, killing their general. The officers who succeeded to the latter, meeting with further disasters, began to quarrel among themselves. On this the Southern President despatched General Lee to the scene of action with reinforcements, and instructions to bring into one common plan the movements along the scattered lines held by the Confederates, but with no orders to take the command, which he never did officially, though for a short time directing the operations. The only active part of these—an attempt to carry a strong position held at Cheat Mountain by General Reynolds—failed entirely, owing, as we have gathered from direct personal information, even more to the misconduct of a subordinate commander, than to the ill-discipline of the disheartened troops. Lee himself left on record an explanation of the circumstances, but with the understanding that it should not be made public during the war: and as the records perished in the fire at Richmond, all that can now be known is from the remark he made to a would-be critic soon after. ‘When you read the story by-and-

'by, you will be as much surprised as anyone.' After this affair, Lee, deciding that he had no forces that would justify offensive operations against a superior enemy to whom the feeling of the country had proved favourable, remained strictly on the defensive, and confined his efforts to restricting, as far as possible, the movements of Rosecrans, who had succeeded McClellan. Winter now came on, and in that high region fairly stopped all serious operations. But the failure before Cheat Mountain, where Lee's plans had apparently proved too elaborate for such raw materials, and his subsequent apparent inaction, were little calculated to raise the general's reputation. When he left in the winter, by Jefferson Davis's orders, to put the defences of the Carolinas in order, his name was as unduly depreciated as that of McClellan was exalted. For that officer's early success in Western Virginia had shed a gleam of light over the North in its humiliation. It caused his instant selection as Commander-in-Chief when Scott resigned the post he had hitherto retained. And whilst Washington politicians spoke of McClellan as the young Napoleon of the Union, the critics of Richmond poured forth their strictures on General Lee as an over-refining strategist, too subtle for practical warfare, and declared him the only failure among their commanders—judgments which were destined to be singularly reversed a few months later. And even whilst they were being made, the presence of the latter in Carolina sufficed to bring back instant confidence to the forces stationed there, who in the first moment of panic at the success of Burnside's expedition against Roanoke, were for abandoning the coast defences altogether.*

During the winter of 1861-2, McClellan, wielding large resources at Washington, showed to the full his real genius for organisation. At length, at the head of a well-organised army numbering over 100,000 men, with a large fleet in support, and the strategy—not without a sharp struggle with the strong will of President Lincoln—left to his own judgment, he disembarked in May on that historic peninsula below Richmond which had witnessed in former days the triumph of Washington over Cornwallis, forced his way along it despite obstinate resistance, and crossing his right over the river Chickahominy, which describes a steady curve

* This information reached us whilst these sheets were at press, from an officer at that time serving on the Carolina staff, who assures us that Lee's arrival on the coast produced an effect little less than magical on the conduct of matters there.

at a few miles' distance round the north and east sides of the city, planted himself firmly within sight of the spires of the enemy's capital. The North, under the influence of her first defeat, had made far more exertions than the Confederacy since the previous summer. McClellan's army was soon made up to 156,000 men, whilst Johnston could only collect rather less than half the number to protect the city, which was really covered mainly by the works. Co-operating with McClellan were further independent armies under separate leadership. Of these, Fremont and Banks, with 30,000 men, were opposed by Jackson with half that number in the Shenandoah Valley; and a more important force of 40,000, under McDowell at Fredericksburg, was designed to come in on McClellan's right, and would complete the investment of the city on its northern side, and bring an immense superiority of numbers to overbear its defenders.

Such was the programme on the side of the North. But Jackson's detached command against great odds proved just such an opportunity as that general needed to make his rare talent for war conspicuous. Being ordered by Johnston to take the offensive in the Valley, and draw some of the pressure off Richmond, he performed his task so admirably as not only to neutralise the large forces of Fremont and Banks, but to cause President Lincoln, in alarm, to direct McDowell to send half the Fredericksburg corps westward to take part in the operations against this redoubtable adversary. This detachment from his expected support held McClellan motionless; for he had from the first considered his own force insufficient for direct attack upon the enemy in his works, and, indeed, overrated the number before him under Johnston: and while he thus stood indecisive the latter suddenly issued from his line of redoubts on the south side of the Chickahominy, and became the assailant. The action that ensued on May 31, known as the Battle of Seven Pines, was the most obstinate of those fought at this early period of the war. McClellan's front was partly intrenched and well guarded by artillery, and though the left of his line was forced, the Confederates gained no decisive advantage over him, whilst they themselves suffered the loss of their general, who was severely wounded in the commencement of the engagement by a shell. It was of course necessary to give the Southern army a new chief at once, and the choice fell naturally on Lee. He had just returned to Richmond from his duty in the Carolinas. He was more intimately acquainted with the defences of the capital than any other officer. And

what was still more to the purpose, his former rivals in reputation and superiors in the favour of Jefferson Davis, Albert Johnston and Beauregard, were far away, the one slain in the hour of his promised victory over Grant on the Tennessee, the other still in command of the large forces near that river. On June 3 Lee took charge of the army in which, save to the original Virginian battalions, he was unknown or thought little of, but which was destined under him to achieve a history hardly less glorious or less chequered than that of the African veterans of Hannibal. Accident, rather than the choice of the Confederacy, had given him his high office. It remained for him to use his opportunity so as to win at once the confidence of his soldiers and of the Government he served. The opinion of him at that time was that he was disposed to be cautious, slow, and somewhat timorous. He was about to show himself on the instant a master of the art of strategy, at once as daring as sagacious, and as brilliant in combination as decisive in action.

McClellan's force, as we have said, was almost double of that now placed under his new opponent. His front was so strong that Johnston's bold assault had failed to shake it. His left was covered by the vast morass known as White Oak Swamp, which extended southward from the Chickahominy nearly to the James. The only part left open to Lee's attack was the Federal right, which, as before mentioned, was thrown northward across the Chickahominy, and planted there to await the reinforcements through Petersburg which the Federal general was still demanding from Washington. Well supplied by the railroad from the York River behind, he had at first little fear for his present position; and it was only when he found as the month of June passed by that the President was thoroughly alarmed by the ill success of the Northern troops against Jackson, and had resolved to detain the promised succour, that McClellan determined to withdraw his exposed right, and move through the White Oak Swamp to the James River, where his communications with the fleet would be absolutely secure. In not venturing the attack there can be little doubt that he still overrated the force before Richmond; but whilst his change of plan had been hardly more than decided on, his enemy was upon him. Lee had assumed the offensive with every man whom he could throw upon his foe.

To explain whence this apparent boldness came is not difficult. From the hour of his first command he resolved on raising the threatened siege by such a decisive stroke as should at once give heart to the army and to the Government which watched

him anxiously. But to do this with full effect he resolved to bring Jackson secretly to his aid, and hence the time for action was practically chosen by that general, whose special task it was to arrive before Richmond without being missed from the Valley: for it was absolutely necessary for the success prepared on the Chickahominy that the alarm of the Federal Government for the safety of Washington should be kept up, and all succour denied McClellan. The plan was carried out with a completeness worthy of the conception. The matchless activity with which Jackson marched and countermarched in the Shenandoah Valley up to the very hour of his suddenly quitting it, deceived the Federals effectually there: while McClellan was tricked for the time into the same belief that Washington was threatened, by the ruse of sending detachments northward from Richmond—for a few miles of course only—when exchanged prisoners were about to quit the city. So completely was the Federal commander deceived on this occasion, that he wrote, certainly not with any pleasure, and in contradiction of his former views, to the President on June 20, 'I have no doubt Jackson has been reinforced from 'here.' The reinforcements imagined had at the time long safely returned into Lee's lines, and Jackson was then making his forced march from the Valley to Richmond with such rapidity and secrecy that even the bulk of his own men knew nothing of their destination. To all questions, Mr. Cooke tells us, they were directed to reply, 'I don't know;' and so when the general himself demanded of a straggler his name and regiment, the soldier, using the license which never left the Confederate army throughout the war, put his interrogator off with the answer the order had enjoined on him, and of course escaped punishment. Jackson's distance from Richmond being a straight line, was short comparatively to that which any of the forces he had hitherto been engaged must have covered in order to move round to McClellan, even had they discovered their enemy in the act of vanishing. Never was the advantage of what are technically called 'interior 'lines' more finely used than in this first design of Lee. Never was the execution of such a design more ably accomplished than by Jackson on this memorable occasion. On the night of June 25; before one of the Federal officers in the sphere of his late operations had missed him from their outposts; before McClellan, now abandoning present hope of support, had issued the orders he was preparing for his change of base from the York River to the James; before Lee himself could hope to greet him; Jackson had left his divisions within a few

miles of Richmond, and entered the city in person after dark to meet his new chief. The colloquy that followed was but brief. Both were essentially, in their several ways, men more of action than words. General Stuart, the henceforward famous cavalry general of Lee, had just distinguished himself for the first time by his raid, or reconnoissance in force, round McClellan's position, which had revealed fully the exposure of the Federal right and rear. The orders for the attack had been prepared by Lee's own hand the night before. It was only necessary, therefore, to assign the new comer his part in the action of the next day, and all would be ready.

Lee's plan in effect was this. Leaving but 25,000 men under Magruder, to guard the front of Richmond on the south side of the Chickahominy, he resolved to march the remaining 50,000, under Longstreet and the two Hills, to the north of that stream so as to turn and attack McClellan's right, which was under General Porter. Jackson, keeping still more to the northward, was to pass behind this mass of Confederate troops, and throw his divisions beyond them in a decisive turning movement directed against Porter's extreme right and rear. Of course this scheme of operation, which threw some 70,000 men on the 40,000 of McClellan's right, could only be executed at a certain risk to Richmond. McClellan, if fully acquainted with his opponent's strength and design, would almost certainly have ordered Porter to do no more than defend the Chickahominy bridges, whilst he himself pressed forward the bulk of his army to crush the two divisions left alone under Magruder in his own front, and if it proved not possible to attempt the works behind them, at least might have got between these and Lee, and so cut the latter off from the capital he had to defend. But some risk must needs be run by a general who, with so great an inferiority as Lee's, attempts great combinations. And he trusted, rightly as the event shows, to his adversary's ignorance of his real strength, and to the alarm this pressure on Porter's wing would certainly occasion, as sufficient to keep the Federal attention from discovering the weakness of the force that was left in their front.

The battle of the Chickahominy, which lasted through the 26th and 27th June, took exactly that course which Lee had designed beforehand. The brunt of the first attack came from A. Hill's division, which followed nearly the line of the river downwards, and soon got into serious collision with the enemy. Checked until dark that day on the line of Beaver Dam Creek, a small stream running from the north into the Chickahominy, which afforded the Federals a strong line to hold, Hill found

them retreating next morning as Jackson with a wide circling movement turned their position. They fell back on Cold Harbour, where they occupied a new line with their backs towards the Chickahominy, holding in part the same ground on which General Grant, two years later, threw away many thousands of lives in a vain attempt—the last of many in his Virginian campaign—to force a roughly intrenched position by direct attack. Reinforced from the south side of the river, Porter held his own stoutly for some hours. In vain did Longstreet, already famous for his fierce courage in action, press his men on to support those of Hill. In vain did General D. Hill bring his division up to his namesake's aid. The Confederates were fairly beaten off: yet their chief did not dare to slacken their attack, for every hour he feared to hear far up the stream the din of battle suddenly rise, which would tell him that McClellan had discovered how he was deceived, and was making the counterstroke on Magruder which was the only thing the Confederate cause had to fear. But, at length to his left, as the afternoon advanced, was heard the roar of fresh guns coming into action. Jackson, it was plain, had completed his flank march, and was closing with the Federal right rear. A few minutes more and the gallant soldier himself appeared on the scene, and rode up to greet Lee, cheered by Longstreet's men, already veterans enough in war to understand what his coming meant. Nothing, it has been said, of this first meeting of these great soldiers on the battle-field could be in more striking contrast than the appearance and manner of the two. Handsome in face and figure, finely mounted, a graceful rider, calm-visaged, and carefully dressed, Lee presented the *beau-idéal* of the commander whose outward bearing captivates the soldier's eye. His famous lieutenant rode, apparently by choice, an ill-groomed rawboned horse, and sat so short-stirruped as to give his figure the most awkward appearance. An old cadet's cap, evidently a relic of the college professorship he had not long since left, was drawn down over his eyes. His coat was not only threadbare but ill-brushed; and his words were jerked out in short abrupt sentences, between which he sucked the lemon which was, as usual, his sole refreshment during his day's work. Yet each already understood the other, and valued him at his true worth. 'That is a heavy fire down yonder,' said Lee, as the Federal guns opened in reply to Jackson's. 'Can your men stand it?' 'They can stand almost anything. They can stand that,' was the emphatic reply; and after a few words of order and explanation, he left his chief to lead on the attack. This was decisive;

aided as it was by a fresh advance of the troops before engaged. The Federals were turned, overmatched, and driven from their position, and before dark the shattered remains of Porter's force were crossing the Chickahominy in hasty retreat. Lee's first battle, in fact, was as striking a success, and as well-earned, as any of the more famous victories in after days which have been so widely studied and so often extolled. No word henceforward from his Government of any want of confidence in his powers, or fear of his over-caution. From that hour he became the most trusted, as well as the most noted, general of the Confederacy. As to his soldiery, his hardy bearing, free self-exposure, and constant presence near their ranks, completed the influence gained by that power of combining their force to advantage, which they instinctively felt without fully understanding. From man to man flew the story of the hour. The subtle influence of sympathy, which wins many hearts for one, was never more rapidly exercised. Like Napoleon, his troops soon learnt to believe him equal to every emergency that war could bring. Like Hannibal, he could speak lightly and calmly at the gravest moments, being then himself least grave. Like Raglan, he preserved a sweetness of temper that no person or circumstance could ruffle. Like Cæsar, he mixed with the crowd of soldiery freely, and never feared that his position would be forgotten. Like Blücher, his one recognised fault was that which the soldier readily forgives—a readiness to expose his life beyond the proper limits permitted by modern war to the commander-in-chief. What wonder, then, if he thenceforward commanded an army in which each man would have died for him: an army from which his parting wrung tears more bitter than any the fall of their cause could extort: an army which followed him, after three years of glorious vicissitudes, into private life, without one thought of further resistance against the fate to which their adored chief yielded without a murmur.

Is it therefore asserted that Lee as a commander was faultless? Far from it. We say it with all humility, but without any doubt, that from first to last he committed most grave errors; errors which only his other high qualities prevented from being fatal to his reputation. Chief of these was his permitting the continuance of the laxity of discipline which throughout the war clogged the movements of the Confederates, and robbed their most brilliant victories of their reward. The fatal habit of straggling from the ranks on the least pretext; the hardly less fatal habit of allowing each man to load himself with any superfluous arms or clothes he chose to carry;

the general want of subordination to trifling orders, which was the inheritance of their volunteer origin: these evils Lee found in full existence when he took command before Richmond, and he never strove to check them. Add to this, that though never careless of the good of his soldiers, he failed altogether to enforce on the Confederate Government the vital necessity of bringing the supply of their wants more directly under the control of those who commanded them; so that at the last they were absolutely starving in Richmond, whilst the War Department there, uninspired by the proper energy for its task, had left large supplies scattered on the line of railroad leading to the Carolinas.* And lastly, there must rest on him the grave responsibility, shared certainly by, but not wholly falling on his favourite cavalry commander, of misusing the limited supplies of horseflesh at his disposal in repeating brilliant but unserviceable marches; so that in the last campaign the Confederates were left almost destitute of that most necessary arm. These are grave charges. But the errors cited all plainly sprang from one flaw in Lee's character—the too yielding generosity of his nature, which made him reluctant to enforce upon others that self-denial he never forgot in his own person. Trifling matters they seemed at the first. The very modesty of temperament which prevented his correcting them, might in another situation have won him fresh admiration. But as the war went on, the rifts caused by indiscipline and carelessness in the Confederate armour widened more and more; and in the end these faults were hardly less fatal to the fortunes of the South than the greater material resources of her adversary.

Before leaving the subject of the first relief of Richmond, so brilliantly accomplished by the victory on the Chickahominy, it is necessary to follow McClellan's retreat, not only for the story's sake, but in order to do justice to a commander whose ill success before Richmond has diminished in the world's eyes the great services he performed for the cause of the Union, both before and after that fatal check. It has been said that the Federal general had decided before the battle to transfer his operations from the Chickahominy to the James. Of this there can be no manner of doubt. Nor is there any that the deciding causes—the failure of the hope

* We should hesitate to make this assertion, but that it rests on the incontrovertible authority of a general of hardly less reputation than Lee, whose army profited by these neglected stores.

of support to his exposed right wing from McDowell at Fredericksburg, and the alarm caused by the havoc which Stuart, in his raid a few days before, produced on the Federal communications with York River—were very sufficient reasons for the proposed change of base. Unhappily for McClellan's reputation, he had not, as before noticed, issued his orders for the movement when Lee's stroke fell on his right. It was natural enough that the success of this only quickened the Federal commander in his intended operation: but it is hardly less natural that when the world learnt from his despatches that the severe defeat on the Chickahominy was followed at once by the retreat to the James, the one was directly and wholly ascribed to the other; so that McClellan's declaration that the movement through White Oak Swamp was but 'a strategic change of base,' only caused his expression to be caught up and used as a taunt against himself, and became a proverb in all cases where a beaten general excuses the necessity of retreat under a cloud of words.

If McClellan deserves sharp criticism for not having sooner made up his mind, and still more for his failure to discover and use the absence of the Confederates in his front, where his advance in mass, according to General Magruder's officially expressed opinion, 'would have insured his success, 'and the occupation of the works about Richmond, and consequently the city;' his character as a commander never shone so brightly as in the hour of disaster and danger when Porter's wing was driven in upon his centre. The ill success of his campaign as a whole has caused his conduct at this crisis to be done scant justice to. But there is no military reputation in the world which would not be increased by the manner in which he conducted his retreat to the James from the moment it began. His troops were so demoralised by the shock of the two days' unsuccessful fighting as to begin their retreat, according to the testimony of Hooker, one of the oldest officers present, 'like a parcel of sheep; 'for a few shots from the rebels would have panicstricken 'the whole'—expressions strong enough at once to show the importance of this first victory of Lee's, which some writers have spoken lightly of, and to give the more credit to McClellan for what followed. On the very evening of his defeat he assembled his chiefs of corps, explained his plan for retreating to the shelter of the fleet, and made his arrangements for covering the movement. The roads leading through White Oak Swamp direct to the James were bad, and crossed by many others which the Confederates might advance on.

Their outposts on the Chickahominy were close to his own : their confidence as high as that of his own troops was depressed ; and the first movement of retreat discovered would bring them on in ardent pursuit, Lee's only doubt now being as to which way his adversary would attempt to draw off. Nevertheless McClellan succeeded in concealing his design during the whole of the 28th whilst his trains were moving off ; and when the pursuit was taken up on the morning of the 29th, his worst danger was already over. Moreover, the coolness and self-possession of the Federal commander not merely stood himself in good stead, but had its natural effect on his subordinates, and through these began to reach his discouraged men. Step by step he fell back, using his heavy artillery with great skill to guard the dangerous approaches to his flanks by the cross-roads through the swamp. Fighting soon ensued ; but as neither side could form any front it was never serious, and the advantage naturally on the side of the defenders. So the retreat went on day after day. In vain did Longstreet, relieved in his turn by Jackson, press on the Federal rear. In vain Magruder threw his troops, eager to share in the newly-won glories of their comrades, along each approach towards their western flank by the cross-roads leading from the city. Each attempt was met skilfully and repulsed ; and when, on July 7th, McClellan found himself clear of the swamp, and occupied the strong ridge of Malvern Hill beyond it, his men had so recovered heart as to inflict a very sharp repulse on the advance guard of the pursuers, which Magruder has been charged with engaging with useless rashness. Thus closing his retreat with an unquestioned success, McClellan drew off his army, no longer followed, to its proposed encampment by the James, where the support of the gunboats gave him a position well-nigh impregnable. He had recovered the confidence of his troops. If they shouted for joy when he again accepted their command two months later at Washington ; if they followed him confidently when he moved to check Lee's first invasion of the North, it must be ascribed, not to his mere genius for organisation, but to the moral effect of his masterly retreat. The battle of Antietam, the first check in Lee's steady career of victory, was in truth saved for the Federal side at Malvern Hill. Lee's despatch on the subject of the White Oak Swamp affair puts the general facts in a clear light. ' Under ordinary ' circumstances,' were his words, ' the Federal army should ' have been destroyed. Prominent among the causes of its ' escape is the want of timely and correct information. This ' fact, attributed chiefly to the character of the country, enabled

'General McClellan skilfully to conceal his retreat, and to 'add much to the obstruction with which Nature had beset 'the way of our pursuing columns.' Nevertheless, though thus saved from ruin, McClellan's force was for the time powerless for harm. Richmond was relieved from all pressure, and without strong reinforcements there was no hope of a fresh advance from the James. The political differences between President Lincoln and his unsuccessful general aggravated the former's distrust of McClellan's powers. He turned to new projects and new commanders for his hopes of attack on Richmond, and the first phase of the war in Virginia came fairly to an end.

To follow it farther would be to tell a twice-told tale. Lee crowded into the next two years as much personal glory as has ever fallen to the lot of a commander within the same time. Overthrowing one opponent after another by brilliant strategy wielding an inferior force; applying with unsurpassed skill to each new purpose the special resources of the country he defended, and the personal weaknesses of his adversaries; he failed only when attempting for political reasons an offensive beyond the means of his force. Whilst elsewhere, ill success on the side of the Confederacy became disaster, and disaster grew into ruinous defeat, the defence of Northern Virginia was never shaken. Only when a general advanced upon it whose resources in men and material were practically unlimited, and who used them deliberately in what Union historians, such as Dr. Draper, exultingly call 'the process of attrition'—wearing down his adversary's numbers gradually by the free sacrifice of his own—was Richmond once more seriously threatened. The June of 1864 found Grant almost in sight of the city, upon the very ground which McClellan had held on the banks of the Chickahominy two years before. Four times he had changed the line of operations on which he had declared his intention to 'fight 'it out all the summer.' Four times he had recoiled from the attempt to force his way direct to the rebel capital; for his indomitable and watchful adversary ever barred the way. Once more, on the morning of June 3, he flung his masses fiercely against the line held by Lee, which ran across the very field of battle where that general had won his first triumph over McClellan. The result was so fearful and useless a slaughter, that, according to the Union historian,* when 'later in the day 'orders were issued to renew the assault, the whole army, correctly appreciating what the inevitable result must be, silently 'disobeyed.'

* Draper, vol. iii. p. 387.

Foiled and exasperated, yet never disheartened, for the fifth time Grant changed his strategy. Following McClellan's movement of two years before, he pressed on to the James: but without halting at that stream in indecision crossed it at once to invest Petersburg, and gain the approaches to Richmond from the south; following, in fact, the plan by which he had triumphed at Vicksburg, and which he had himself long before pointed out, when asked freely to advise, as the most decisive mode of attacking the capital of the Confederacy. Gaining the southern part of Petersburg before his advance was fully discovered, he assaulted the works fiercely, and it was not till he had lost 9,000 men more that he desisted, and sat down deliberately to prepare the investing lines which were thenceforward continually to be strengthened and extended until Richmond should be won. But he had still 150,000 men at his command, having been largely reinforced by General Butler's army; and he had the prospect of continual supplies of men and means. Lee had less than 70,000 men all told. The armies of the South elsewhere were overmatched, and could promise him no help. Want of energy and ability in the administration of the Confederacy, hardly less than its inferior resources, left him destitute not only of recruits, but straitened for the most necessary supplies. And if his enemy had weakened himself by nearly 70,000 men in his fruitless attempts to gain Richmond, it had cost Lee more than one-half that number to defend it. He well knew that this loss could never be replaced. Firm as his soul was, the sure effect of that 'process of attrition,' of which the chroniclers of the triumphant Union now speak with admiration of its success, was then felt chiefly by the general of the Army of Virginia, which was melting away under it. The hopes that had brightened his earlier years of command were plainly disappearing as the increasing energy of the North brought her superior strength into full play. From the hour that Grant sat down before the lines of Richmond, already too weakly guarded, and it became plain that ill success had not shattered the confidence of the Washington Administration in his sagacity, and that his reserves were increasing from week to week, the result could never be doubtful. Lee, above all others, could well forecast the event, which might be delayed but could not be averted. Two years before, when McClellan, after his first retreat, had proposed to cross the James and move on Petersburg, and the plan which brought Grant triumph in after days had been summarily rejected by Halleck as 'impracticable'—a fact his official memorandum of his visit

to the army of the Potomac records—Lee had in his private conversations, Mr. Cooke assures us, expressed his own conviction that Richmond, now freed from immediate pressure, could be held safely so long as such a movement on its communications with the Carolinas was left untried. Yet it needed two years of continued victory in the West to gain for Grant that prestige which could enable him to patiently carry out, after plain proof of the impracticability of the President's favourite plan of a direct advance, the strategy which he, as well as his great adversary and his predecessor, all saw clearly to be that to which the defence of Richmond must succumb.

Not in the first flush of triumph when his army cheered his victory over M'Clellan: not when hurling back Federal masses three times the weight of his own on the banks of the Rappahannock: nor even when advancing, the commander of victorious legions, to carry the war away from his loved Virginia into the North, had Lee seemed so great, or won the love of his soldiers so closely, as through the dark winter that followed. Overworked his men were sadly, with forty miles of intrenchments for that weakened army to guard. Their prospects were increasingly gloomy as month passed by after month, bringing them no reinforcements, whilst their enemy became visibly stronger. Their rations grew scantier and poorer, whilst the jocund merriment of the investing lines told of abundance, often raised to luxury, by voluntary tribute from the wealth of the North. The indiscipline, too long allowed, told on them; and, with the pangs of hunger added, led to the desertion, formerly almost unknown, in the Army of Virginia. But the confidence of the men in their beloved chief never faltered. Their sufferings were never laid on 'Uncle Robert.' The simple piety which all knew the rule of his life, acted upon thousands of those under him with a power which those can hardly understand who know not how community of hope suffering and danger fairly shared, amid the vicissitudes of war, quickens the sympathies of the roughest and lowest as well as of those above them. He who was known to every soldier under him to have forbidden his staff to disturb the impromptu prayer-meeting which stopped their way when hurrying to the fierce battle in The Wilderness; he whose exposure was seen by all to grow only greater as the hour grew darker; he who was as constant in the lines during the monotonous watch against the foe that never attacked, as he had been when Grant hurled fresh legions on him day after day in the bloodstained thickets of Spottsylvania; he who, in short, had long lived up to the motto he had commended to his

son on entering life, as the only sure guide, 'Duty is the sublimest word in our language;' now illustrated in his own person that other motto which he bequeathed to the army when it dissolved, 'Human virtue should be equal to human calamity.' The vision of becoming the new Washington of a new Republic—had he ever entertained it—had faded away, with all its natural ambition. The very hope of saving from humiliation the State for whose safety and honour he had sacrificed his high prospects in the army of the Union, must now be despaired of. Yet the firmness of his bearing, and his unflinching attention to the hourly business of his office, never declined for a moment, and impressed alike the falling government of the Confederacy, the dejected citizens of its capital, and the humblest soldiers of its army. Once during the sad spring of 1865 he recommended earnestly the prompt abandonment of the attempt to defend Richmond, and the retreat of his force, whilst it was still capable of movement, far into the South, to concert further resistance with Johnston. This was in February, when he had received the commission of General-in-Chief of all the Confederate Armies—an empty title now, when those armies were melting into nothingness. But though he gave orders to prepare for the march, and looked on it as the only hope of using the few men at his disposal with effect, President Davis, ever buoyed up with false hopes of foreign succour, and loth to admit the decadence of his brief rule, forbade the design being carried out. The only effect of this contemplated change of strategy was probably to delay the forwarding of supplies to the troops at Richmond, already too ill-cared for. And when March came, and Sheridan, hot from his successes in the Shenandoah, had joined General Grant with 10,000 mounted infantry, raising the Federals, with all deductions, to a strength of 130,000 men well-fed and efficiently provided for in all respects, Lee's 'effectives,' a bare 40,000 men, according to the best records, were subsisted solely on the daily issue of a quarter of a pound of rancid bacon, with a ration of ill-baked maize bread. Not that they ever murmured at their general. Their cheers for him when he visited their lines were as ready as of old; but their hungry eyes gazed more wistfully and sadly on his retreating form each time that he passed from them. And the supplicating look of the citizens when he entered Richmond, fixed with inquiring entreaty on the man in whom they still believed there lay the power to save them, must have added a pang hardly less sharp to that felt each time that he saw the increasing gauntness of his unconquerable troops. No wonder that his

hair grew grey in these days of darkness. No one so well as he knew the hopelessness of the situation of all. He was fully aware that Johnston, too late restored to the command of which Davis's perverse judgment had deprived him in the crisis at Atlanta, was quite unprovided with means to check Sherman's march through the Carolinas; and that that general, moving steadily northwards, was bringing up 100,000 victorious troops to complete the conquest of Richmond and its defenders.

But while he yet approached, the ruin fell, under the vehement impulse communicated to Grant's own troops by the ardour of Sheridan. The line of defence, 'stretched so long as 'to break,' in Lee's own phrase, and ever more weakly guarded, at last gave way. Sheridan's attack on Pickett's troops, which formed the extreme right or west of Lee's positions, proved completely successful in the decisive action of Five Forks, fought on April 2nd; and Grant followed up the victory by assaults made all along the Confederate lines. The position, so long and so painfully held, was untenable when turned; and was yielded reluctantly, but without hesitation. Those around Lee could judge of the serious nature of his feelings only by the care with which that day he carried with him the sword he usually dispensed with in action. As darkness closed on that eventful night, he was seen amid the glare of explosions from the abandoned works, standing at the angle of the road chosen for retreat up the north bank of the Appomattox, guiding and cheering his troops in person as they reached the point, and following them only when the last man of his ragged and weary columns had passed by.

Space would fail us did we attempt to follow out that retreat in its memorable details. Well-rationed, followed by light trains of provisions, and its advanced guard led by one who never faltered nor admitted hesitation in others, the Federal army started in pursuit next morning, following parallel roads. Great praise has been justly bestowed on Sheridan for his nervous and energetic conduct of the pursuit by which Lee was finally completely cut off. Nor less does Grant deserve it, for the free and ungrudging manner in which he supported his ardent lieutenant. But he who, above all, should have earned honour for the conduct of that march now sleeps in the grave; and it is due here to the reputation of General Halleck to say, that the errors which had marked his earlier conduct of the war are amply redeemed in the eyes of those who recognise that to his stern and unflinching insistence on the necessity of bringing proper discipline to bear on the Federal volunteers, was due

much of the success with which the arms of the Union were crowned at the close of the war. The disorders which had hindered the efficiency of the Federal levies in earlier years were purged sharply from their ranks by the stern application of the military code to the embodied volunteers and conscripts on whom the Union relied to save it. Whilst Meade and Grant pressed the enemy home in Virginia, courts-martial at Washington cleared from the service the scum which accident, or bribes, or the favour of state governors, had mixed with the solid materials of the Northern troops. Week after week appeared lists of cashiered officers, to look back on which is to peruse the strangest records of incompetence and worthlessness that the annals of war ever disclosed. None proved guilty met with mercy. The general that sold his safe-conduct to the trembling people of the district plundered by his troops; the field officer who disappeared from his battalion before the action; the captain who stole and drank his men's rations of whisky;* these, and others such as these, found themselves treated with no more leniency than the private sentinel who slept before the enemy. And as gazette upon gazette published lists of culprits stripped of the epaulettes they had dishonoured, insensibly but steadily a higher tone of bearing was instilled into the officers of the army thus watched over. Soldiers are ever dependent largely for their feeling of subordination on the conduct of those above them; and the improvement effected by Halleck's stern measures extended constantly downwards, until the Army of the Potomac, which was at once the nearest and the most important of those which, as Chief of the Staff, he supervised, rose in its standard of discipline, if not to the level to which Europe, with the aid of caste traditions and reverence for rank, brings her standing forces, at least to a measure of efficiency which troops raised as were these volunteers of an American Republic can seldom attain. And if Grant and Sheridan were able to press the success of Five Forks on to a complete triumph over the retreating Confederates; if the conduct of their troops after the victory of the 2nd April was in marked contrast to the lassitude and indifference which had hitherto followed advantages won on either side, the difference is to be found not so much in the circumstances of the time, or the individual character of the generals, as in the moral power of discipline, which had been left unused by both parties alike, until Halleck brought it into play to add to the advantages of the North.

So the pursuit of the flying Confederates went on uninter-

* These are a few typical cases from the official records of the period.
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mitted from day to day. It is needless here to follow it in its details. Enough for us to say that the Federal troops were well supplied by their trains, whilst the dépôt on which Lee had counted for his men had, through the blunder of the same officials who had reduced them to quarter rations while in their lines, been removed to the capital, just in time to fall into the enemy's hands. Starving, except for what could be collected by their dispersal to forage, and moving round an arc of which their adversaries followed the chord, the long experience in marching of the Army of Virginia could no longer avail. By the fifth day their enemy had passed them, and was across their path; and on the morning of the 9th the way of escape was completely barred. Up to this time Lee had resisted the proposals for capitulation which had reached him from his adversary; but when this fatal news came from his most trusted officer, the gallant Gordon who led his advance, he resigned himself to his fate. For a moment those who looked on him saw him almost overcome; and the first words of complaint ever heard from his lips during the war broke sharply forth: 'I had rather die a thousand deaths!' Musing sadly for a few seconds, as his men's favourite cry broke on his ear, 'There's uncle Robert!' in deep, sad tones he said to those near him, 'How soon could I end all this, and be at rest. 'Tis but to ride down the line, and give the word, and all 'would be over.' Then presently, recovering his natural voice, he answered one who urged that the surrender might be misunderstood, 'That is not the question. The question is, 'whether it is right. And if it is right, I take the responsibility.' Then, after a brief silence, he added, with a sigh, 'It is our duty to live. What will become of the wives and 'children of the South if we are not here to protect them? So saying, he sent in his flag of truce without further hesitation to Grant. The coming action was stayed on the instant, and the struggle of the Confederacy was virtually over.

Of the interview between the great commanders which followed, enough has been already written. Those who would understand how highly Lee was held in honour by the very men who fought hardest against him, should study the story of that eventful meeting, not in the loving records of Mr. Cooke, or of other writers whose sympathies were with his efforts, but in the pages of the warmest partisans of the cause of the Union—in such works, for instance, as the well-known memoir called 'With Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign,' where the ardent Northern writer, almost against his will, makes the chief of the captive army the hero of the

scene. Or they may read it in the cold lines of the anti-slavery historian of the war, where no word of bitterness is ever missing for the politicians whose cause Lee's arm had upheld :—

'From the Rapidan to Appomattox Courthouse,' says Dr. Draper (vol. iii. p. 392), 'he had indeed made a grand defence. He had shed over Virginia a mournful glory. In The Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, on the Anna, at Cold Harbour, during the siege, and in the final retreat, he had struggled against preponderating power. For a whole year, he had tried to stay the hand of Fate. No one can read his gallant acts without lamenting that they had not been in the cause of human freedom and national unity.'

His parting words to his troops are historical. 'Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more.' But it is not so well known that whilst he uttered them with voice slightly trembling, tears from the rough soldiers he was parting from answered those in his eyes, as they pressed round him to wring his hand lovingly, and offer their response in the rude prayer, 'May God help you, General!' In his last army-order, issued the next morning, he replied to their sympathy; 'You will take with you to your homes the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.' His last official act was to intercede with Grant that the mounted soldiers might be granted the use of their horses, so as to set at once to work on their neglected farms; a favour the Federal commander at once accorded with a readiness as courteous in the giver as it was politic in the disturbed state of the country. Indeed, the whole conduct of General Grant on this memorable occasion reflects on him a credit which the severest critic of his chequered life can never lessen. That the two armies, so fiercely opposed for four long years, could have parted as they did without one word but those of sympathy and respect, seems to presage with certainty the day when the last wounds of the recovered Union shall be fully healed, and the great constitutional victory of the rights of the Federation over those of the States shall be spoken of with as little bitterness in South and North as its petty prototype, the War of the Sonderbund, is to-day in all parts of Switzerland.

Leaving his army dispersing on parole, Lee passed into Richmond, declining the public honours which, even in their hour of humiliation, its people sought to offer him. Living here in the strictest retirement, he began his new duty of

conciliation, from which he never ceased while life remained. When he received from a Federal general a private and friendly warning that it was resolved to arraign him for treason, despite the military protection of his capitulation; checking his informant's violent indignation he replied with a smile, 'Sir, we must forgive our enemies. Since the war began 'not a day has passed that I did not pray for them.' But the danger that the Union would be discredited by dishonourable vengeance soon passed away. The firmness of General Grant upon this point impressed itself on the hasty and violent man whom the murder of Lincoln had made President; and when Andrew Johnson ceased to encourage the thought, lesser partisans gave it up, and Lee continued unmolested in his privacy. In vain his fellow-citizens besought his attendance at their public meetings, when these were once more resumed. His one duty he judged to be to set an example of personal submission to the people who looked on him as the chief representative of the South; and for this reason he steadfastly discouraged all premature and useless remonstrance at the arbitrary measures by which it was long governed. But despite his reticence and humility, he made no attempt to hide his own personal responsibility for the actions done under the Confederacy; and when summoned before the Reconstruction Committee of Congress he was asked as to the oath of allegiance to the fallen Government, he answered plainly, 'I do not recollect having taken it, or whether it was required. If it was required, I took it; or if it had been required, I would have taken it.'

Virginia, in her ruin and suffering, could do little for her hero, especially when it became known that under no circumstances, however favourable, would the fallen general meddle with politics. What she could do, however, was soon done, and six months after the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse, Lee had accepted the Presidency of the State College at Lexington, originally designed as a cadet school for the militia officers of Virginia, but now changed into a place of general training for the sons of such Southerners as were still left the means to educate their children. His fortune had perished, like his former professional prospects, with the war. For his wife's sake, therefore, the offer was doubly welcome, when it came to him as the token of the undiminished affection of his beloved State. And employment was not the less grateful to one who had never known idleness during a long lifetime, except in the enjoyment of a hard-earned holiday. He took up his post at Lexington, therefore, on October 1st,

and devoted himself to his new studies with not the less assiduity that their sedentary nature made them somewhat a physical trial to a man of his active habits. The appointment was a just one in all respects, as well as a creditable. From far over the Southern States parents sent their sons to be trained under the once renowned commander, whose unblemished character was as well known as his military greatness. And the College, which had sunk into nothingness during the war, and re-opened in 1865 with but a few of its old inmates, boasted five hundred students before his death five years later. Some of these, too, came from far Northern States, where very early in the days of reconquered peace, there were not wanting men desirous to do all that in them lay to bury the remembrance of civil strife in oblivion.

Here then, engrossed chiefly by the steady performance of his daily duties, and in no society but that of his pupils and his neighbours in the country town, the rest of that great life was spent, varied sometimes by visits to Washington, where he was several times summoned to give evidence on the state and feeling of the South, over the hard fate of which he never outwardly complained, though its sorrows were wearing his heart away. Public cares never prevented his attention to his College labours, nor to the local municipal affairs in which every American citizen of mark is expected to take an interest. He became scarcely less popular henceforward with the students than with his soldiers in his days of fame; whilst the residents around revered his name no less for his patient bearing in his State's adversity than for his heroic defence of her independence. The very children learnt to recognise as a friend the general who had led their fathers to victory, and went out of their way to seek the grave kindly smile which had won their simple hearts.

Two objects only Lee seemed to have left during these years of retirement: the one, to lead his countrymen back to the Union, against which he had fought with such terrible effect; the other, to make of those under his charge men who would grow up to do honour to it. Of the many anecdotes offered us by Mr. Cooke and other Virginian writers, one or two will suffice to illustrate the spirit of his life.

'This is one of our old soldiers who is in necessity,' were his words to a friend who discovered him in the act of relieving a broken-down wayfaring man, and adding kindly words to his gift. 'He fought on the other side,' he added in a whisper, 'but we must not think of that.' To a lady—one of the many widowed in the war—who on bringing her sons

to the College, burst out into a strain of bitterness against the North, he said, with a gentleness which gave the more force to his rebuke: 'Madam, do not train up your children in hostility to the Government of the United States. Remember we are one country now. Pray dismiss from your mind all sectional feeling, and bring them up to be above all Americans.' And all this was whilst his own feelings as to the original act by which he broke with the Union remained unaltered. For when asked directly by the Reconstruction Committee, 'What are your own personal views on the question [of the original Act of Secession]?' he replied unhesitatingly: 'It was my view that the act of Virginia in withdrawing herself from the United States carried me along with it as a citizen of Virginia, and that her laws and acts were binding on me.' The past tense here being plainly employed to signify, what he constantly expressed in private, that the arbitrament of the sword to which the seceding States had appealed had quenched the supposed rights claimed by them before the war, without affecting their original legitimacy.

Pages of anecdotes might here be gathered to illustrate his care for his other main object, the welfare of his students. That this took a deeply religious form will surprise no one who knows that during the war he had never ceased the regular use of the well-worn pocket-bible which had been his constant companion before it, and which still bore the name of 'R. E. Lee, Lt.-Colonel, U.S. Army.' In his comparative retirement, and meditating constantly over the sorrows of his country, which he had little power to heal, it was most natural that this spiritual side of his character should become more plainly developed. He held to the Episcopal Church in which he had been brought up, but never showed any trace of that sectarian feeling, which is almost as much a reproach to American Christianity as to that of our own country: and when once pressed by a forward inquirer for his opinion upon Apostolical Succession, he expressed his simple faith in the words: 'I have not cared to think of these things; I have aimed to be a Christian.' Of his limited income a large part was regularly devoted privately to charity. And his feelings for his students were expressed to one who congratulated him on the high state the College had attained under him, in words expressed with all the earnestness of the heart's nearest wish: 'I shall be disappointed, sir; I shall fail in the leading object that brought me here, unless the young men I have charge of become real Christians.' In saying this, it is recorded, tears sprang to his eyes; for his feelings were ever warm and sympathetic, and his heart, as his

chief biographer has well said, 'was so open to every touch of gentle and quick emotion, as to show that beneath his heroic character was a vein of almost feminine softness.' 'A noble action,' are Mr. Cooke's words, 'flushed his cheek with emotion; a tale of suffering brought a sudden moisture to his eyes; and a loving message from one of his old soldiers has been seen to melt him to tears.'

Thus living and thus minded, he was ready when the end came suddenly. No failing strength of body or faculty gave token of the approaching close of that great life. The unruffled health, which in long years of war as of peace he had enjoyed unflinching, never seemed to leave him till the last. But his heart, long bowed down by the weight of his country's sorrows, at last gave way. His death may have been professionally ascribed to cerebral congestion; but the medical attendants unanimously declared this to be but the effect of long-suppressed sorrows: and that this was the exciting cause no one could doubt who knew how his hope of complete peace and restored tranquillity was deferred from year to year, and how the mental depression he struggled in vain to cast off increased as post after post brought him piteous appeals for assistance from those who had served under him, many of whose families were starving.

On September 28, 1870, he had spent the evening at a vestry meeting of the church he attended, and had headed a liberal subscription for the object which brought it together. On his return to the sitting-room where the evening meal awaited him, his wife remarked that he looked very cold. 'Thank you, I am well wrapped up' was his answer; but the words were the last he ever spoke articulately. He sat down and opened his lips to say grace—a habit, it is remarked, he had never failed to preserve amid all the haste of war—but no sound came from them, and he presently sank back in his chair in a half-insensible state, from which he never rallied, expiring tranquilly on October 12, with his family around him.

So passed away the greatest victim of the Civil War. Even in the farthest North, where he had once been execrated as the worst enemy of the Union, the tidings caused a thrill of regret. But though America has learnt to pardon, she has yet to attain the full reconciliation for which the dead hero would have sacrificed a hundred lives. Time can only bring this to a land which in her agony bled at every pore. Time, the healer of all wounds, will bring it yet. The day will come when the evil passions of the great civil strife will sleep in oblivion, and North and South do justice to each other's

motives, and forget each other's wrongs. Then history will speak with clear voice of the deeds done on either side, and the citizens of the whole Union do justice to the memories of the dead, and place above all others the name of the great chief of whom we have written. In strategy mighty, in battle terrible, in adversity as in prosperity a hero indeed, with the simple devotion to duty and the rare purity of the ideal Christian knight, he joined all the kingly qualities of a leader of men.

It is a wondrous future indeed that lies before America; but in her annals of years to come as in those of the past there will be found few names that can rival in unsullied lustre that of the heroic defender of his native Virginia, Robert Edward Lee.

ART. IV.—1. *The Licensing Act, 1872; with Explanatory Introduction and Notes.* By W. A. HOLDSWORTH, Esq. London: 1872.

2. *Convocation Report on Intemperance.* London: 1869.

3. *Report from the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards.* 1872.

HOWEVER much an Englishman may admire the social organisation of Continental nations, he has little tolerance for the doctrines of that school which would throw upon Government the obligation of taking entire charge of the people, and providing for all their interests. Imbued with the principles of modern political economy, and always jealous of his individual liberty, he never desires himself to feel, or to be compelled to recognise, the existence of Government in the business of daily life. For he knows that the grandeur and extent of our commercial enterprise, and the vastness of our various industrial associations, by which Great Britain has become the richest, and perhaps most powerful, nation in the world, are due not to Government organisation, but to private energy and skill. There are indications, however, that the Englishman has begun to discover that in some things the State may still act with advantage, without any undue interference with individual liberty. It will be generally acknowledged that if our English system has secured freedom, we pay dearly for the blessing; and if the Continental system has repressed individual energies and capacities, and not allowed scope enough for the development of general enterprise, it has still something to show for its policy in the widely-diffused

comfort of all classes, and in the general simplicity and decency of life. We have perhaps carried our policy of *laissez faire* a little too far; and now, while we still hesitate to enlarge to any considerable extent the sphere of interference by the State, we are quietly opening our minds to those larger notions, in which the protection and restraint of Government may be recognised as legitimate. We have made up our minds to this necessity in the determined attempt to extirpate the vice of drunkenness, which is known to lie at the root of a large part of our social miseries and scandals, and which we have already for generations done so much to encourage and so little to check.

For a long period public opinion seemed to look upon the ravages of intemperance with a curious but helpless anxiety, if not with a fatalism which regarded the injuries it inflicted on society as we regard the frosts of winter or the heats of summer. But it has come at length to present a bulk of concrete fact far too vast and hideous to be any longer endured, shocking at once the moral sense and social order of mankind; and public opinion has been still further excited by the fact that the adversary is not only strong in numbers and position, but has been recently swelling its ranks by fresh reinforcements, and extending its lines in every direction. The people of this country are spending in drink a hundred millions sterling a year. A trade has grown up in this kingdom, with a capital of a hundred and seventeen millions sterling, and a constituency of a million and a half engaged in the management of its 150,000 establishments—a trade more powerful far than the cotton industry with its capital of eighty-five millions, or the woollen trade with its twenty-two millions, or the iron trade with its twenty-five millions—a trade which consumes in the manufacture of drink an amount of grain equal to the whole produce of Scotland—which returns to the revenue 29,126,000*l.*, or nearly half the actual taxation of the United Kingdom—and which, after all, in its legitimate exercise, provides but a luxury, and in its illegitimate, the most insidious of all social temptations. These are facts of uncommon interest and significance. We have little sympathy with the exaggerated accusations brought by temperance orators against the manufacturers or the sellers of liquor; but we have even less patience or respect for the arguments of those Parliamentary representatives of the trade, who insist that the licence to sell liquor is as legitimate and beneficial as a licence to sell bread or snuff. We readily admit that it is possible for people to hurt themselves by excessive eating as well as by excessive

drinking, but the evils of chronic indigestion are not for a moment to be weighed against paupers created by the thousand, gaols swarming with culprits, and lunatic asylums crowded with victims, through the excesses of the traffic in drink. We are also fairly entitled to argue that other trades in their extension bring nothing but benefit to the country, but the over-extension of the drink-trade brings nothing but misfortune. Nobody is tempted into buying too much bread or meat by the multiplication of butchers' or bakers' shops, but the prevalence of intoxication is found to increase in the direct ratio of the number of public-houses. It is this conviction that leads the nation at present to hail any measure to reduce the national expenditure upon drink as nothing short of a national blessing.

The case, however, has become doubly serious with the growing wealth and prosperity of the country. We have reached a period in our national history when the industrial classes, who constitute the majority of the people, have attained a position of unexampled comfort and prosperity. They have risen for years past in skill, in education, in organisation, and in expenditure; and the course of legislation has of late years gone out of its way in every instance to relieve them of all burdens or obligations, whilst very recently they have made new terms with their employers, in the exercise of the right they undoubtedly possess to revise from time to time the conditions of their service, and as the country prospers, to obtain an increasing share in its gains. We wish we could say, however, that the abounding prosperity now so general is tending to increased frugality and thrift. We have always lamented the reckless improvidence, the brutal drunkenness, the gross sensualism so rife among the English working-classes; but it is all too certain that the mass of the working-men, as they have found their earnings increase, now spend the surplus in animal enjoyments, in idle sports, or in actual debauchery, shirking their tasks for several days in every week, and devoting their leisure, not to improvement or refreshment, but to drink.* Professor

* Captain M'Neill, chief-constable of the West Riding of Yorkshire, testified last year, before Mr. Dalrymple's Committee on Habitual Drunkards, as follows:—'Colliers who used to make 3s. 6d. a day can now make 5s. or 7s., and they will work three or four days, and drink 'for the rest of the week, remaining perfectly idle.' Mr. Wetherell, another witness, says:—'A man has time now on Saturday to get 'drunk twice before he goes to bed.' Another witness, speaking of Sunday dissipation, remarks that Tuesday, at mid-day, is the recognised time with a large class of workers to begin the week's work. It is

Leone Levi calculates that of the sum expended in drink in the United Kingdom, the proportion consumed by the working-classes is about two-thirds of the whole, and that, of the 86*l.* per annum, which constitutes the average annual income of the workman, he spends 18*l.* in drink and tobacco, including the taxes on those articles. Such improvidence as this will not go unpunished: it lies at the root of half the pauperism of the country; and unless they learn wisdom in time the working classes will see the current of improvement they have watched with so much satisfaction disastrously reversed. The glow of present prosperity is likely to relax the spirit of self-restraint, and make them forget how greatly a little self-denial now may promote their comfort and welfare hereafter. The social emancipation they seek is not to be obtained by the action of Trades' Unions, but is to be sought for strictly in the line of moral culture; for dissipated habits have a direct tendency to diminish the remuneration of labour, to injure the workman's efficiency, and to destroy the spirit of individual self-reliance and independence.

We are not to suppose, however, that the undue resort to stimulants is exclusively to be found among the working-classes. Attention has been called to a practice, not unfrequent in commercial life, in which the excitement of business fosters a habit of resorting, during the morning hours, to wine and other stimulants, often leading ultimately to the loss of self-control, and to the predominance of a craving for intoxicating drink. The same habits have gained ground in America; they are the perils which arise from abundance of wealth, on the one hand, and the exciting spirit in which business is often carried on, on the other. If we are to believe the testimony of eminent professional witnesses examined before Mr. Dalrymple's Committee, the evil has also extended to the higher classes. We have heard of 'drawing-room alcoholism;' of the habit of young women of the upper classes drinking a small quantity of scent before going into society, because it gives an agreeable stimulus to the animal spirits, but really proves the first step to utter debasement and loathsome

well known that the brickmakers, as a class, are the most highly remunerated of English working-people; for, during the six months of their working season, a single workman and his family will earn from 140*l.* to 220*l.*, and yet, in winter, as we are officially told, 'They will scarcely have a crust of bread to eat, or a stick of furniture to sit on; everything goes in drink.' The vices of the people, not their savings, have increased with their augmented wages.

drunkenness. It is impossible to deny that the experience of the medical profession, and even of private life, records numerous cases of this kind, which but a few years ago would have been deemed incredible. We all know that during the last fifty years, drunkenness had almost died out among the upper classes. A hundred years ago the middle classes drank hard, and the upper classes harder still; but their dissipation did not involve the social miseries and crimes which are seen to flow from the unrestrained self-indulgence of the working-classes. We have now evidently reached an age—to use the language of the historian Michelet—‘an age in which the ‘progressive invasion of spirits and narcotics is an invincible ‘fact, bringing with it results varying according to the popu- ‘lations; here obscuring the mind and barbarising beyond ‘recovery; there fatally penetrating the foundations of physi- ‘cal life, and attainting the race itself.’ Amongst the calamities of France, one of the greatest is the increasing consumption of absinthe and drams, which corrode and debase the very heart of the people.

The great question now is, What is to be done to stop this evil of drunkenness? What efforts can we put forth to foster habits of sobriety among all classes, but especially among those artisans and labourers whose energy and capacity have so long supplied the sinews of England's power and prosperity? In other words, what can be done to reduce the dimensions of a trade which takes a hundred millions a year out of the earnings of the nation? The subject has for nearly two generations excited the intense investigation of moralists and politicians, who have examined into the causes, operations, and consequences of drunkenness, and laid down certain principles of policy by which it is to be checked. For a long time the battle was carried on exclusively by temperance societies, the influence of which was always rather preventive than curative; but by and by the aid of the Legislature was invoked, and now various schemes are vigorously worked by large sections of society, representing every sect and party, in the interests of national purity and morality. There was always a great deal that was foolish, empirical, and even impracticable in these various schemes; but they nevertheless did a large amount of good, not only in reclaiming drunkards, but in creating an atmosphere of public opinion favourable to the adoption of stringent measures against this national vice.

We shall now proceed to examine the various plans proposed for the repression or extirpation of drunkenness, and we shall then submit what we believe to be the best method for

dealing effectively with this crying evil. Strange to say, forty years ago, wise statesmen and political economists imagined that the cure was to be found in declaring a perfectly free trade in liquor. This was the origin of the Beer Act, which has caused more ruin and demoralisation to the lower classes than any other measure of our day. There was an expectation that the beer-shops, first opened in 1830, would draw men away from the consumption of ardent spirits; but they caused an immense increase of drunkenness; so much so that Parliament refused to extend the Act to Ireland, and Lord Brougham, ten years later, moved the total repeal of the mischievous measure. Various causes prevented the abolition of the beer-shops, which continued to demoralise the people. Sydney Smith said at the time:—‘The new beer-bill has begun its operations. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state.’ Up till the passing of Selwyn-Ibbetson’s Act, in 1869, the beer-shops enjoyed the privilege of free trade, for their owners required no licence from the magistrates, and had merely to do with the Excise department; and it was not found that their respectability, or the purity of the mixtures sold in them, were maintained by the force of competition. In fact, adulteration flourished in them quite as much as in the public-houses, and they were certainly more noxious as centres of vice and disorder. No statesman will ever again declare a free trade in liquor.

The question rather is, Will any statesman ever advance to the other extreme, and pass a prohibitory law, abolishing the whole traffic? The prospect is at present extremely improbable. Within Parliament, as we all know, the principle of the House of Commons is to avoid large or sweeping measures; but without Parliament, nothing but large measures are proposed; as, for example, by the United Kingdom Alliance, whose members are numerous, wealthy, and influential, but, above all things, impatient of all mere regulated monopolies, as well as of all routine and compromise, and specially eager for the adoption of wholesale restrictions. They urge that the renewal of a licence to sell intoxicating drink is within the standing discretion of the licensing authorities, but that the decision of these authorities, in each case and on each renewal, should be governed by the result of a popular vote. In other words, where two-thirds of the householders in a given district are opposed to the granting of licences, the magistrates should not grant them. This is the Permissive Bill. If we understand the object of

this organisation, and if it has any sure foundation, two-thirds of the population in any British town must be so convinced of the duty of sobriety and the evils of drunkenness that they would, if permitted, suppress the very means of intemperance. But it proposes to accomplish by a restrictive law what any member of the Alliance, or any man of the constituency for which they are so solicitous, might do for himself on his own mere motion at any moment of his life. Why, upon this necessary assumption, should not any two-thirds of the body at once act upon their convictions, without an interference which, if convenient to them, must be oppressive to others? Nobody is compelled to spend a farthing in drink unless he pleases; and the evils of a clandestine traffic in liquor would in some respects surpass those which have sprung up under a regulated trade.

We need hardly say that the success of prohibitive legislation in America is not sufficiently decisive to justify us in following Transatlantic methods of reform. When Mr. Plim-soll, M.P., visited Portland, the chief city of Maine, about a year ago, he discovered no less than three hundred public-houses in the city, and heard of three thousand arrests for drunkenness in a single year, though the sale of intoxicating drinks is entirely forbidden by the law. Thirteen varieties of whiskey were offered to him by the bar-keeper of a Portland public-house. Both Dr. Parrish and Dr. Dodge, the two medical witnesses from America, who gave evidence before Mr. Dalrymple's Committee, asserted that the prohibitive laws of the various States were not enforced but evaded in a hundred ways, and it was always a question with Dr. Parrish whether 'the demoralisation of society in 'creating a sense of disrespect to the law, and all sorts of 'manœuvres to escape it, was not as great an evil as the 'drinking of liquor.' We cannot, then, regard the Permissive Bill with any approval. It is extravagant in scope, injudicious in principle, and impossible of execution. Its idea of dealing with a bad habit, by endeavouring to remove the means of its indulgence, *without the power of doing it*, is the most preposterous and clumsy that ever entered the human mind.

A very important step has been taken by the Legislature in the interests of national sobriety and order, in passing the Licensing Act of 1872. The measure does not embody the principles either of the publicans or the Permissive Bill people, but rather reflects the opinions of that moderate majority which goes with neither of the two parties, and sees in a compromise the best basis for legislation. Indeed, the differ-

ences between the new and the old system are principally in matters of detail, unless the penalties against adulteration be taken as the germ of a new type of legislation. The evil which the Act seeks to lessen is the demoralisation caused by places where liquor is drunk on the premises. There can be no doubt that for one tippler who drinks at home, a hundred are ruined at the bar of the public-house; for the people are there encouraged to drink, not only by the presence of companions and the cheerfulness of a hall flaring with gas, but by being furnished with liquor in single draughts or drams as they may require it. Nothing could be more beneficial than the clauses assigning severe penalties to adulteration. There can be no more cruel offence against the well-being of the poorer classes than that of drugging them, under the guise of beer, with such poisons as *cocculus indicus*, *copperas*, opium, or strychnine. Many a poor fellow has probably committed crimes, when he was not drunk, but poisoned, and the greatest offender was the adulterating publican or brewer. Some members of Parliament thought it arbitrary to affix a placard for a certain time to the house of a publican convicted of adulteration; but we cannot conceive a more appropriate penalty, and the law will act powerfully in favour of sobriety by treating every vitiation of strong drink as a disgraceful offence. Everything will, of course, depend upon the energy and watchfulness of the Police and the Excise. A few examples of severe punishment in each city or town may effect the necessary improvement in the quality of the liquors sold.

Another good provision in the Act is the limitation of the number of hours that public-houses and beer-shops are to be open. It seems an anomaly to shut the country house at ten, and the town house at eleven; but people go to bed earlier in the country than in the town. There can be no doubt that the Act, by restricting the opportunities of the drinker, has already reduced intemperance; for, as the Home Secretary remarked with truth, every advancing hour of the night brings with it an increasing ratio of drunkenness. How thankful will thousands of men and tens of thousands of women be for the friendly restrictions of the law which force the workman to go home when the natural time for rest has come, and drive him from temptations he has not strength to resist! The hour from eleven to twelve is the very turning-point in which drinking passes into drunkenness. Answers have been received from a hundred police-stations with regard to the operations of the Act; and they testify, with a remarkable unanimity, that the

nights are now quieter, night-brawls are fewer, and drunkenness has diminished. The only complaint of the watchmen is that they feel the nights very 'long and lonesome.' It is quite true that in many districts there is no apparent diminution in the convictions for drunkenness; but this fact is fairly attributable to the greater vigilance and faithfulness of the police. The long hours during which public-houses used to be open were extremely cruel to respectable publicans themselves and their families. For whilst the working-men were demanding a reduction of their own hours of labour to fifty-one a week, they showed, during the discussions on the Licensing Bill, that they expected the publicans to be at work for their convenience for more than a hundred hours. The Sunday restrictions are all beneficial, and the issue of six-day licences is a step in the right direction, which may prepare the way for closing the shops during the whole of Sunday. It would be the greatest boon for the publicans, who are deprived of the rest enjoyed by all other classes of traders, and would cause no inconvenience to the working-classes, who could procure their liquor on the Saturday night.

The object of the Licensing Act is to reduce the number of public-houses, to diminish the consumption of spirits, and to afford a purer drink to the people. The question is, how far will it be successful in its objects? We fear that the Act, even if well-administered, will hardly compose the disputes between two parties so irreconcilable as the liquor-sellers and the Permissive Bill people. If the friends of temperance discover that the apparatus of licence and supervision which the Government has remodelled does not suffice to prevent drunkenness, they will recommence the agitation, if, indeed, the measure just passed ever prevails on them to abandon it. They may hold that there is nothing in making the public-houses respectable to place the temptation to drink out of the reach of the poor. Any reduction in the number of them will only increase the trade of those that remain, and give their owners the extra profits of a monopoly. It is true that drunkenness increases in proportion to the facilities of getting drunk; yet, strange to say, witness after witness before Mr. Dalrymple's Committee testified that the number of public-houses had no effect in determining the amount of intoxication. Major Greig, Head Constable of Liverpool, showed that the beer-shops of that town had declined from 845 in 1869 to 432 in 1872, yet drunkenness had not diminished. The statistics of Leeds and Sheffield tell the same story. The explanation is easily found. It was the increase of the public-houses in

the first instance that led to such enormous drunkenness, by multiplying the sources of temptation; but when once the drinking habit was formed, the mere diminution of the public-houses by a few hundreds could for a time have no appreciable effect upon intemperance. If five hundred public-houses were shut up to-morrow, where there are a thousand to-day, the remaining five hundred would sell almost as much liquor as the thousand. Nevertheless the extinction of five hundred houses would tell in the long run, for the drinking facilities would be proportionately reduced, and there would be fewer houses to tempt those who had not yet formed the habit of drunkenness. It is possible that the new Licensing Act will, to some extent, reduce the amount of drunkenness; but if public expectation on this head should be greatly disappointed, we can well conceive that a party may arise to demand from Parliament a part of what the United Kingdom Alliance aims at—namely, to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquor in bars or tap-rooms. This would not involve the extinction of the retail trade, for spirits would still be bought and sold in the smallest quantities, with this restriction, however, that they would no longer be drunk on the premises. In other words, licences similar to those granted to grocers would be the only ones recognised by the law, because their shops are not houses for public association. The Maine Law itself does not interfere with home consumption or with the trade in imported liquors, if they are sold in the original package; but it entirely forbids the sale of drink, retail or wholesale, within the State. Even in the ranks of the Alliance, the number of persons who regard the use of spirituous liquors as an unmitigated and abominable evil, is probably small. Prohibition is advocated for the most part only because regulation is thought to be impracticable; but there is still, as we have seen, an intermediate step before we can be driven to the adoption of American methods of dealing with a gigantic evil.

Whatever, then, may be the effect of the new Licensing Act in repressing drunkenness, seeing that we have resolved, at least for the present, to regulate rather than destroy the drink-traffic, the question naturally arises, What help can we obtain from other agencies, such as temperance societies, to assist the efforts of legislation? It is an important fact that there are no less than two or three millions of people in the United Kingdom enrolled in the membership of such societies, and influencing, more or less directly, a still larger number of people outside their various organisations; that an annual sum of 70,000*l.* is expended in the agencies of reform, not to speak of

occasional efforts, such as that of the United Kingdom Alliance, to carry the Permissive Bill by the power of capital; * and that very high qualities of intellect and private virtue have been enlisted for nearly fifty years past in the advocacy of temperance. The time is now past for denouncing such societies, though not for criticising their principles and operations. There are those philosophic *doctrinaires* who oppose them as they oppose all associations, lamenting the diminished power of the individual in modern society; and saying, like Mr. Carlyle, 'a curse upon your associations: we want a man.' But there is a great power in the fact of combination. As a means of influencing public opinion and carrying great reforms, it has been always used; sometimes, no doubt, by the lower class of intellects for objects that were not good, for the spread of shallow theories, and for the gratification of petty vanity; but also for the advancement of large and beneficent reforms. Combination was doubly necessary in the temperance reformation, for, without it, it would have been impossible to break the bondage of individual habit and the tyranny of those social and industrial usages which treated spirituous liquors as essential, like food, to the proper support of life. Men banded themselves together by a solemn pledge to resist a prevailing vice; they organised the force contained in the wills of all, either by sympathy or fear, and brought it to bear with aggregate power upon each. The history of the reformation, however, has been one of relapses and broken pledges, and an endless struggle with the powers of social temptation; but it is justly entitled to the credit of having created a public sentiment on behalf of sobriety which is yet expected by its most zealous advocates to crystallise into a law which, encircling the moral conquests it has made, will surely protect its further development. The temperance reform would have been far more successful if its advocates had been less extreme in their principles, less intolerant in their tone, and less disposed to quarrel among themselves. It is well known that to oppose the extravagant lengths to which the advocates of temperance go is, in their view, to oppose temperance itself, and to forfeit all right to denounce drunkenness. It is some explanation of the exaggerated forms of temperance opinion that Great Britain has borrowed from America the methods of dealing with this vice. Indeed, every curious or eccentric phase of opinion on the subject has been reproduced in

* More than 90,000*l.* of the 100,000*l.* fund has been already raised for the purpose specified above.

this country with the most extraordinary fidelity. There is nothing strange in American ideas being *bizarre*, extravagant, or even absurd, for society in the States is in a fluent condition, and readily adapts itself to the intellectual caprices of individuals; while a moral intolerance prevails in society, suppressing all individual dissent, far worse than those 'usurpations upon the freedom of private life' which Mr. Mill charges upon the English middle-classes with their aggressive zeal and Puritanic spirit. It is very singular, however, to find the extreme opinions of America accepted so readily in a country like England, with social forms so rigid, and with habits that have created ruts out of which it is difficult for any theorist to escape. But the very same characteristics which make Britons less susceptible than others to curious projects and vain theories, impart to the few who do adopt them an obstinacy of purpose which renders formidable that which the community at large treat with indifference or neglect.

It will be understood from these observations that the temperance party, both at home and abroad, are not a single compact body, thinking alike and moving together, but a great straggling host, of which one battalion marches far in advance of the rest. There have been three great stages of development in the history of the temperance movement. In its first stage, there was abstinence from all distilled liquors, along with the temperate use of all fermented liquors; but this method of curing drunkenness in ten years or so came into conflict with, and largely yielded to, the doctrine of total abstinence from all liquors, distilled and fermented, which represents the second stage of development. The third stage is now reached in the principles of the fanatical party known as 'Bible-Wine men,' who hold it sinful to drink wine, and therefore refuse to partake of the ordinary element in the Lord's Supper.

It is because we sincerely desire the success of the temperance movement, that we lament the growing extravagance of its advocates, which cannot fail to disgust sober and sensible people and repel them even from the fair consideration of their schemes. Besides, they are dividing the friends of temperance, wasting their energies in internal conflicts, and threatening to involve the churches themselves in their fanatical controversies. If they are not wise in time, they will cease to exercise any control whatever over public sentiment in a most important branch of morals. There is nothing more dangerous than to base a great social reform on untenable

ground ; and it is because we desire to see the temperance reformation succeed, that we protest against those errors in principle which must be fatal to a wide and commanding influence. Let the cause be advocated on the grounds of Christian expediency as expounded by St. Paul, and let the temperance orator draw at pleasure upon the great arsenal of facts gathered from human experience as to the effects of the drinking usages of society upon health, pauperism, crime, and insanity, to forge an invincible argument on behalf of total abstinence, not, perhaps, as a universal law, but as the most effective principle for resisting the evils of intemperance. Though we have no high opinion of the ordinary style of temperance addresses, whether as to arguments, rhetoric or facts, we are willing to make a large allowance for the exigencies of an unpopular and somewhat hackneyed cause. We can well understand that there are thousands of people who do not understand good from bad argument, yet may be so favourably influenced by strong assertion, persistent oratory, and metaphorical allusions, as thereby to become permanently reclaimed from evil habits. It is possible for us to exaggerate the danger of mistaking excitement for progress; for, in the experience of the temperance reformation, that advocacy has always been the most useful which produces immediate results of enthusiasm and arouses the feelings by powerful appeals, without, perhaps, any very skilful address to the understanding.

It is interesting to observe that the temperance reformation has just entered on a new phase in connexion with what we must call a new order of moral chivalry. We allude to the Order of Good Templarism. Its somewhat grotesque aspect bespeaks its American origin. It arose in 1851, and now reckons a membership of more than half a million in the United States alone. Four years ago, it was introduced into England, where it now boasts of 1,300 lodges; a year later, it entered Scotland, where it has 1,000 lodges; and a year later, it was introduced into Ireland, where it now reckons 160 lodges. It is evidently destined to great popularity, and may accomplish a vast amount of good among the working-classes of our great towns. We regret the pompous and frivolous usages with which it surrounds a really dignified and manly institution, while the adoption of mysterious signs and passwords (though it is doubtful whether it possesses any secrets worth the keeping), is a really retrograde step in an age which frowns upon all secret societies. The object of its founders was evidently to utilise that craving for the unknown which forms so essential a portion of human nature;

but both the secrecy and the pageantry of the Order will be undoubtedly obstacles to its success with any but the humblest classes of the community. Its really strong point is the friendly surveillance it establishes over the conduct of the members, who are brought almost into the intimacies and solitudes of family relationship. The power of the organisation will be greatly promoted by this social principle, which was wanting in all former phases of the temperance reform, for it will create an *esprit de corps* which cannot fail to exercise a stimulating effect upon its miscellaneous membership. We are not so convinced of the wisdom that prescribes a life-pledge instead of the old pledge of abstinence during membership, but moderate counsels are hardly to be expected from the usual order of American reformers.

The progress of Good Templarism has been rapid beyond all example in the history of social reforms. We must remember, however, that it found the ground already prepared by the ceaseless action of the old societies, and that it had in the first instance to absorb into its ranks the thousands already reclaimed. The Order is still too new for us to judge confidently of its permanent effects; but the testimony is undoubted that it has succeeded in breaking altogether new ground with a very favourable prospect of solving the most difficult problem of the day, namely, the reclamation of the lapsed classes. It seems to act everywhere like a living fire, spreading wider and wider its glowing bosom, and thrusting its tongue of flame farther and farther into the mass around. An eminent Scotch clergyman has declared that 'next to the preaching of the Gospel, the Good Templar movement has done more for the reclamation of the lapsed masses than any other agency.'

The clergy of all denominations ought to throw their energies, with a large and enlightened zeal, into the temperance movement, for the Christian spirit is never more honoured than when it sets itself to redeem the masses from the slavery of degrading habits. There are no less than 4,000 total abstiners among the 50,000 clergymen of all sects ministering in these realms; but vastly more might be done by the clergy than they have yet attempted, to sustain the organisations already existing for the repression of drunkenness. The happiest results may be anticipated from the recent establishment of the Church of England Temperance Society, under the presidency of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, not merely because it is based on the wise proposals of a few zealous clergymen which have been formally accepted by the

Church, but because the Episcopate itself is now pledged to a systematic crusade against our national vice. The Archbishop of Canterbury very properly said, at the inaugural meeting of the society, that the Church has always been in design a great Temperance Association, but she has too long allowed mere voluntary associations to take that place in the work of national reformation which she could herself have occupied with far greater unity and effectiveness. She cannot now any longer neglect to utilise the influence that other bodies have found to lie in the force of association; and as she has an organisation already existing in every parish, and a competent man to work it, we may expect that the movement will be carried on with a combined, sustained, and methodical energy. His Grace very happily disclaimed any spirit or desire to separate from other societies, but thought that 'in our National Church the clergy had the best possible means of advancing a good national work, not in antagonism but in friendly rivalry with those beyond the Church of England communion.' The establishment of this new society is all the more important at present, because Parliament will hardly venture for some considerable time to legislate anew upon the licensing system, and our chief reliance must therefore, meanwhile, be placed in moral agencies. The Roman Catholic clergy are also under special obligations to engage in this work with needful promptitude and zeal; for the Irish masses of our great towns are particularly addicted to drunkenness, and have done much to injure our own working-classes by their unthrifty and degrading habits. When it is remembered that one-half of all the commitments to Liverpool gaol for drunkenness are Irish, and that one-fifth of the inmates of all our gaols in England and Wales are Irish, though they are not quite a twentieth part of the whole population, it is quite time that the Roman Catholic clergy should throw a little of that energy which they display so freely in politics into a movement for the rescue of their countrymen from vices which have always detracted from their success in life, and have imposed such a heavy tax upon our English community.

Indeed, every class in English society might do a great deal to promote temperate habits and wipe away our national disgrace. The landlords have already done much in the rural districts, partly as magistrates by refusing licences and partly as landlords by inserting in leases a prohibition of beer-shops. We have seen a list of eighty-nine estates in England and Scotland, where the drink-traffic has been altogether sup-

pressed, with the very happiest social results. The late Lord Palmerston suppressed the beer-shops at Romsey as fast as the leases fell in. We know an estate which stretches for miles along the romantic shore of Loch Fyne, where no whiskey is allowed to be sold. The peasants and fishermen are flourishing; they have all money in the bank; and they obtain higher wages than their neighbours when they go to sea. Within the Province of Canterbury, as we learn by the Convocation Report on Intemperance, there are no less than 1,492 parishes, townships or hamlets, where there is neither public-house nor beer-shop, and where, in consequence, the intelligence, morality, and comfort of the people are all that could be desired. It is still in the power of the landlords greatly to reduce their number. It would also greatly promote sobriety among the working-classes both of town and country if landlords and capitalists would provide them with better houses, and thus surround them with happier social conditions. We need hardly say that the resource of strong drink is little less than a physical necessity to thousands of workmen and labourers dwelling in the unhealthy districts of our great manufacturing towns, breathing an atmosphere which undermines the vigour of youth and manhood, and sows the seeds of premature decay. The very growth of our prosperity has indeed increased the evil. The march of modern improvement and the exigencies of advanced civilisation requiring in the heart of the great cities large spaces for manufactures and railway stations, have swept away many of the worst streets; but what has thus been removed has not been replaced, and the masses, bereft of their miserable dwellings, have been only driven upon the scanty accommodation of their poorer neighbours, crowding to suffocation dens already filled. Every new outbreak of fever in such places has sent new alarms to the hearts of the middle and upper classes, and then benevolence, reinforced by terror and selfishness, has quickened its pace, but has sometimes aggravated the mischief by collecting larger numbers of recipients of alms. If English society is ever to be purified from its depths, it is only possible through an improved system of dwellings for the working-classes. To give them homes is the sure means to promote not only their physical comfort but their moral regeneration. Few speculators ever dream of erecting streets for their accommodation; yet no speculation would be more successful. Landlords in the rural districts are beginning to bestir themselves in this good work, for they know that nothing will tend more to make their labourers contented, comfortable, and thrifty, while it will amply repay them by lowering poor-

rates and by the large rents the peasants are eager to pay for a plot of ground to be cultivated in their leisure hours. The capitalists of towns might very well invest a portion of their vast capital in constructing working-class dwellings, which would have an influence of the most beneficial order even upon the advancement of their own interests; and an excellent society has recently been founded for this purpose, which pays six per cent. on its capital.

But above all, the working-classes might do much to emancipate themselves from the bondage of degrading habits. Mr. Thomas Brassey praises the leaders of the Trades' Unions for discouraging drunkenness; but we have never heard of any particular steps they have taken for this purpose. They have an organisation already in existence to regulate the conditions of their labour: why should they not employ it to suppress drunkenness, and thus make their labour more profitable to themselves and to society? We know it is difficult to reach the convictions of our workmen, who work harder than those of any other country, and imagine that hard work is an excuse for hard drinking. When Mr. Brassey was constructing the Great Northern Railway, there was a celebrated gang of 'navvies' who did more work than any other gang on the line and always left off work an hour and a half earlier than the other men. 'Every man in this powerful gang 'was a teetotaler.' The Trades' Unions ought to use their influence to stop the payment of wages at public houses—a practice which has always had a demoralising and injurious tendency. The working-classes are beginning to understand the new and rapidly-expanding system of Co-operation, which has been so remarkably successful at Rochdale and in various other parts of the kingdom. They possess capital enough, if they will not waste it in beer and tobacco, to try the experiment on a large scale; for it has been calculated that the money paid by them for drink and tobacco alone, could secure to them the whole of the capital employed in trades, professions, and occupations, in ten years, and purchase all the land of the country in twenty years more. We have in the success of these co-operative schemes a solution of the most difficult of all social questions, and a guarantee, moreover, for those virtues of sobriety, prudence, and thrift, which will work out the emancipation and elevation of the British working-man.

We have thus noticed various remedies for dealing with drunkenness, which are all, however, rather preventive than curative in their character. Let us now consider the details of a plan proposed for dealing with drunkenness as a disease,

and treating it scientifically in asylums for the inebriate. Society has uniformly hitherto regarded drunkenness as a mere offence against the public welfare and morals, and has had no knowledge of it as a disease. Doctors tell us, however, that excess in drink by a man heretofore sober is often one of the first symptoms of general paralysis; that there is a special form of mental alienation, called *Dipsomania*, in which the principal symptom is excess in drink; and that drunkenness is frequently due to hereditary transmission. But in many instances, insanity is the direct result of drunkenness, and presents itself under three well-defined forms, known as *delirium tremens*, general paralysis, and alcoholic pseudo-paralysis.* This last form is curable, and institutions have been founded expressly for its treatment. The public are acquainted with the leading points of the measure introduced into Parliament by Mr. Dalrymple, member for Bath. Starting from the principle that drunkards are a very peculiar class, and that the evils and miseries which they inflict on society are absolutely unendurable, he proposed the establishment of refuges for the drunkard, but withdrew it on the promise of Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, that he would grant a Select Committee to inquire into the subject in all its bearings. The report of this Committee is now in our hands, and is an exceedingly instructive document. It very properly points out 'a very large amount of drunkenness among all classes and both sexes, which never becomes

* All the doctors who gave evidence before Mr. Dalrymple's Committee are agreed that habitual drunkenness is a form of insanity. Dr. Peddie, of Edinburgh, speaks of the quality of the crimes committed by persons under the influence of drink as affording a sort of crucial test upon this point. For example, criminals, who are habitual drunkards, adhere with great uniformity to one class of crime. One man, when drunk, always stole bibles; another, spades; another, shoes; another, shawls; another, tubs. Dr. Skae, of Edinburgh, says there are other symptoms of insanity besides drinking:—'The habitual drunkards are entirely given to lying: you cannot believe a word they say when under the influence of drink, and they will very often entertain a dislike to their friends, which makes them dangerous. I have a gentleman under my care now, who has been well for three years, but when he is ill he hates his wife, and he hates his own life, and when he is well, he is very gentle and modest and retiring in his habits.' Another doctor says: 'Dipsomaniacs are indifferent to their relatives and friends; and their moral nature is degraded.' Every medical witness represents *Dipsomania* as involving the loss of truth, honour, and affection, as well as intellectual enfeeblement. These are all symptoms of mental derangement.

public or is dealt with by the authorities, but which is probably even a more fertile source of misery, poverty, and degradation than that which comes before the police courts; and reports that 'legislation in such cases was strongly advocated by all the witnesses before the Committee.' Some of the witnesses thought it remarkable that institutions for the treatment of inveterate drunkards are so rare, and that we are without legal sanction for treating chronic or inveterate drunkenness as a cause of insanity or irresponsibility. Dr. Forbes Winslow says: 'Such institutions are, to my mind, one of the great and crying wants of the age. I know numbers of ladies moving in very good society who are never sober, and often brought home by the police drunk. They are wives of men in a very high social position. I have been often consulted about these cases; my hands are tied; I have no doubt there is the insanity of drunkenness in them, but it is not the insanity that comes within the strict letter of the law.' Dr. Druitt appealed to the Committee strongly in behalf of a class consisting chiefly of women of the upper classes, or men who were led to secret drinking for the relief of misery, and urged that the habit defied all moral or religious restraints. 'I have known many instances of women, amiable, respectable, and pre-eminently religious, who, nevertheless, were the victims of this habit from physical or moral causes.' The witnesses believed that many a good life would be saved if the law gave power to friends, subject to medical certification, to confine drunkards in such institutions, and that the very fear of being sent to them would operate powerfully in some cases. But we are bound to consider the interests of society, and especially of families, as well as those of individual drunkards. It is a very serious fact that drunkenness represents a more constant deduction from our capacity for physical and moral action than fever or insanity in its ordinary forms; but its disastrous effects, especially upon the social and moral welfare of families, are even wider than those of so-called diseases. For, not to speak of the evil inflicted by hereditary disorders transmitted by drunken parents to their offspring, we must reflect upon the widespread suffering and distress of relatives who are quite powerless against outrages which the existing state of the law may punish but cannot prevent. Dr. Bree, of Colchester, said he knew of a case in which a man killed his wife by getting drunk and coming into her sick room and worrying her out of life till she died. Dr. J. C. Brewne, of Wakefield, says that refuges for inebriates would be a great relief to relatives and friends. 'Frequent applica-

tions are now made from the relatives and friends of habitual drunkards, asking what is to be done with them, and stating that their patience is exhausted; and he mentions the circumstances of a case in which the relatives actually sent a drunkard to a hotel that he might drink himself to death. Thus they got finally rid of him.

The report of Mr. Dalrymple's Committee was mainly founded upon the experience derived from the working of these institutions for inebriates in America, of which there are nine in the United States and one in Canada. Mr. Dalrymple had himself visited all of them but one, and two superintendents of inebriate asylums, Dr. Parrish and Dr. Dodge, gave important evidence to the Committee respecting their constitution and management. The substance of their testimony may be briefly described.

The first institution of this kind was founded at Binghampton, in the State of New York, by an Englishman, named Dr. Turner, who raised 8,000*l.* by voluntary subscriptions for the erection of the necessary buildings; but being unable to complete the work, he transferred it to the State Legislature, on condition that they would make annual appropriations to finish it. The institution was opened for the reception of patients in 1863, and now contains 80 inmates, though, when fully completed, it will accommodate 200. Altogether, the enormous sum of 120,000*l.* has been expended upon it by the New York Legislature. All the other asylums have been erected by private enterprise, on benevolence, though, with two exceptions, they all receive a partial support from the State. There is a favourable report of their financial position, as a weekly charge of twenty dollars to voluntary inmates is said to render them easily self-supporting, and the labour of the committed patients more than defrays the cost of their detention. Since their foundation, 5,959 persons have been admitted to all the asylums, of whom 5,615 persons entered voluntarily, 144 by the intervention of friends,* and 214 were committed by the justices. Of this whole number, 2,618 have

* Dr. Parrish refers to an 'Act relating to Lunatics and Habitual Drunkards,' which provides that any relative of an habitual drunkard may present his case to the Resident Judge of Common Pleas or Quarter Sessions, who appoints a commissioner to investigate the case by the aid of a jury of six men, in the presence of the drunkard. The inquiry is conducted, for the sake of privacy, in the commissioner's own office. The judge gives effect to the verdict of the jury, if the case is proved, by committing the drunkard to an inebriate asylum for a certain specified period.

been cured, or about 34 per cent. There is some variety of opinion as to the exact value of these cures, but the American witnesses testified that no cure was ever reported without the most careful inquiry into the subsequent history of each case. The managers are all of opinion that the proportion of cures is conditioned by the length of the residence. The average residence of each patient is a hundred days, though some remain a year and more; but the managers consider the hundred days too short a period, and as they have no legal power to detain their patients, the history of the asylums has been marked by a large proportion of relapses. An eminent American doctor, quoted by Dr. Parrish, says that 'nothing but the power of detention, and that for a period long enough to restore the tissues of the body, the development of which has been arrested or altered by the use of alcohol, will suffice; that the very craving for stimulus depends on the patients' depraved or disordered condition, and that, while it lasts, no promise of abstinence is worth a cent.' The desire to obtain drink becomes most imperious exactly at the time when it will inflict the greatest mischief. At this stage of treatment, advice, entreaty, warning are alike useless; and threats, unless backed by the power of the key, are just as unavailing. This period lasts but a short time, and twenty-four or forty-eight hours often suffice to avert the danger. The evidence of the American doctors throws little light upon the method of treating drunkards in these asylums. So far as we can ascertain, there is no particular medicinal treatment prescribed—'nothing that we can call specific.' 'Stimulants form no part of the dietetic treatment, and are only used medicinally, and that not in every case.' The Russian vapour-bath is used. Mr. Dalrymple says that all the managers of asylums but one use liquor remedially, but the disease once mastered, it is dropped. It is generally agreed that the advantages of these asylums are much wider than in the restoration of individual drunkards to habits of sobriety, for they exercise a deterrent influence upon other inebriates.

The report of the Committee supplies also some information respecting similar refuges in Great Britain. The principal of these is the Queensberry Lodge Asylum in Edinburgh, established in 1866, for ladies only, who are usually admitted on the urgent solicitation of friends, though there are cases in which the inebriates having been brought before the sheriff get their choice of spending a fixed period in the asylum rather than go to prison. The number of patients admitted since the foundation of the asylum was 149, of whom 37 are reported

as cured, 17 as still under care, leaving 95 to be accounted for. The asylum is entirely self-supporting. There is also under the same committee of management an asylum for inebriates at Queensberry House, established in 1832, for the benefit of the poorer classes, mostly drunken wives or drunken husbands. It contains 300 inmates, of whom 250 are habitual drunkards, and is almost self-supporting. There is also a house called 'The Christian Home for Inebriates,' at Bakewell, in Derbyshire, conducted by a Dissenting minister, and containing from 40 to 50 inmates. It appears from the evidence of Dr. Browne, of the Wakefield Lunatic Asylum, that it was the practice formerly to send habitual drunkards from England to the lunatic asylums of Scotland, but after the Act of 1857 the sheriffs declined any longer to grant warrants for the admission of inebriates to such institutions. It has also been the custom to receive such persons in private houses; but most of these refuges in Scotland, according to Dr. Browne, have been failures; 'arising from the want of power on the part of the guardians, and the want of occupation on the part of the patients.' Dr. Mitchell suggested the erection of one great establishment in some central part of Scotland at the public expense, but would leave the establishment of other asylums to private enterprise.

The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons is altogether favourable to the establishment of refuges in this country. It recommends the legal control of the habitual inebriate—'a power which is obtained easily at a moderate cost, and free from the danger of abuse and undue infringement of personal liberty;' while it suggests that in case of three convictions being recorded within a period of twelve months for drunkenness, the magistrates should require the offender to find sureties for sobriety for a fixed period, and in default of the same, the offender should be sentenced to a considerable period of detention in an industrial reformatory for inebriates. We are not very sanguine about the prospect of sureties being often forthcoming in cases of a very hopeless character, though, if the plan were at all practicable, it would certainly exercise a beneficial influence by enlisting on the side of the drunkard the jealous and watchful co-operation of friends. The Committee recommend the establishment of asylums of two classes—one for those able to pay for themselves, which can be easily supplied through private enterprise, and the other for those unable to pay, or only partially, the asylums for this class being 'established by State or local authorities, and, at first, at their cost, though there is good

'reason to believe that they can be made wholly, or partially, 'self-supporting.' The managers are in all cases to possess full power to detain all inmates for a period determined by certain conditions; 'though, practically, this power would be 'seldom put in force, it will be useless to establish these institutions without it.' Patients will enter the first class of asylums either voluntarily, or through the action of friends, or by the decision of a court of inquiry, similar to that which exists under the lunacy laws, while the risk of an undue interference with private liberty is further guarded against by a periodical inspection of the asylums, conducted by a responsible committee of five persons appointed by the magistrates. The other class of asylums will be available for the treatment of persons convicted as habitual drunkards by the sentence of magistrates, who will determine the period of detention.

The report of the Committee has been followed up without loss of time by the re-introduction of Mr. Dalrymple's Bill for legalising the establishment of these asylums. It confines itself wisely to the one point upon which the members of the Committee were perfectly unanimous, and has the merit of being practical, simple, and cheap, while it carefully avoids an undue interference with personal liberty.

There are persons who resent any attempt to invoke the aid of legislation in carrying out this plan for the reformation of drunkards. The practical sense of mankind, however, has long since drawn a line of demarcation between those interests to which the aphorism of *Laissez faire* is, and those to which it is not, applicable, for it is evidently giving way to that better philosophy which not only tolerates but requires of legislators that they should concern or charge themselves with the health and morals of the people. We can see no practical difficulty in the way of the State establishing, in a tentative way, such refuges for the treatment of habitual drunkards as the Committee of the House of Commons suggests, especially as it can be done, at a comparatively little cost, by the utilisation of existing institutions. There is nothing to prevent our isolating a portion of every existing prison or every existing workhouse for the purposes of this great social experiment; and if the result should be favourable, after a trial of years, the Government might farther extend the system, by establishing separate reformatories on the industrial system.*

* The Americans are at present building at Philadelphia a House of Correction, which, in accordance with the provisions of a measure passed by the State Legislature, is to contain a distinct department or

Meanwhile, it is in the power of private associations to undertake the establishment of asylums for voluntary patients, which, judging by American experience, can be made completely self-supporting. The difficulty lies in the necessity of personal restraint, and the interference with personal liberty in a country like this. But where self-restraint ends, legal restraint begins. A man who cannot take care of himself is justly an object for the protection of the law. The peace of families, the prevention of crime, and the security of the patient himself, absolutely demand that in some cases an habitual drunkard should be placed by some judicial authority where he can be best taken care of and cured. At present, even the worst cases of insane delusions, arising from *delirium tremens*, do not suffice to detain a patient, or to prevent him from consummating his own ruin.

In bringing to a close these observations upon drunkenness, we cannot but feel that the subject demands the earnest and thoughtful consideration of all classes in the community. It is more than a mere question of national morals or of the deterioration of our national reputation—both considerations of the first moment—for there is much reason to fear that our great commercial pre-eminence may itself be endangered by the habitual dissipations of large classes of our population. We are happy to be reassured by Mr. Thomas Brassey that he does not share the opinions of those alarmists who fear that the day of England's commercial glory is departed, for he still has the highest opinion of the industry, common-sense, and many solid qualities of the British workman. But if the greatly increased prosperity of the operative classes should lead to an increased profligacy—involving, as it usually does, the loss of one day in six of productive labour, the derangement of industrial operations, and the imperfection of the work produced—then we may justly apprehend that our vast industries may be thrown into foreign hands, and the weight of the calamity will fall with the most disastrous effect upon the workmen themselves.

hospital for inebriates, where all persons of this class taken up for drunkenness are to be first treated for inebriety, till they are sufficiently recovered for the warden or manager to determine their status.

ART. V. — *Um Szepter und Kronen*. Zeitroman von GREGOR SAMAROW. Zweite Auflage. 4 Bde. Stuttgart: 1873.

THIS 'romance of the times' has made a considerable noise in the diplomatic and fashionable circles of Germany. It is certainly an extraordinary production. As a novel it may be said to be utterly without value: such merit as there is in the work consists in its political scenes and in its sketches of eminent political personages. In one respect the book is certainly without a parallel among modern literary productions: no publication of our time contains within its covers so many royal personages. The author appears to have more or less acquaintance with the courts in which the action of his story is carried on; and they are tolerably numerous, being those of Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Paris, and Hanover; he appears also to have considerable personal knowledge of the statesmen and diplomatists whom he portrays. In one chapter he will set the reader in the middle of the court life of Vienna, and in the next in that of Berlin, or in that of Paris; and he puts his political actors on the stage and sets them in action as adroitly as if they were so many *marionnettes* of which he was the wirepuller. Not often is it given to the ordinary reader to be so plentifully supplied with the discourse of royal and other illustrious persons in political crises of great intensity; and he who peruses these pages may, indeed, say

' Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum
Colloquio.'

The mystery of this familiarity of the author with royal and diplomatic life is intelligible enough, if the report be true that the name on the cover is a mere *nom de plume*, and that the real author is Herr Meding, the private secretary of the ex-King of Hanover, who himself figures as one of the personages of his volumes.

As the work is long and in some parts very dull, it will probably never be translated, and few English readers will care, perhaps, to go through it; we shall therefore depart from our ordinary practice in the copiousness of our extracts. Our object is not so much to write a critical article on the volume as to give our readers a notion of its contents; leaving the author responsible for his facts, and for his fidelity to his representations of so many of the most conspicuous characters of our time.

As for the romance portion of the work, it may be left out

of account altogether. There are two love-stories in it, one of which passes in Hanover, and the other in Vienna; but they are both very dreary insipid portions of the performance, having nothing to do with each other, and no contact with the action of the political characters. The love-making and the war- and peace-making are carried on in entirely different planes, and all the chapters which are mere creations of fiction might be removed from the volume with advantage. The deities who are directing the destinies of the world here are farther removed from all possibility of interesting themselves about the doings of inferior personages than are the gods of Olympus in classic epic poems. Even Jupiter and Juno took some interest in the loves of Dido and Æneas.

Of the taste of the author as a romance-writer, the choice of one of the leading incidents in one of the love-stories is a sufficient instance: a lady tries to revenge herself on her rival by inoculating her with virus from the wound of a wounded man in a hospital; this is a completely German invention, and outdoes in repulsiveness one of the leading incidents in one of Jean Paul's novels, where a lover, in pleading passionately to his mistress by moonlight, lays his hand somewhat roughly on her arm, and the lady sinks down in a swoon and becomes covered with blood. Her lover had undone the ligature which had been placed on her arm that morning after an operation of phlebotomy!

If, however, the term light literature is not a misnomer altogether as applied to Germany, one may say that light literature there, altogether, is a thing to be wondered at. Never did any nation, we imagine, claiming to possess anything like the same amount of culture, fail so utterly in the light and graceful, the elegant, the refined, the witty productions of literature. The number of good novels in Germany may almost be counted on the fingers, while the Germans have never produced a single good comedy; their comedies, when not whining sentimentalities, resemble dull and clumsy farces; and as for their farces, they are more painful to witness than their comedies; while their comic papers, such as the 'Kladderadatsch,' and the 'Fliegende Blätter,' are pitiful products of wit and humour.

Confining our translations, therefore, to the political portions of the work, we commence with a portion of the opening chapter.

'It was the ninth evening-hour of a dark April evening of the year 1866. A Berlin droschke, on the trot peculiar to this mode of conveyance, drove up the Wilhelmsstrasse, and stopped before the ample door, illuminated with two gas lamps, of the house No. 76—the Ministr-

of Foreign Affairs. The ground floor of this long two-storied house was clearly lighted, and one could, if one looked keenly through the green curtains of the windows, see into several office-rooms, which, in spite of the advanced hour of the evening, were filled with zealously-industrious *employés*. The windows of the first story exhibited partially also a faint illumination.

From the droschke which stopped before this house a man descended, of middle stature, in a dark paletot and black hat. He approached the gas lamp in order to find the money necessary for payment in his *portemonnaie*, and, after having settled the reckoning with the numbered Automaton, rang smartly at the bell near the door. The door thereupon opened almost immediately, and the person who sought admittance stepped into the broad entrance-way, at whose extremity the stairs for ascent into the interior of the house were to be found, between two huge lions in repose. On one side of the entrance, at more than a man's height from the ground, a window was opened which led into a porter's lodge, and thereat appeared a porter's head, with that indifferent look which is peculiar to the door-keepers of great houses.

"The door-keeper looked inquiringly at the person who was coming in.

"He, however, only turned his face hastily to the window, and went on in a quiet, indifferent pace to the stairs.

"In the clear light, which during this movement fell on the countenance of the visitor, the features made visible were of a man of about sixty years of age, of healthy complexion though a little yellow. The sharp, lively, dark eye had a piercing, penetrating, but at the same time quiet, benevolent, and friendly sparkle through the glasses of his golden spectacles. A sharply-cut, fine nose, bent with a slight curve down to the small, firmly-closed, beardless mouth, under which an energetically-rounded chin finished off this peculiar physiognomy, which one would hardly forget if one had but seen it once.

"Scarcely had the look of that eye under the rims of the golden spectacles shot up to the porter's lodge than the face of the porter changed its physiognomy as though by a magic touch.

"The indifferent, superior, condescending expression disappeared all of a sudden; the face arranged itself, so to speak, in dutiful folds; and the possessor of the head hurried to the door of his lodge leading to the staircase, where, in a rigid attitude which allowed one to recognise the military man of long service, he remained standing opposite the new arrival, who meanwhile had ascended as far as the steps leading to the vestibule of the ground floor.

"Is the Herr Minister-President at home?" asked the visitor lightly, and with that peculiar superior friendliness which, equally removed from the civility of a petitioner and the forced *nonchalance* of the *parvenu*, characterises the man who is accustomed to move in a securely natural manner on the heights of existence.

"*Zu Befehl, Excellenz*," answered the porter, in the tone of dutiful announcement.

"Now, and how do you get on? Ever stout and vigorous at your work?" said the arrival in a friendly way.

"Most submissive thanks for your Excellency's gracious inquiry, I get on pretty well. Truly one gets a little less strong: everybody is not so firm as your Excellency."

"Well, well, we all get older and go towards our end. Keep yourself brave. God be with you!"

With these friendly and heartily-spoken words, the serious man with the golden spectacles mounted up the broad stairs to the first story, while the old porter looked after him reverentially and pleased, and then returned to his lodge.

The visitor found in the ante-chamber above the domestic of the Herr von Bismarck-Schönhausen, and was by him immediately introduced, through the great, dimly-lighted ante-room, to the cabinet of the Minister-President, where the domestic opened the doors with an announcement addressed to his master—" *Excellenz von Manteuffel!* "

Herr von Bismarck sat before a large writing-table in the middle of the room covered with rolls and papers, and lighted by a tall lamp with a dark globe. On the other side of the table there was an arm-chair, in which the Minister was wont to invite his visitors to sit down.

At the announcement of his domestic, Herr von Bismarck arose and stepped towards his visitor, while Herr von Manteuffel embraced the room with a single glance of his sharp eye, and then, with an almost unobservable half-melancholy smile, seized the proffered hand of the Minister-President.

It was a characteristic picture of deep significance—this standing opposite to each other of these two men. Here, in this second-atom of the present, the past, and the future, old and new Prussia touched each other. Both persons felt something of this impression: they stood for an instant mute and opposite to each other.

We have already given a description of Herr von Manteuffel on his entry into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It remains only for us to add that the removal of his hat disclosed hair of light grey, grown thin and close cut. He stood quietly there, with his right hand in that of Herr von Bismarck, while he held his hat in the soft white fingers of his left hand. His features preserved firmly their stereotyped calm; the mouth was almost hermetically closed, and a defensive reserve impressed its stamp on the whole bearing of the earnest man as he stood.

Herr von Bismarck towered above his companion as he stood by him by nearly a head. His mighty form testified in its bearing that he was accustomed to wear the military uniform. His solidly-formed, strongly-marked countenance spoke in its deep traits of a mighty, passionate, inner life; his grey, clear, piercing eye directed itself steadily and straightly, with cold and bold glance, on the circumstance which he wished to observe; and beneath the high and broad forehead, bald to the roof of his head, there were to be divined thoughts working in elementary formative power, and constrained by an iron will into logical sequence.

This interview between Manteuffel and Bismarck had been arranged previously in order that the latter might have ad

tage of the ideas of his predecessor in office on the policy he was about to adopt. The interview had taken place with the knowledge of the King; and the questions which they had to discuss involved no less than the whole question of to which Power, whether to Austria or to Prussia, the future supremacy in Germany was to belong. Manteuffel, in accordance with the policy he had pursued while in office, was for continuing to avoid the arbitrament of war, and for trusting to the progress of public opinion to raise the confidence of the Germans towards the Prussian hegemony. Herr von Bismarck, however, had almost as good as determined upon a different policy, and the result of the interview was but to strengthen him in the resolves he already entertained.

The conversations in these volumes are, of course, principally carried on by means of speech; but there is a good deal of gesture employed also, and there is one gesture over which the author gives to his personages a most astonishing command, and which is used by way of supplementary accompaniment to conversation. The quantity of smiling his diplomatists make use of is prodigious; and they appear especially to be given to the practice of the 'fine smile,' the 'mournful smile,' and the 'quiet smile;' seldom with them does the 'sudden smile' 'fly' involuntarily over the features, as with more unsophisticated people.

Herr von Manteuffel then, who appears to be a remarkable artist in the 'fine smile,' being of opinion that the proper policy of Prussia in the present crisis was pacific, and not to drive Austria to war, has come to the Prussian Foreign Office, at the desire of Bismarck, to state his views on the crisis.

After the exchange of a few preliminary observations between the *dramatis personæ*, Manteuffel explains the actual crisis as follows:—

" 'You desire,' he went quietly on to say, 'I think, according to the conviction I entertain from my observation of events, to settle the German question, or rather to end it. You desire to place Prussia at the head of the financial and military power of Germany, and to show the point of the sword to those who would oppose you. You would, with a word, force the long chronic crisis which is called the German question into an acute crisis; and,' added he with a *light smile*, 'cure it once for all with the *arcanum* of 'blood and iron.' "

" 'That will I,' replied Herr von Bismarck, without making a movement or without exalting his tone; but his voice vibrated so peculiarly that the sound of these three words resounded like a clang of arms through the room, while an *electric light* streamed out of his unchanged eye directed on Herr von Manteuffel.

'So resounded, out of the inside of the Trojan horse, when touched

by the spear of Laocoön, the light clang of Greek arms—the first tone of those terrible notes before which the walls of Pergamus fell; and which, echoing from the strings of the lyre of Homer (!!) for two thousand years, make to tremble the hearts of the generations of men.'

Herr von Manteuffel then examines all the points of the political situation of Prussia, and enters into an estimation of the elements which appear to incline either in her favour or against her. First, there is the needle-gun and the Prussian army, both powerful factors on which the country can reckon. Then public opinion—at the mention of which Bismarck sneers a little—but which, nevertheless, Manteuffel considers to be something, and to be unfavourable. The Ex-foreign Minister then inquires about the state of the negotiations with France, and his companion gives some but very fugitive account of his visit to Biarritz and to France in 1865, and of his dealings with official personages there—about which, indeed, one would be glad to hear a little precise information. Then the secret treaty with Italy, by which the latter Power bound herself to attack Austria in the south when war should be declared against her in the north—is discussed—and on this part of the arrangements Manteuffel does not place much reliance. Then the situation of Hanover towards Prussia, and the existing state of the negotiations at Hanover are considered. After some observations upon both sides, Manteuffel says:—

"And you yourself, what do you think about the Hanoverian question?"

"If I place myself on the purely objective political point of view," Bismarck replies with frankness, "I cannot help desiring that Hanover did not exist at all, and must regret that our diplomacy did not succeed at the Congress of Vienna in getting the English Royal Family to abdicate its *secundo-geniture*, which perhaps might have been arranged. Hanover is a nail in our flesh, and, even with the best intentions, cripples us mightily. But if, as has been the case for a long while, bad intentions reign there, she may become quite perilous to us. Were I so much of a Machiavelist as people reproach me with at times, I would direct my whole attention to the acquirement of Hanover. And perchance that would not be so difficult, as it seems," continued Herr von Bismarck, following, as it were involuntarily, the train of thought which started up in his mind; "neither the people of England nor the royal house there would trouble themselves much about it. Yet, you know, our most gracious sovereign is very conservative, and has a deep reverence for the Hanoverian-Prussian traditions, which were personified in the Queen Sophia Charlotte and in the Queen Louisa—and I—well, I am no less conservative, and those traditions are to me no less holy, and with all my heart and with full conviction I follow the ideas of the King, to fashion the future according to these traditions, and to make possible the permanent existence of Hanover. But we

cannot continue as we have been. We must have guarantees, and the more the life of States is accentuated and concentrated in their individuality, and the more their communications are developed and become with their rich veins of life the factors, the bases of politics, so much the less can Prussia permit that a strange and perhaps a hostile element shall exist in its body so near to its heart. I can, therefore, in all earnestness reply—I am endeavouring honourably and honestly to win Hanover, and to create for it a secure, honourable, yea, a brilliant position in North Germany, if she on her side respects the old traditions and remains true to us. But, of a truth, they must leave off making us continually feel that they are impediments in our way."

After some communications from Bismarck as to the way in which he was endeavouring to gain Hanover, the two statesmen proceed to discuss the leanings of the South German States which were indisputably hostile.

Manteuffel then sums up the result of their conversation:—

"I see, first of all, that you have embraced in your vision all the points which are to be regarded in the great conflict, and that much has been done to bring the chances of success on your side; but I only see something ready, complete and sure in one point, and that point is the Prussian army. Everything else in your structure is uncertain and tottering. The position of the French is not perfectly well defined and sure; Germany seems to me to be hostile—since, to say the truth, I do not reckon on Hanover. The policy of safety and foresight does not lie in the character of the King; and I repeat it, Hanover may be dangerous. Consider the Brigade Kalisch is yet in Holstein; consider that Hanover and Hesse together can set on foot a tolerably strong power, and that you will not have much force to spare to carry on operations there. Italy? Its alliance is sure, you tell me. Well, I too will believe that they keep their promise. Do you believe that the Italian army can count on success? I think not. I see, therefore, a defeat on the side of Italy."

"Well," continued Manteuffel, "let us leave aside the investigation of the chances—granted that you have them, especially in the effectiveness of the army. But there is a second serious question, Is war necessary? Is the situation such, that all the heavy mischief, all the mighty perils, must be incurred which so vast a conflict will summon up? You know that I too desire to see Prussia at the head of Germany: I wish this as a Prussian, I desire this out of conviction as a German, and I have laboured to this end as a minister so far as I was able. But I have thought that such developments could be ripened by time and by organic growth, and I have found the greatest antagonism to the Prussian hegemony in Germany in the mistrust of the Germans—this mistrust the fear of the princes for their sovereignty and the future of their dynasties. The fear of the various divisions of the people for the autonomic individuality sets itself against Prussia and is utilized adroitly by Austria, which on account of its almost too great complexity is assured on its side against such mistrust. I have held it to be the task of Prussia—and I have so worked for this end—to earn for us the

confidence of the princes and the people in Germany. If that aid is reached then the lead will come to us and the part of Austria is played out—since were it not for that mistrust of which I speak the spirit of Germany, the spirit of culture and enlightenment, the spirit of progressive national life, turns to us. I have too my decided views about Prussian wars. . . . So long as we threaten our power is great; it diminishes by being put into activity. When we stand at ease in the ranks we must always be counted with; the peace of Paris argues a little for my maxim. Where is the necessity of upsetting so thoroughly that confidence, which is already shaken by the new era? where is the urgent need of imperilling the strong and reserved position of Prussia by the uncertain dice-play of war?" . . .

Bismarck replies:—

"O my honoured friend, I know these views of yours. I know those noble intentions, which animated and led you, so long as you held the rudder of the German State. I know your conscientiousness and foresight. Believe me, I too am far removed from playing frivolously with the destiny of the Prussian State—this artificial creation of centuries of striving! Believe me, it is not I who have provoked this war. I find myself in the condition of necessary defence, and if I have not, like the King, the same reverential awe of entering into a duel at least with this *perfidious* Austria, yet would I for no price, without necessity, bring the uttermost to pass. But I know that in Vienna they *will* have war; they will not grant to us our rightful position; yea, they would suppress us and choke us in the machinery of the Bund, which you know gave to you too much trouble and sorrow. This Saxon Beast and his friends in Vienna, the sanguine Meysenbug, the ambitious pedant Biegeleben, and that simple honest fellow Max Gagera, are dreaming of a new German kingdom, in which a parliament of their own stamp shall replace the Kaiser Franz Joseph on the Imperial German throne. . . . And shall I wait quietly until perhaps they find a more favourable moment for the accomplishment of their noble designs? And then, my honoured friend, are there not moments in which the bold resolve is a necessity? . . . What had become of Prussia if Frederick the Great had waited? . . . O my honoured friend, my feeling tells me, and my reason does not contradict it, that the spirit of Frederick the Great and the spirit of 1813 is the breath of life which breathes through Prussian history. . . . But not to go forward here means going backward, backward along incalculable paths. Shall I hide this conviction in my heart, sit still and wait for the end to arrive, until perhaps a hand which is less strong than mine, a mind which is less bold than that which I feel in me, may be called to make head against the peril?"

To such considerations Manteuffel had nothing to reply, except that he could not undertake to judge whether such a moment had come or not. After a little further question and reply, the two ministers separated, without having effectuated any change in each other's convictions.

Bismarck then remains alone, and after remaining sunk in deep thought for a few minutes, cries out:—

“All, all, all sing the same song; all speak of responsibility, of the perils, of the misery, of war! But do I not feel the responsibility? do I not see the danger? does not my heart, too, grow cold at the thought of the misery of war? . . . And is he not right? If success was to fail me, if our enemies had power to beat down Prussia—to break her—what were the consequences?—to abdicate like a frivolous actor, condemned of all, and to be through all future history a mock of the vile mob—but then,” he cried passionately out, while he directed his burning look upwards, “on the other side to retreat with the consciousness of victory in one’s heart, to lose the moment, and therewith perchance the whole great mighty future of Prussia, which I see stretching so brilliant before me—

“ ‘And that which you lose at the moment
Eternity ne’er will restore.’ ”

‘He stood still again, and looked in deep meditation on the ground.
“Who will give me light in this darkness? I must have heaven above my head, and let the fresh air into my blood.”’

So saying, Herr von Bismarck seized a light hat and left the room, descended the steps at the back of the hotel, and paced up and down the large garden in its rear, under the shade of its majestic trees. After some time he re-enters the house, still undecided, and seeks the drawing-room of his residence, where he finds his wife, his daughter, and Herr von Keudell, his secretary and chief confidant. A tea-service was on a side table, and Fräulein von Bismarck addressed herself to preparing and serving tea. Herr von Bismarck, however, it appears, does not indulge in so effeminate a beverage; so for him a lacquey enters, and presents to the Minister-president a cut-glass foaming with Bavarian beer, ‘which the latter half empties in one thirsty draught.’ Indeed, it seems that Prince Bismarck finds in beer great support and comfort in difficult crises, and always takes care to have it at hand. After a little desultory talk about visitors, the Minister cries to Herr von Keudell, ‘A little music, dear Keudell—will you?’ Herr von Keudell accordingly seats himself at the piano, while Bismarck paces up and down the room in thought. After playing various pieces, the secretary begins the *As-dur Sonata* of Beethoven, which contains the famous ‘*Marcia* ‘*fanebre sulla morte d’ un Eroe.*’ A gentle smile of satisfaction at the commencement of the *sonata* showed that he had touched Herr von Bismarck’s right key. His attention grew more intense when the *marcia* was reached. Then he stood still.

'His mighty hand grasped the back of a chair; his eye was directed upwards; and with an expression as though an inspiration was passing through his soul he listened to the soul-moving tunes.

'The muffled drums so artfully imitated rolled forth, the clangours of the trumpets rang, and Herr von Keudell, carried away by the beauty of the inspiration, surpassed himself in his delivery.

'Frau von Bismarck had laid her work down before her and listened amusingly.

'The Minister-president stood immovable. His breast arched itself broadly, the mighty muscles of his arms strained themselves more intensely, more flamingly gleamed the lightnings which his eyes shot forth, and which appeared to seek through the ceiling of the *salon* the dark heaven of night with its stars.

'Yet again rang those deep trumpet-tones, the clear volleys of sound spread themselves out, and after a short pause Herr von Keudell proceeded to the *finale* of the *As-dur Sonata*.

'Herr von Bismarck looked around as though he had awoke out of a dream. Yet for a moment did he stand still, and as though unconscious he whispered forth the words,

"And if I should fall, yet shall my soul ascend to the music of such tunes. Would a poet be ever able to feel at the grave of a hero that which rings forth here in these notes, if there were no men whose hearts were capable of banishing doubts?—*Jacta est alea*." And without thinking of those present, he hurriedly left the *salon*. . . .

'Herr von Bismarck had meanwhile with firm steps returned to his cabinet and seated himself at his writing-table.'

After the Minister had written down notes for about half an hour, he rang the bell. His servant appeared. 'Is Herr von Keudell still here?' '*Zu Befehl, Excellenz.*'

A few minutes later the secretary arrived, and the Minister gave instructions for despatches to be written in the tenor of his notes, and to be sent off to the ambassadors in Vienna, Frankfort, and Paris. Herr von Keudell cast a glance at the notes. 'Excellency,' he said, almost shocked, 'this is war.' 'It is,' replied Herr von Bismarck; 'and now, good night, dear Keudell, till to-morrow—as we must sleep. I am in truth very tired, and my nerves require repose.' And thus, according to the author of '*Um Szepter und Kronen*,' Prince Bismarck, under the inspiration of beer and Beethoven, determined on war with the Austrian Empire.

The next chapter, in which we are allowed to enjoy this converse of the gods, who are settling the fate of Europe, is Vienna, and there, in the cabinet of Count Mensdorff, in the *Staatshkanzlei*. The three persons at whose colloquy we are enabled to be present are Count Mensdorff himself, the under State-secretary and privy-councillor, Freiherr von Meysenbug, and the *Ministerialrath* von Biegeleben. Count Mensdorff

was a man of middle size, with a fine distinguished physiognomy of the French type and of an invalid hue, with short black hair and a little black moustache. He wore the uniform of a lieutenant field marshal and the star of the order of Leopold. He has just returned from an interview with the Emperor, and is reporting the results of his conference to the officials, whom we have heard Bismarck accusing as dreaming of the restoration of the German Empire in the House of Austria.

"Well, Gentlemen," said Mensdorff, "it appears your wishes will be accomplished. His Majesty the Emperor will take no steps backward; he will, on no consideration, allow the Prussian projects of *Bund*-reforms to be accomplished in North Germany; in a word, he is resolved to advance energetically in every direction, and to resolutely take in hand the great German question—at the risk of a rupture and of war," he added with a half-suppressed sigh.

The Herren von Meysenbug and von Biegeleben looked at each other with an expression of the liveliest satisfaction, and waited with anxiety for the further communications of Count Mensdorff.

"I have, however, omitted nothing," he continued, "in order to dissuade His Majesty from such a decided step, and a policy so weighted with consequences. You know that I lay no claim to understand much of politics, and therein I must confide in you, and in your superior knowledge. But I am a soldier; and though I do not account myself a great general, yet I understand perfectly what an army prepared for war should be. Well, Gentlemen, the policy we are going to pursue leads to war; for war purposes there should be prepared an army which is on a par with its adversary; and such an army we do not possess—certainly not—according to my military conviction. Whither will that lead us?" He stopped, exhausted, and remained meditating.

"But your Excellency must not see things too darkly," said Herr von Meysenbug; "we have 800,000 men, as the War Office affirms."

"The War Office may affirm what it likes," Count Mensdorff broke in passionately. "I am a practical soldier, and pay little attention to the papers of the War Office; but I know the circumstances of the army quite well, and if we can get the half of your 800,000 men to march I shall be well pleased. And even then we must carry on operations in two theatres of war," he continued; "for you will see that Italy will begin with the first cannon-shot. I am quite convinced that an alliance is already struck with Prussia."

Herr von Biegeleben smiled to himself, with the air of a superior man of his *métier* who hears a dilettante speak, and remarked in a business-like, respectful tone: "I venture to remind your Excellency that our ambassadors at Berlin and Florence relate in the most decided way that there is no talk of a Prussian-Italian alliance; and that even the slight difference on account of the difficulties which Prussia raised

about the recognition of Italy is still existing. Besides, Italy would not, as the Duke de Gramont told me to-day, seek so zealously for the mediation of France for the cession of Venice on the footing of full compensation, if it had concluded a Prussian alliance, or had a notion of concluding one."

"Yes, yes," said Mensdorff, meditatively; "the embassies report that there is no Prussian-Italian alliance. I know that well; and yet I am convinced of the contrary."

"But," replied Von Meysenbug, "the Duc de Gramont would not"—

"Gramont!" interrupted Count Mensdorff, more vehemently than before: "and do you believe that Gramont knows what goes on in Paris?"

In the course of further conversation Mensdorff declared he had used every endeavour with the Emperor to be allowed to resign his post in the fear of catastrophes which he knew to be inevitable, but that his Majesty had ordered him to remain, and, as he was a soldier and a politician, he remained out of military duty. As war, however, was resolved upon, the sooner the blow was struck the better, since their enemies were gathering strength every day; and he agreed to consider the Condominium in the Holstein-Schleswig duchies as offering the best excuse for picking a quarrel.

The situation of Hanover between Austria and Prussia is the subject of discussion between these ministers as it was between Bismarck and Manteuffel; let us, then, leave Vienna and go to Hanover, where chapter v. introduces us into the cabinet of George V. at Herrenhausen. The interlocutors are George V., a privy-councillor, Dr. Lex, and Herr Meding, *Regierungsrath*, the author of these volumes if the report we have mentioned be correct, and who has just entered the room.

George V. was then six-and-forty years of age—a handsome man of vigorous health. The sharp-cut, classically-formed features of his race, which showed themselves in the purest lines, beamed with cheerfulness and contentment, without taking away from the royal dignity which pervaded his person. A spare blonde moustache, turned upwards, covered the upper lip; and hardly would anybody, at the first look of this face, animated with such a free-and-easy play of expression, have suspected that all vision was wanting in his eyes.

The King wore the uniform of the Hanoverian Jäger Regiment of the Guards. Over his breast and on his uniform lay the large dark blue ribbon of the Order of the Garter. On his breast he wore the small crosses of the Orders of the Guelph and Ernest-Augustus. A small black King Charles' spaniel lay at the feet of the King.

"Good morning, my dear *Regierungsrath*," cried the King with his clear voice to the incomer; "I rejoice to see you. Sit down and tell me what news there are. What does public opinion say in my kingdom?"

"Most submissive good morning, your Majesty," answered Herr Meding, with a deep reverence, while he took a seat opposite the King.

"Public opinion," said the *Regierungsrath*, "is, as I must impart to your Majesty, very much excited, and makes a mighty stride towards hastening the war, and especially towards bringing your Majesty to the support of Austria and to make a decided stand against Prussia."

"Wherefore is it thus?" asked the King. "The amiable journals of the Opposition had such a yearning a short time back for the Prussian helmets."

"Wherefore, your Majesty?" answered the *Regierungsrath*; "that would be difficult to determine. Many and different influences may contribute thereto; but the fact is clear; the whole of public opinion in the kingdom of Hanover desires union with Austria."

"Singular!" said George V.; "Count Decken, who was with me yesterday, spoke in the same tone. He was quite furiously Austrian."

"Count Decken, your Majesty," answered Herr Meding, "speaks in the spirit of the great German *Verein* which he founded, and he is a great admirer of Herr von Beust."

"I know, I know!" cried the King; "but he is right in so far as that all the world is preaching war against Prussia, and the army mostly, too—that is, the young officers."

"He is right, your Majesty," answered the *Regierungsrath*.

The King considered a moment. "And what are you doing against this current?" he asked.

"I am seeking to calm it, to divert it, and to enlighten it, so far as my influence reaches in the press, since I esteem this current as full of evil; it conduces thereto to bring on war—the greatest evil for Germany; and in this war to press Hanover into a very dangerous position."

"Quite right! quite right!" the King cried out in a lively way; "every means must be tried to quiet this warlike and antagonistic excitement. You know how very much I am penetrated with the conviction that the good understanding of the two great Powers of Germany is the one sure ground for the welfare of Germany, and how much store I have placed on its maintenance. You know, too, what worth I lay on the Prussian alliance. I am called," the King went on, "an enemy of Prussia. I am not so truly. I defend the rights of my perfect independence and sovereignty, but no one can be more penetrated than I am by the wish to live with Prussia in peace and unity. Those who would disturb this peace misunderstand the interests of both States. People speak in Berlin of the policy of Frederick the Great, and how little his politics are understood! What a high value did Frederick II. lay on the alliance of Hanover! so high a value that he made over his best general, the Duke of Brunswick, to Hanover! And what great and victorious consequences had not that alliance, although it was directed against Austria! O that it were possible to maintain the two German Powers in intimate and friendly union, and that it were permitted to me to be the point on the i of this union! Should a rupture, however, follow, which God forbid! I will in so miserable a war neither take part on the one side or on the other."

Herr Meding, whom we find by further speech here to have been born in Prussia, though in the Hanoverian service, concurred in these views. Then there is further discussion, in the course of which Meding presses his lips rapturously on the King's hand, and it is resolved to call a cabinet council together to discuss the merits of a project for arranging a neutrality treaty with Prussia in conjunction with the Elector of Hesse.

Before the council arrives the King utters a prayer, 'O thou Almighty triune God,' &c., as indeed all the Royal personages in this work, after the fashion of the heroes of epic poems, when they are in difficulties make prayers, either to the Deity or to their ancestors, to the spirit of their house or the spirits of the great statesmen of their dynasties.

The council consists of Graf Platen of Hallermund, Minister of Foreign Affairs, a descendant of the notorious Countess-Platen, the murderess of Count Königsmarck, but who seems, by the way, to have been dreadfully wanting in that lady's decision of character; of Bacmeister, Minister of the Interior; of the War Minister, General von Brandis, and of General von Tschirschnitz; and since all agreed that the conclusion of a treaty of neutrality with Prussia was the desirable policy, the King at the end of the deliberation gave instructions to Count Platen to make overtures with this view to Prince Ysenburg, the Prussian Ambassador at the Hanoverian Court.

Soon after the termination of this council the arrival of Prince-von Solms Braunfels, the step-brother of the King by a first marriage of the Queen Frederika, is announced. The Prince-von Solms brings an offer of an alliance with Austria in the following terms:—Hanover was to place its whole army on a war footing, and was to engage itself to declare war against Prussia in common with Austria. In return the Emperor was to put the brigade Kalisch, then in Holstein, with the General von Gablenz for commander, at the disposition of Hanover. The integrity of Hanover was to be guaranteed, and, in the eventuality of victory, Holstein and Prussian Westphalia were to be incorporated with the kingdom of George V. This tempting offer, however, although, according to the author of the novel, the King of Hanover was counselled by Lord Clarendon to adhere closely to the side of Austria, had no charms for the monarch; he merely wanted to secure the integrity of his own dominions, and had no fancy for those of others. Against this division of the bear-skin before the bear was killed, what guarantee had Austria to offer in case of defeat?—nothing.

The eighth chapter shows us the state of Vienna when the army was already in the field, with Benedek at its head, pre-

paring to meet the Prussians. Benedek, unfortunate man, had been put at the head of the army, in accordance with the view that it was time to take the command out of the hands of the 'Junker.' He was one of those who had greatness thrust upon him, for everybody insisted in styling him a great man, though the last person to believe it was he himself. In the cabinet of Vienna everything was as much in disorder as it was in the army. The accounts of the fighting condition of the army were miserable, and poor Count Mensdorff was at his wits' end for a policy. He counselled the Emperor to abandon Venice, in return for which concession the Duc de Gramont was, he affirmed, ready to enter into an alliance with Austria. If the Emperor opposed Count Mensdorff's arguments in the fashion in which the author of the book makes him oppose them, it is no wonder that unfortunate Austria met with its Sadowa under his guidance.

"And the disinherited Archdukes, and the sanctity of the Head of the Church," asked the Emperor, "what is to become of them? I cannot do it," he added, while he looked before him. "What would my uncle say, who is about to make the Italians feel the sharpness of the Austrian sword? What would my whole house—history—say? What would people say in Rome? When Italy is vanquished, when we stand in Germany again at our ancient height—then will we think about Venice, if then, through this sacrifice, the safety of the Holy Father and of the Patrimony of Peter can be guaranteed."

In the midst of these imperial platitudes despatches are announced from the army; the Emperor takes one, reads it and turns pale: it was from Benedek counselling peace—peace at any price: the army was not in fighting condition. He questions the generals, whom he calls to his presence one after another, but gets no comfort; so after the manner of his brother-sovereigns, he addressed an invocation to the spirit of Metternich:—

"*O dass du neben mir stehen könntest, du grosser Geist! O that thou could'st stand near me, thou great spirit! who with his noble, steadfast heart, with his clear look, and his immutable will, stood at the helm of the Austrian State.*

"O that I had a Metternich! What would he advise me, that rich, free spirit, whom no one has understood and no one understands (*a sort of political Hegel, apparently*); since in front of his inner life, opposite to the world, the proud Horatian words were written:—*Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.*"

As the spirit of Metternich does not interfere to help the Emperor, he sends for the man who was his ancient familiar and is still alive, the States Chancellor Klindworth.

"He alone," cries the Emperor, "is yet left of that great time of old Austria, when the threads of European politics converged together in the State chancery; when Metternich's ear was in every Cabinet, and his hand directed the resolves of the Courts."

Klindworth was, or is, a sort of second-rate Gentz. We ourselves remember his coming to England on an exploring mission some thirty years ago, with letters from a great French minister, who described him as 'un homme avec qui l'on peut causer. Il a une plaque.'

The best advice which the States Chancellor Klindworth seems to be able to give his Sovereign is to set on foot a new kind of *Carbonarism*—the Carbonarism of right in opposition to the *Carbonari* of revolution; and he introduces to the Emperor a sort of ultramontane and imperialist carbonaro-chief, Count de Rivero, fresh from the Farnese Palace at Rome, who has a plan for upsetting the House of Savoy and re-establishing all the exiled or other princes in Italy, including the House of Hapsburg, in their rights, by means of a sort of sacred league with the Pope at its head; an idea which appears to be borrowed from the late Emperor's scheme produced after Solferino. The Emperor becomes quite enthusiastic about the *Carbonaro* plan, and cries—

'Austria est imperatura orbi universo,'

to which Count de Rivero replies—

'Ad majorem Dei gloriam.'

From the Court of Vienna we go back to that of Hanover. The poor blind George V. was still discussing with his ministers the question of a neutrality, when the Prussian Ambassador, the Prince Ysenburg, appeared among them with an ultimatum from Prussia—either a treaty with Prussia on the basis of the Prussian *Bund*-reform-propositions, or war. The King, strong in his royal right, rejects the reform-propositions, which would place a limit on his sovereignty; and so Prince Ysenburg straightway declares war.

The portions of the book which concern this King and Royal Family are among the most interesting; for we may suppose that the author is here drawing from his own experience; consequently we transfer the picture which he has given of the Hanoverian Royal Family, as they sat at the tea-table on the fatal evening in June, when he entered to read to the King the answer and protest which he had been directed to draw up in answer to the Prussian summons. It was the last time that they sat together at Herrenhausen, for the King and his son went off to the army, leaving the Queen and her daughters behind them, to support the courage of the people.

'The *Regierungsrath* (Meding) followed the servant through the great ante-chamber, and stepped immediately into the saloon of the Queen. Here the Royal Family sat around the tea-table. The King wore his campaigning uniform of general, and sat, genially smiling and cheerful, near the Queen, who tried all she could to keep back her tears, which kept welling forth anew. Near the Queen sat the young Princess Marie, seventeen years of age, a slender figure, with beautiful and nobly-cut features, with great blue enthusiastic eyes. Less practised in self-possession than her mother, she could not hold back her streaming tears, and often pressed her handkerchief to her reddened eyes. On the other side of the King sat his elder daughter, the Princess Frederika, blonde, slender, and of tall growth like her sister. She had the same noble, princely expression as her father; and although modest and far from all self-conceit, yet showed involuntarily, in her whole bearing and in every motion, the stamp of the royal dignity of her birth. She wept not; her large, pure blue eyes flashed boldly and proudly, and she pressed her beautiful teeth upon her full fresh lip; and he who had seen into her heart would have found therein her wish, that she might be allowed rather to go with her father to the field than to remain here at home, and in sorry solitude wait for the news about the fate of the army and the country.

'Opposite there sat, or leant, half reclining backwards, the Crown Prince Ernest-August, a strong, tall young man of one-and-twenty years of age. No feature of his face reminded one of his royal father. His low, retreating forehead was almost covered with flat, shiny, dark blonde hair. The nose, deeply drawn back at the roots, lay almost flat in his face, and his large, fresh mouth opened itself with a certain heaviness, as he uttered his words laboriously and slowly. Fine teeth, glowing and good-humoured eyes, gave to the whole appearance of the young prince something sympathetic.

'The Crown Prince wore the uniform of a Hussar regiment of the Guard—a blue coat with silver braiding—and bit with his teeth the nails of his left hand, while his right hand played with a small spaniel which had nestled in a fawning way against him. This was the picture which offered itself to the *Regierungsrath* Meding as he entered.'

The pages of the novel give a very lively, and no doubt true, picture of the disorder into which the little Hanoverian army fell on their first attempt to march. The contingency that it should ever be called on to fight, and that against Germans, seems never to have entered into the heads of its authorities; consequently the troops spent some time at Göttingen and sundry other places on their way in getting into marching order. The design of the King and the generals was to unite their forces with the little army of Hesse, and then march to join the Bavarian army; but the Prussians, with their usual activity, were too quick for them, and the Hanoverians were surrounded. A useless though gallant fight took place at Langen-

salza, in which the Hanoverians kept their ground—the blind King causing himself to be led into the fight and placed in exposed positions in order to give courage to his troops, and so suggesting remembrance of the blind King of Bohemia at the battle of Cressy. But it was a useless display of valour. The little army was surrounded, without provisions and without sufficient ammunition, and too exhausted to attempt to break through the surrounding forces, and a capitulation was, as is well known, the result.

The author is never happy in his royal speeches, and on this occasion he makes the ex-King of Hanover speak in a manner which we do not think the dethroned monarch would recognise as his own utterance.

“ ‘It must be so then,’ cried George V., sorrowfully; ‘the blood of all these brave men has been shed in vain—in vain all this pain, anguish, and turmoil—and why in vain?—because night covers my eyes—because I cannot put myself at the head of this brave army, like my ancestors—like the great Brunswick. O! it is hard, very hard!’—and a dark expression spread itself over the features of the King—he bit his teeth together, and the sightless eyes were raised towards heaven.

‘But then disappeared anger and sorrow from his features, a still quiet spread itself over them; a painful, but gentle smile played about his lips, he folded his hands, and spoke lightly: ‘My Lord and Saviour bore a crown of thorns, and for me too, was His blood shed on the cross. Lord, not my will, but Thine be done!’”

Even the General von Brandis, who had served under Wellington and was a veteran, and who ought to have known better, seemed to be of opinion that had not the King been blind, and could he have drawn his sword like the great Duke of Brunswick and put himself at the head of his troops, they might have gone through—‘*so aber*’—and he stamped with his foot, and turned ‘himself away to suppress the tears which darkened ‘his eyes.’ *Regierungsgrath* Meding bethought himself of a somewhat comic way of saving the honour of the King. Being a gentleman of the pen, he proposed to his sovereign that all his generals and commanders of brigades should, before the capitulation was signed, take an oath, before God and their conscience, that the army ‘was no longer able to march or fight, and that such oath should be reduced to writing and ‘signed.’ The King thought the idea a good one, and it was carried into effect; and such a declaration was drawn up, sworn to, and given to him.

From the Hanoverian army at Langensalza on the point of capitulation, let us proceed again to Vienna.

'While in the north of Germany the catastrophe was becoming accomplished which should be so fatal to the House of Guelph, people in Vienna were expecting everything from the decisive arbitrament of battle, which people foresaw must happen from one day to another in Bohemia. The Austrian arms had been victorious in Italy, that field of practice for the Austrian general and staff officers—the battle of Custoza was won, and new confidence filled the Viennese as to victory in Germany.

'The Viennese had placed their confidence in Field Marshal Benedek, —the man of the people, and in their light, sanguine fashion awaited from him all success. Among the majority those painful doubts had disappeared which a short time ago had made them unquiet. The arms of Austria had become victorious in Italy—fortune turned its favour to the Imperial state, and, in a state of tension but of cheerful confidence, people looked for news from Bohemia—people expected with anxiety a great victory.'

Otherwise in truth, and not so hopeful, were the news in the State-chancery in the *Ballhausplatz*, and in the *Hofburg*.

'Count Mensdorff was sad and dejected. The news from Italy had not been able to put aside his dark fears, and only with a faint smile he answered the felicitations on account of the victory of Custoza. The Emperor wavered between fear and cheerful hope; the successes in Italy made the high and proud remembrances of Novara again echo in his heart, and a wide shining prospect opened itself before his eyes. But when the doubts, the exhortations, reached him of Field Marshal Benedek, this simple general, who had had small experience of strategical operations, and only understood how to conduct the troops against the enemy, and how to fight—who, however, continually asserted that he could not fight the enemy with his troops in the situation in which he found them—then a deep anxiety came into his heart and he looked towards the future with terrible anxiety.

'Deep silence reigned in the Imperial *Hofburg*. In the midst of the loud exultations over the news of victory from Italy, an annihilating stroke of thunder had come which brought the destruction of all hopes from Bohemia, and in an instant scattered the blind confidence which had been placed in Field Marshal Benedek and his operations. It was as though a sudden stupefaction had come upon all; slowly and gloomily did the lacqueys creep through the long corridors, and hardly did one speak to the other words necessary for the service. The Emperor had immediately after the lost battle sent Count Mensdorff to the headquarters of the field marshal, in order to consider, as a military man, what the state of things was, and since then he had retired into his apartments, inaccessible to all except the General-Adjutant, Count Creneville, who passed in and out.'

While the Emperor Franz Joseph was thus withdrawn in grief to his tent; while such mournful silence reigned in the antechamber that the old clock of the palace was heard to tick—the Hanoverian officers General Knessebeck and Major von

Kohlrausch arrive on a mournful mission from the King of Hanover, and request Count Creneville to introduce them to the Emperor. Accordingly Creneville enters into the imperial cabinet.

"The Emperor wore his grey large military cloak (*in the month of June this cloak seems superfluous, at least indoors*)—he sank down before a broad writing table; pen, paper, and letters lay untouched before him; nothing was visible of the otherwise so restless activity of this sovereign, who was accustomed to allow no hour to pass by unoccupied. It was no longer sorrow, this expression, which lay on the spasmodically excited and weary countenance of the Emperor, it was incurable, hollow desperation.

"Sorrowfully did the General-Adjutant look on this Sovereign so deeply broken, who sat before him there, and with gentle and moved voice he spoke:—

"I beg your Imperial Majesty not to give way too much to the mournful impression of this deeply agitating news. We all—all Austria, looks on its Emperor; no misfortune is so great that by a firm will and bold courage it may not be turned to good; and if your Majesty despairs, what will the army—what will the people do?"

"The Emperor lifted up slowly his sorrowful, faint look, and passed his hand over his brow as though to take away the pressure of his thoughts.

"You are right," he answered sullenly; "Austria awaits from me courage and decision; and in truth," he cried lifting up his head, while a scornful flash shot from his eyes, "I have courage, and if it came to the point of placing myself in front of the enemy, and if my personal valour could decide the contest, of a truth victory would not be failing to Austria!"

"Have I not done everything in order to secure success? have I not placed the man at the head of the army whom the people had pointed out as the most capable—and now! beaten!" cried he passionately, while there was a sound as *though of tears in his voice*; "beaten after so fine, so favourable an onset; beaten by this foe who for centuries has assailed the German heritage of my house—the foe whom I hoped to have had overwhelmed for ever! What avail me now my victories in Italy if I lose Germany? O! it is too hard!"

Creneville tries to console him,—perhaps Mensdorff will bring good news. Thereupon the Emperor enters upon a psychological analysis of his own character, in which he discovers that his real defect is a want of toughness—*Zähigkeit*.

"Look you! the great strength of my house—the power which has conducted Hapsburg and Austria through all difficult times—that was toughness—that immovable unbroken toughness which bends itself quietly under the blast of misfortune, without losing for an instant the mark out of the eyes; which understands how to endure, to overcome, and to wait. Go through all history, look back on the hardest, darkest times, you will find in all my ancestors this mark of immovable tough-

ness, and you will find that trait of character was their saving one. This toughness," he went on after a short silence, "this Hapsburg endurance, it is that fails me, and that is my misfortune."

However, he recovers himself in time to receive the envoys from the King of Hanover, who are introduced—a proceeding which does not require, and in which the Emperor does not certainly display, any toughness. The envoys had, as we know, no very cheerful news to give Franz Joseph of the King of Hanover; and Major von Kohlrausch inquires of him, after presenting him with a letter from their Sovereign, if it would be agreeable to him for the fugitive King to take refuge at his Court. 'Agreeable?' cried the Emperor quickly, 'I yearn to embrace the heroic Sovereign who has given us so high an example of princely constancy.'

After reflecting that George V. will not find very great grounds for consolation in the Court of Vienna and in the state of things in Austria, the Emperor bethinks him of a way of making up for this deficiency; it is, to give the King and his son the cross of Maria Theresa! In offering the gift, he makes a neat little speech, asking the Major to wait until he has time to get together the Chapter of the Order for the purpose—a ceremony which must have formed a pleasant diversion for the Knights of the Order at that moment.

'I know my Sovereign well enough,' said the Major to him, 'to know that such a declaration will fill him with deep joy, and the whole Hanoverian army will feel therein an honour and a pride.' If the Major spoke truly, George V. and the Hanoverian army were easily provided—the one with 'deep joy,' and the other with 'honour and pride,' after the loss of a crown and after a capitulation. The Major, he too must have special matter for consolation, so he shall have, not the cross of Maria Theresa, but an inferior ornament, the '*Ritterkreuz meines Leopoldordens*.' 'The Major bowed 'himself deep,' ('*verneigte sich tief*;) and the number of people who we are told *verneigten sich tief* in these volumes is almost as incalculable as the number of smiles of the diplomatists; we remark also that the military men always take leave of the sovereigns with a brief military greeting ('*mit kurzem militärischen Gruss*').

The General von Knesebech now has his colloquy, and reports on the condition of the Bavarian army, which was almost in as bad a way as the Hanoverian, only it had not capitulated. After this, Count Mensdorff arrives, and gives such a bad account of the Austrian army that the Emperor, with a struggle, at Mensdorff's suggestion agrees to give up Venice,

in order to recall the army there to the north, and resolves upon sending the *Staatsrath* Klindworth to Paris, to endeavour to obtain the active intervention of the Emperor Napoleon; both the Emperor and Klindworth having ceased to think any more of the *Carbonarism-of-Right*-scheme, and dismissing the projects of the Ultramontane *Carbonaro*, Count de Rivero, to uttermost space—much to this gentleman's affliction.

The visit of Herr Klindworth to Paris gives the author an opportunity of taking the public behind the scenes there, and showing them the Emperor Napoleon at work in his cabinet with his ministers, and in the reception of audiences. A good deal of doubt is suggested whether any of the scenes and conversations at the Tuileries, supposed to take place there, are strictly in accordance with facts; but the artist has succeeded in seizing leading characteristics of the habits of Napoleon III., which would enable us always to recognise the late Emperor when he appears in these pages, even though he were not named; characteristics which as plainly indicate the individual in question, as the horns and the tail, and the four legs, which a child gives to its delineation of a cow. One of these is, that he is always twisting and twirling his moustache—sometimes simply twirling it vaguely and at large, but generally twisting the points (Herr Meding might have added, the *waxed* points, since his late Majesty gave that rigidity, which is historic, to the extended spikes of his labial feature, by means of a cosmetic); and when he twists the points, he usually does so with his left hand. The other *trait* by which he is connoted, as Mr. Mill would say, is that he is always smoking *cigarettes*, varied occasionally with a dark-brown (*dunkelbraun*) Havannah cigar. His *cigarettes* are sometimes ready-made, and sometimes he makes them himself 'with great dexterity'; and when he has finished one, he usually takes a fresh one, and lights it with the yet burning remnant of its predecessor. The quantity of tobacco in this form which the Emperor gets through, always blowing clouds more or less 'light,' and more or less 'blue,' which float, &c., in the interviews described in these volumes, would be sufficient to make an unpractised smoker exceedingly unwell, every day for a month together, at least. The Emperor, in fact, is as constant to his tobacco as Bismarck is to his beer; and since Bismarck eventually so completely got the better of him, the Imperial Chancellor's use of that beverage is a strong argument in favour of malt liquor—an argument which is not unworthy the attention of Messrs. Allsop and Bass in the matter of advertisement, though pro-

bably it would not be so favourably regarded by Sir Wilfrid Lawson and the tobaccoonists.

We are first introduced into the cabinet of the Tuileries in the first volume, before war had been declared between the two German Powers. The first interview at which we are present is one between the Emperor and Herr Hansen, a patriotic Dane, who travels about from court to court agitating the Danish question, in the hope of effecting something for poor, brave, despoiled Denmark, but without much result. Hansen has been lately on a tour through Germany, and imparts to the Emperor the result of his observations. He believes in the final victory of Prussia, and gives a very clear account of the long enmity of Austria and Prussia, then about to be decided by the arbitrament of war.

"Believe me," he says, "Sire, this conflict is not a conflict about the German Duchies (of Schleswig-Holstein). That these must ultimately fall to Prussia the German people well know and believe; and the resolutions of the Duke of Augustenberg are not feared. The conflict has its origin in the historic development of Germany and Prussia. Prussia is, in fact, not the second German State, but the first, and the German *Bund* assigns it the second place, and endeavours to suppress the development of its power by a mechanism the springs of which are set in motion from Vienna. This is the true conflict. Prussia desires the place which naturally belongs to it in Germany, and which Austria keeps from it. This conflict is years and years old, and it would perhaps have existed in a latent form years more yet, as matter for the play of European diplomacy, if Herr von Bismarck had not been called to the head of this remarkably expansive Prussian State. This statesman is the incarnation of the existence of Prussia—strong in the possession of a singular and original force of genius. He understands how to urge forward the rich and well-proportioned powers of his State to the highest degree of development, and has the firm resolve to make an end of the present circumstances. He will not go to Olmütz—he will win for Prussia a place in Germany or sink."

The Emperor let the hand in which he held his letter fall slowly down on his lap, and his eyes opened suddenly wide, and burning with dark fire fixed themselves with meditative expression on the countenance of Herr Hansen.

Pietri (then the Emperor's private secretary, who was present) observed the attention of his sovereign and said, *leicht lächelnd*: "It is astonishing to hear this Prussian Minister spoken of in Paris in such warm expressions, and by a Dane."

"Wherefore not?" said Herr Hansen, quietly. "The man who knows what he wills, and puts forth all his powers to accomplish his will, who loves his country, and will help the same to its due greatness and power, impresses upon me and has certainly a right to respect for his striving, and to my admiration if he succeeds. Between me and Prince Bismarck stands my country, Denmark. What is

German in the Duchies we desire not and have no need of in Denmark; but we desire what is Danish, and that which Denmark requires in order to protect its boundaries. If this is granted to us we have no need of being enemies of Prussia or Germany. If this is withheld from us Prussia will find little Denmark everywhere and at all times on the side of its foes."

After some discussion on the probable turn of events, Hansen retires, and the Emperor gives utterance to an appreciation of the situation and of the character of the German people, which is truthful doubtless in some respects, though the latter portion of his harangue seems to be quite out of character.

"I am often afraid," he said, "that the man is right, and that we stand before a great historic problem. Can we support Austria without offending Italy, which is already too strong not to notice it? Can we let Prussia have her way, Germany constitute itself, without endangering the *prestige* of France—yea, even our boundaries, Alsace and Lorraine, the old German countries?"

Pietri smiled.

"Your Majesty is pleased to jest."

"Pietri, Pietri," said the Emperor, "you do not know the Germans. *I know them, and understand them, for I have lived among them.* The German nation is a lion who knows its power—a child can lead it with a chain of flowers; but it has the power to shatter the mouldy European world into ruins if it comes to a consciousness of its nature, and if it tastes blood. And blood will it taste in this conflict. The old jest, *L'appétit vient en mangeant*, can here become a fearful reality. Perhaps this German lion will some day devour its Prussian tamer; but before that she will be a frightful neighbour."

The Emperor now receives Drouyn de Lhuys, who, as is well known, was earnestly desirous that France should interfere and prevent the war. But the Emperor declared resolutely for neutrality; an attitude which he pursued during the conflict, in opposition to the constant pressure put upon him by his minister.

When the interview between Drouyn de Lhuys and the Emperor was at an end, the Emperor goes up to a marble bust of Cæsar in his cabinet, and made this astonishing speech:—

"Thou great prototype of my house," said he, while an *electric flaming star* of his eye beamed forth clearly, "I must yet again in the present moment speak as thou didst, *Jacta est alea*—(he must have overheard Bismarck under the influence of beer and Beethoven; he too had said, '*Jacta est alea*'). But thou didst throw thy die where thou wouldst, and forcedst it to fall with mighty hand as thou wouldst. But my die is thrown by the inexorable iron hand of Fate, and I must seize it as it falls."

The Chamberlain entered and announced, "The breakfast of the Emperor is served."

'Napoleon left his cabinet.'

The nineteenth chapter of this story introduces us again into the cabinet of the Tuileries, and that and the following scene, which is laid in the Prussian head-quarters at Nikolsburg, are among the best in the story. The date is subsequent to the great defeat of Sadowa, after the Emperor of Austria had requested the mediation of France.

'The Emperor sat in his cabinet in the Tuileries. . . . He held some letters and telegrams in his hand, and in his countenance was visible a cheerful and contented expression. Before him stood his private secretary, Pietri.

"Everything comes to him who knows how to wait," said the Emperor *mit leichtem lächeln*. I was urged to interfere—to swift, sudden action—in the German war. I do not think I could have obtained anything greater or better if I—quite contrary to my language and convictions—had interposed in the natural development of events."

"The Emperor of Austria," he went on, "cedes Venice to me, and calls for my mediation, in order to hold back the victorious enemy in his advance. In this way I have, as regards Italy, the situation in my power. Vanquished Italy will thank me for the acquisition of her last province, and my promise, 'free to the Adriatic,' will be fulfilled. Thereby have I won much influence and *prestige*, which," added he, *lächelnd hinzu*, "weighs still more than power. The King of Prussia accepts my mediation, in principle, in truth, and for the armistice only; but the rest will follow, and I can become the umpire in Germany! Could I have obtained more?" he asked, while, after a long pull at his cigar, he with self-satisfied air regarded the white ashes and blew slowly away from him the blue smoke in separate puffs. "Could I have attained more if the armies of France stood in the field?"

"Certainly not," answered Pietri. "I wonder at the clear views of your Majesty. I must confess that I myself was not without anxiety at the abstinence of France from all participation in these great events."

"Good, good!" said the Emperor. "And how does the public opinion of my good Parisians take these events?"

"Excellently well," replied Pietri. "All the organs of the press conceive the situation of France in this conflict as one in accordance with and flattering to the national dignity."

The Emperor nodded his head contentedly.

"I cannot conceal from your Majesty," said Pietri, "that a strong activity is observable in journalism in the Prussian sense. The Prussian Count Bamberg, who, as your Majesty knows, looks after these events at the Embassy, has been for some time very powerfully and ably supported by the '*Temps*,' the '*Siècle*,' and other journals."

The Emperor was thoughtfully silent.

"The question is," continued Pietri, "whether this agitation shall be counteracted."

"No," said the Emperor decidedly; "it is to be very little desired, at this moment, that public opinion should derive a decisive partisanship for Austria—this would hamper us. I must confess that I have very little confidence in Austria, which appears to have fallen into the process of dissolution. I think it will be possible to arrive at an arrangement with Prussia. The great Emperor had such an idea, but he was not understood at Berlin, and they paid for it with Jena. Count Bismarck, however is no Haugwitz, and there is nothing done here on the side of Austria to influence public opinion."

Pietri shrugged his shoulders.

"Prince Metternich," said he, "is too great a *grand seigneur* to trouble himself about that and to step down from his Olympus to enter into the dark and melancholy regions of journalism, for which in Austria they have a sovereign contempt."

"Yes, yes," said the Emperor thoughtfully, "there legitimate diplomacy lives and spins on its Olympian heights without troubling itself about that which is going on in the dust of earth. Down below there is manufactured this public opinion, this impalpable power with the Protean form, which weaves the thread at the fateful loom of eternal destiny, that dark might whose judgment hurls the gods of Olympus into Tartarus."

After some further talk about journalism, and after some arrangements have been made for the purpose of getting articles into the newspapers to prevent too great Prussian tendencies by impressing the public with the importance of the preservation of Austria as an independent European Power, Drouyn de Lhuys comes in.

"Good morning, my dear minister," cries the Emperor. "Now are you contented with the state of things and the position which the policy of expectation has got for us?"

"Not too much, Sire."

A cloud flew over the brow of the Emperor. Then, said he, with a friendly smile,

"You are an irreclaimable Pessimist, my dear minister; what could you desire more? are we not at this moment the arbiters of Europe?"

"Arbiters, Sire," said Drouyn de Lhuys, "who do not yet know whether the parties will accept their sentence. The best arbiter is he who throws his sword into the balance, and Brennus, the ancestor of the Gauls, has offered us a precedent here."

Drouyn de Lhuys proceeds to declare that at the present state of events it is necessary to have a decided policy. He informs the Emperor that he has reason to believe that Prussia will demand the total exclusion of Austria from German affairs; Prussian hegemony in Germany up to the Main, and the annexation of Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony. There are two courses before the Emperor: the one to declare for a divi-

sion of the *Bund* into a North German and a South German group; the first to be placed under Prussia, and the second under Austria.

"This is the course I should advise your Majesty to pursue."

"And if Prussia does not accept this arbitration?"

"Then must your Majesty act like Brennus, and march to the Rhine."

The other course was to wait for events and allow Germany to become consolidated under Prussia, and then ask for compensation.

"The eyes of the Emperor lightened up."

"And what compensations would you ask for?" he inquired.

"Benedetti assures me," says Drouyn de Lhuys, "that there is great willingness in Germany to allow us the acquisition of Belgium."

Belgium, however, is put aside, with all its attractions, for the moment, and the compensations settled on are the restitution of the French boundaries according to the treaty of 1814, and the acquisition of Luxemburg and Mayence; and the Emperor desires Drouyn de Lhuys to instruct Benedetti to touch on the question of compensation on this basis in confidential intercourse with Herr von Bismarck, and to make mention of Luxemburg and Mayence. 'But without engaging himself too much—without setting forth an ultimatum—I will keep my hands free.' Austria, too, was to be exhorted to continue her preparations for further resistance in order to make peace more easy. There is then some further conversation about establishing a common action with Prussia, and Drouyn de Lhuys disappears from the scene to make way for Klindworth, the emissary of Austria, and Count Beust as envoy for Saxony.

We have already seen how Klindworth had been despatched by the Emperor of Austria to ask for the active intervention of France in the crisis. Klindworth begins by trying to impress on Napoleon III. that the defeat of Austria at Sadowa is also a defeat of France. Klindworth, however, does not press actively for the armed intervention of France, after having heard the Emperor declare that he believes that there is neither occasion for such armed intervention nor good results to be expected from it. 'At this moment there is no need,' says the Emperor, 'to force up the German question to a European crisis.'

Klindworth sees the objections to such an intervention, and states them forcibly:—

"If your Majesty now with armed hand should intervene in German affairs," he says, "two events are possible. Either Prussia gives way and things remain—apart from the Presidency of the *Bund*

and some territorial accessions—as they are, in which case a tremendous moral power is entrusted to the hands of Prussia. It will be set forth to the German people that the unity of Germany is hindered by France, that Austria has called to her aid the national foe; and since people can now write and speak and sing what they like, and writings, speeches, and songs are made in Berlin, Austria will be morally annihilated with the German people, and, on a future occasion, when France perhaps is occupied in another direction the whole ripe results will fall into the hands of the Hohenzollerns.”

“The Emperor twirled his moustache lightly, and nodded several times with the head.

“Or,” continued the *Staatsrath*, “and this is the most probable with the character of the men who now direct Prussian policy, Prussia does not give way and accepts the combat in spite of its tremendous magnitude. Then I fear that Herr von Bismarck will succeed in lighting up a national war and in leading a united Germany against France.”

These conclusions are well reasoned out, and the counsel of Klindworth is to let Prussia take upon herself the odium of the annexations which she has resolved on.

“Sire,” said Klindworth, “if Prussia is aggrandised by annexation and usurps supremacy in North Germany, she will be compelled to adopt a harsh, regardless rule, for the German men will not allow themselves to be annihilated without difficulty; its iron hand will be laid upon North Germany, and the same hand must be continually raised in threatening action towards South Germany. Then must Austria arise in its inner strengthened power as the bulwark of individual autonomy and independence, and of liberty.”

This last word ‘liberty’ from the lips of a pupil of Metternich makes the Emperor smile.

“Wherefore not,” cried the *Staatsrath*; “the most perilous poisons are used to counteract the worst diseases?”

“Who will be the cunning physician?” asked the Emperor, smiling; “whose hand can administer this poison in proper doses to Austria in her malady—Count Mensdorff or Metternich?”

“I believe I have found the physician,” said Klindworth. . . .

“This physician,” said a suppressed voice, “is HERR VON BEUST.”

The Emperor was not the less surprised than was the rest of Europe later to hear that the Protestant minister of Saxony had been chosen as a minister capable of regenerating sinking Austria in a state of dissolution. However, Herr von Beust is there; he will hear him. Klindworth retires with injunctions to remain at hand, and ‘enter’ Herr von Beust. We really must apologise to this amiable and accomplished diplomatist for this familiar use of his historic name; but the responsibility rests with the author of the book before us.

'Herr von Beust wore a grey overcoat of light summer cloth, widely thrown back over his black frock coat, on which the clear shining star of the legion of honour was visible. His partially whitened hair was carefully dressed and *curled*; his large white pantaloons almost covered his strikingly small foot in its neat boot. His refined and clever face, with an almost transparent tint, with an eloquent mouth, and lively clear eyes, was paler than usual, and showed no trace to-day of the friendly and winning *smile* so peculiar to him. A painful twitching played about his mouth, and deep suspense lay on his nervously contracted features.

'He approached the Emperor with that light and sure elegance of the distinguished courtier, and bowed silently.

'Napoleon stepped towards him with a courtly smile, and gave him his hand.

'After some conversation, in which Herr von Beust tells the Emperor that the incorporation of Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony has been resolved on by Prussia, the diplomate as minister of Saxony, says, "The maintenance of Saxony is a question of honour, however, for Austria and perhaps for France, for imperial France, for the heir of the power and the glory of Napoleon I."

"Sire," continued Herr von Beust, "when the power of your great uncle at Leipsic was broken by the hand of fate—when so many fell from his side, the king of Saxony stood by him—a true friend, the ally of misfortune. And sorely was he doomed to pay for his fidelity; with almost the half of his country he paid for his steadfastness to his imperial friend. Never did the Emperor forget it, and even at St. Helena he remembered with emotion and sorrow his noble ally."

Herr von Beust went on in this pathetic strain appealing to the Emperor to save what was yet left of the Saxony which had been so faithful to his uncle. According to these pages, Napoleon III. replied in a chivalrous speech to the effect that he never would desert the descendant of the friend of his uncle, and ending with: 'You have saved Saxony. To this I pledge my Imperial word.' But if we are correctly informed, the Emperor made no reply whatever to Herr von Beust, but this: '*M. de Beust, vous aimez beaucoup les chevaux, n'est-ce pas?*' The Emperor and the diplomatist then go on to discuss the means of the regeneration of Austria, and Herr von Beust made a long speech, in which he declared that the only policy for saving Austria was liberty and independence for Hungary, liberty in public life for the whole monarchy, with reform of the administration and of the army. Beust disappears: Klindworth, who has been waiting, is called for. 'You are right,' said the Emperor, 'the physician is found who can save Austria.'

In accordance with the promise made by the Emperor to Herr von Beust, Benedetti, who was engaged in negotiating conditions of peace between Austria and Prussia, received

instructions to act in common accord with Austria for the preservation of Saxony from incorporation. We have no space to give any account of the interview between Bismarck and Benedetti at the Prussian head-quarters at Nikolsburg, in which the conditions of peace with Austria were settled. That Benedetti was no match for Bismarck is a fact too notorious to demand notice. With the exception of granting the concession to Saxony of allowing her to keep her autonomy in all respects except in that of military command, the supremacy of which was to be ceded to Prussia, Bismarck gained every point, and the absolute incorporation of Hanover, Frankfurt, and Nassau was conceded. Benedetti then entered on the delicate topic of 'compensation' to France to be given by cession of the boundaries of 1814—Luxemburg and Mayence. At the mention of Mayence 'a flash darted from the eyes of 'the Count.'

'He rose quickly from his seat, and stood panting with passion to the full height of his gigantic form: "Sooner would I retire from the political stage than sign the cession of Mayence."'

However the Count composed himself, and dismissed Benedetti with the notion that, after the peace with Austria and the other South German Powers was concluded, he would be willing to entertain the question of compensation; outwitting Benedetti finally by concluding peace irrespectively of him with both Austria and the other South German Powers; so that the poor French ambassador found himself, to use a common phrase, quite 'out in the cold,' and with no game to play at all. Bavaria, in the person of her ambassador Herr von der Pfordten, agreed to terms of peace which differed little from those accorded to Saxony. The supreme command of her military power was ceded to Prussia, which made her to all intents and purposes a constituent portion of the military might of Prussia, and she engaged to bring her allies, Wirtemberg and Hesse, to agree to the same conditions. Having done this quickly *sous la barbe de M. Benedetti*, and without his perceiving what was going on, Herr von Bismarck could afford to laugh in his sleeve at the notion of any French claim for compensation. This is, we have no doubt, the true version of the scheme for the partition or surrender of Belgium, which was so scandalously begun and so suddenly repudiated.

The last scenes which we will extract from these volumes take place in Paris, and they will form a not unfitting conclusion to an account of these volumes; for, after all, the defeat of Austria was but a prelude to the defeat of France, and Sadowa included Sedan.

Benedetti was summoned to Paris to give an account of his negotiations with Herr von Bismarck. Stung at the narrative of the manner in which his ambassador had been outwitted, and galling under the pressure of Drouyn de Lhuys, Napoleon III. now decided on action; but previously to doing so he summoned his marshals to collect their opinions on the condition of the French army and its readiness for war. The Emperor met his assembled marshals in a large *salon* of simple decoration, in the midst of which was a large table surrounded with armchairs.

'Here were collected the first dignitaries of the French army, the bearers of the marshal-staff of France, so passionately sought for for so many centuries at the price of so much blood.

'Here was the grey Marshal Vaillant, whose appearance was more like that of a courtier than a soldier; the Comte Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, with snow white hair and keen military look; Canrobert, with his long locks, more like a *savant* than a warrior; the chivalrous Comte Baraguay d'Hilliers, elegant in spite of his age; the slim Mac Mahon, made up of nothing but muscle and nerve, with his gentle face and his clear eyes, blue as forget-me-nots; there was Niel, with his earnest spiritually lighted face, and its sickly suffering expression, on which, however, the dominion of an iron will imparted the stamp of unyielding energy; there was Marshal Forey, with his rigid military bearing. The youngest of the marshals, Bazaine, was wanting. He was in Mexico, and preparing himself for the abandonment of the Emperor Maximilian to his tragic fate. All the marshals wore simple black plain clothes.'

The Emperor then informed his marshals that he had assembled them in order to ask their advice in a critical moment:—

"You all know," said Napoleon, "the events which have just happened in Germany. Prussia, abusing the success of her victory at Sadowa, is creating a German military State, which will exist as a continual threat to the boundaries of France. I have not held myself justified to interfere in the internal development of Germany: the German nation has the same right to form itself freely as France claims for itself and allows to all other nations, but I have, as sovereign of France, the duty of looking to the menacing increase of strength of Germany to provide for the security of our frontiers. I have, on this account, caused negotiations to be opened in order to obtain for France such boundaries as may secure our natural and strategic defence. I mean the boundaries of 1814—Mayence and Luxembourg.

"It appears, after some first tentative inquiries which I have caused to be made, that they are not disposed in Berlin to grant these reclamations which I have thought I ought to make in the name of France. Before I go further and let things come to an *ultimatum*, I will hear what your views may be on the matter of war with Prussia, the greatest and

most serious war which France can undertake at the present time. I know that France is always strong and armed sufficiently to repel attack; but before we begin a war, such a war of immense consequences, we must have a clear judgment about our strength and preparation for war. I therefore beg you, my Lords Marshals, to tell me your opinion as to the eventuality of a war with Germany and on the fashion on which such a war should be conducted."

The marshals one and all declared that before engaging in such a war it was necessary to make trial of the new weapon, the *Zündnadelgewehr*, to which the Austrians ascribed their defeat at Sadowa. Marshal Niel went even further: he declared in a long speech that, apart from all consideration of the new weapon and of the study of new tactics which the employment of such weapon demanded, the French army was not in a state to go to war. He affirmed that the expedition to Mexico had been a drain upon France in men and money, and that before engaging in such a war as one with Prussia would be, military reforms were necessary which it would take two years to accomplish. Forey declared he sided with Niel, and the other marshals by their silence showed that in the main they coincided likewise with Niel. Drouyn de Lhuys, who was present, still urged the adoption of his policy. Niel replied that such a policy might have been adopted immediately after Sadowa, before Austria had made peace and while the Prussian army was shaken, but now no conscientious general could advise his sovereign to adopt it.

In the face of these opinions Napoleon III. gave up all idea of warlike action, and the result was, as we know, that Drouyn de Lhuys retired from office, declining to act further under a peace policy, and his place was occupied by M. de Lavalette.

However, if the facts of this volume are correct, Napoleon III., with his usual surreptitious way of doing things, attempted still further to enter into negotiation with Bismarck about compensations for France, by means of the Danish agitator Hansen, to whom we were before introduced. Hansen was, according to these pages, sent by Napoleon unknown to his ministers to Berlin to treat the question anew with Bismarck; and in this way the Emperor met with a still more humiliating rebuff than before.

We conclude our notice of this work with extracts from a strange sketch of some power which has found its way into the fourth volume without having any connexion with the story except in so far as it may be thought to portend the future fall of Napoleon III. as a punishment for the folly of the Mexican expedition.

'In her *salon*, on the *bel étage* of the Grand Hôtel in the Boulevard des Italiens, the Empress Charlotte of Mexico sat in black attire. Her face, once so beautiful and charming, was now pale and sorrowful; deep lines were traced across it, and gave it the expression of early age. Her hair was almost concealed under a black veil of lace which reached down over her forehead. Before the Empress stood Almonte, the Ambassador of Mexico in Paris, a distinguished-looking man, of a southern type.'

The Empress, who had left her husband struggling for his diadem in the city of Montezuma, and becoming day by day more and more at the mercy of his foes, had come to Paris to seek for succour from Napoleon, who had by this time determined to withdraw the French troops from Mexico altogether, and to leave Maximilian to his fate. The unfortunate lady on her arrival in Paris, had tried every resource of passionate entreaty in order to change the purpose of the French Emperor; and she, the grand-daughter of Louis Philippe, had thrown herself at Saint Cloud at the feet of the nephew of the Corsican usurper to implore help for her husband; but all in vain: Napoleon III. was not to be moved.

She awaited, however, a visit from the man whose hands could, she imagined, save her husband from the abyss of ruin and blood into which he was fast sinking, in order to make one last desperate appeal. When Napoleon arrived in the ante-room of the Empress she advanced towards him to the threshold. General Almonte withdrew back into the ante-chamber, and the Emperor of France and the already almost widowed Empress of Mexico were left alone. The Emperor kissed the hand of the Empress, and after regretting that at a previous interview he had been unable to yield to her wishes, endeavoured to persuade her to join with him in efforts to induce Maximilian to return home, since the project for establishing an imperial throne in Mexico had now been proved to be hopeless. To such suggestions the Empress turned a deaf ear. The honour of her husband was engaged, and he would sacrifice his life to his honour. Nothing else but armed help from France, or money, could save her husband and his honour, and his honour was the honour of France, since France had thrust him into his present perilous position.

"*Sire*," said she, with heartfelt but gentle voice, "pardon the wife who speaks for the honour and life of her husband. If I, in my zeal, have allowed myself to be carried on to too bold defence of the cause which to me is the highest and the holiest—it could not have been otherwise. *Sire*, I beseech you, for the sake of eternal mercy, have compassion. Give us yet a year's protection; or give us gold, if the blood of France is precious to you."

'And with an indescribably beseeching look of anguish she looked at this man, from whose mouth the word of hope might be sounded, which she might carry on the wings of love and joy to her husband pining afar, in order to restore his despairing soul with new strength. With cold tone replied Napoleon :—

"*Madame*, the greatest service one can render ladies in serious moments is complete truth and candour. It would be a crime towards your Majesty if I were to offer to you hopes which could not be realised. My resolves are unalterable, like the necessity which has dictated them. I have nothing more left for Mexico—not a man, not a dollar."

'Then the features of the Empress became convulsed in horrible fashion; the white of her eyes became of the colour of blood; her glances had a flaming phosphorescent glow; her lips parted wide back from her splendid white teeth. With arms outstretched, she stepped towards the Emperor, and, driving forth her words between the pantings of her heaving breast, she cried with a voice which sounded more than human :—

"Yea, it is true—the picture of my dreams, the horrible phantasy of my nights! There he stands before me with the beaker of blood—that demon of hell—the murderer of my family! Murder my husband, smiling devil! Murder me, the grandchild of Louis Philippe—of that king who snatched thee from misery and saved thee from the scaffold!"

'The Emperor retreated slowly to the door, as before the apparition of a spectre.

'The Empress remained standing, and, stretching out her hand, cried again, while her features became still more disfigured and her eyes more wildly glaring :—

"Begone, damned man! but take with thee my curse—the curse which God hurled at the head of the first murderer. Thy throne shall fall into ruins; flames shall destroy thy house; and when thou hast been cast down to the dust from which thou emerged, sinking in shame and impotence, then shall the Angel of Vengeance cry to thy despairing soul in mournful tones the names, 'Maximilian and Charlotte.'"

Before these imprecations the Emperor retreated. The unfortunate Princess, however, could not be restored to reason. Almonte, the Mexican Ambassador, tried in vain to soothe her, as did a female attendant who entered.

Suddenly the Empress stood still, with eyes searching about the room.

"Where is he?" cried she with hoarse voice. "He is gone! he shall not go! I will cling to his heels! Day and night shall my cry for vengeance ring in his ears!" "Your Majesty,—," cried the General. "Away!" cried the Empress. "Let me,—*ma voiture! ma voiture!*—let me follow him, the betrayer, the murderer of my husband!" And with violence hurling from her the General and her attendant, she rushed down the stairs crying, "*Ma voiture! ma voiture!*"

This latter part of the scene is, we believe, true, whatever the former may be. The poor Empress descended down stairs to the court of the Grand Hôtel, screaming *ma voiture! ma voiture!* As she resisted all efforts to lead her back, her carriage was ordered. The equipage came. With a leap the Empress rushed in. The General prepared to follow. Then her powers deserted her; she sank down, her eyes closed themselves, white foam welled forth from her mouth, without consciousness she fell down on the cushion in convulsive shudders. Several servants hastened to her, and she was borne to her room. 'What a tragedy is beginning here!' said General Almonte, who followed slowly, seized with horror, 'and what a sequel lies in the lap of the future!'

A continuation of this 'novel of the time' has been announced, under the title of 'European Mines and Counter-mines,' which promises to portray in novelistic form the diplomatic chess-playing of the years 1867-70. It may at least be said in favour of treating diplomatic action and correspondence in this fashion, that they are more endurable thus than if they had been put into rhyme or set to music.

ART. VI.—1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the several Matters relating to Coal in the United Kingdom.* 3 vols. 1871.

2. *Mineral Statistics of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the Year 1871.* By ROBERT HUNT, F.R.S., Keeper of Mining Records. 1872.

3. *Industrial Partnership, a Remedy for Strikes and Lock-out.* A Lecture delivered at Sheffield, 9th March, 1870, by ARCHIBALD BRIGGS. (Reprinted.) 1871.

THE winter through which we have just passed will long be memorable for the high price of coal, and the privations which this cost has inflicted on the poor and the lower middle classes; nor have any, excepting the rich, been insensible to the inconvenience arising from this cause. With the poor, indeed, it has been a matter of health or disease, of life or death, and only those who have habitually visited them are really aware of what they have suffered, and only in a less degree, are still continuing to suffer, from the lack of fuel. The commonest topic of conversation has been this, and the daily inquiries on all sides were, 'What has occasioned this immensely increased cost? how long is it likely to con-

tinue? who profits by it to the greatest extent? and what have been and what will be the consequences in trade and commerce, as well as in household expenditure?' These are the inquiries which we propose to ourselves, and hope to answer, as far as the complexity of the whole subject will enable us to do so in one article; and we shall conclude by suggesting some issues of the gravest national importance, unless remedies be discovered and adopted for our present evils.

The cause, or rather the causes, of the present cost of coal are several, and require to be distinguished one from another. There is a general, long-prevailing, and in some respects a happy cause for the increased cost—namely, the rapid general extension of our national industries; the return of prosperity after a weary interval of depression; and a remarkable revival of some particular industries which require a large supply of coal. So far, a great demand for coal is not a subject for lamentation, but for congratulation; that is, the nation benefits at the expense and to the inconvenience of numerous individuals composing it.

This fact is strikingly illustrated by the late very vigorous vitality of the iron manufacture and iron trade, which is mainly dependent upon the supply of appropriate coal. Ever since the invention of the puddling process the foundation of iron-making has been coal. Given a good supply of coal of a suitable quality, and almost any kind of iron can be made of marketable value by working and re-working it. Hence the quality of iron ore has become subordinate to the abundance of coal, and the great centres of the iron manufacture were naturally fixed on such coal fields as yielded the best and most ready mineral fuel. Yorkshire, Staffordshire, South Wales, Durham, and Northumberland have become the centres of iron because they are by nature the centres of coal.

It is popularly supposed that the excellence of iron depends on that of the ore, but in truth it is more directly dependent upon the coal; for the amount of work put into the iron is equivalent to the quantity of fuel burnt in producing and re-working it. In Staffordshire about 24 cwt. of coal (long weight, or 120 lbs. to the cwt.) are consumed in producing from pig-iron one ton of puddled iron, the rate of consumption being about four pounds per minute, or 240 lbs. per hour; but in respect to the superior iron, with the most economical mode of working in the present practice of Staffordshire, the making of bars marked as 'best, best, best,' corresponds to a consumption of five tons of coal per ton of iron made from the

forge pigs, which themselves require about two tons of coal for their production. None of these quantities, however, are permanent by necessity.* Great improvements may, and we earnestly hope will, be realised. One should be instanced. Bessemer's process has saved us half a million of tons of coal in converting 150,000 tons of steel in one year,† and it is said

* A great saving in the coke and coal used in iron-making has been gradually effected of late years. We gather from Mushet that 5 tons of coal were necessary for a ton of pig-iron in 1810 in Staffordshire, and much more previously in the same county. In Mushet's time nearly 4 tons of coke were needed to produce a ton of pig-iron; the latest information we have shows that at Witton Park, 23 cwt. of coke are required for each ton of forge pig-iron.

† It is estimated that in one year, 1869, the consumption of coal for the make of pig-iron was 16,337,271 tons, and the coal used in the conversion of this pig-iron into malleable iron was 15,859,335 tons. The total coal used, therefore, in our iron manufacture in 1869 were 32,207,706 tons. The pig-iron produce in Great Britain during 1871 exceeded six and a half millions of tons—viz., 6,627,179 tons—and then the value of this production at the place where it was made was 16,667,947*l.* No doubt the iron produce of 1872 was much in excess of that of 1871, so that we may safely assume that at least 7,000,000 of tons of pig-iron were produced in Great Britain, and probably considerably more. Proportionately additional coal was consumed in obtaining this amount, and proportionately more in preparing the copper, tin, lead, silver, and zinc which have to be added to the iron to arrive at the total of the make of metals during any year. In the same year (1871) there were 6,841 puddling furnaces at work in the kingdom. What, therefore, must have been the annual burning of coal for nearly 7,000 puddling furnaces, besides that for the forging of pig-iron, and for all the additional metallic productions simultaneously wrought; and what will it continue to be every successive year? There is, indeed, some ground for hope of a small reduction in this particular demand by the introduction of mechanical methods of puddling iron. Dank's (American) Furnace has been much vaunted, and three large iron-works have arranged to introduce it in England; one of these indeed has already found it to work satisfactorily. We observe that a Belgian Commission of Iron Manufacturers have discussed and reported very favourably upon the merits of this invention, and have visited Middlesborough for the purpose of testing its applicableness in Belgium. The Report of this Commission is very interesting to iron-workers, but we here only notice the question of the saving of fuel by using it. The saving is not considerable, and the Report says, 'the consumption (of coal) ought not to be greater in Dank's Furnace than in others;' in fact the consumption during twenty-four hours represented very nearly the consumption of an ordinary furnace with forced air.

that a recent invention of Dr. Siemen's for making steel will be equally effective in point of economy.

The above refers only to one branch, though that is the principal branch, of our metallurgy. If we look to others we find similar results. In all sorts of copper-smelting, to take another principal branch, it is calculated that upon all kinds of ore the consumption of coal is not less than eighteen tons for every ton of copper produced. In 1859 Dr. Percy stated that in certain works from 13 to 18 tons of coal (which then cost 5s. per ton) were required to make one ton of copper; and that about half of this quantity was consumed in the first and second operations of calcining and smelting. Hence copper works must be the first to suffer from an extraordinary rise in the price of fuel, which forms the largest item of their expenditure. Dr. Percy estimates that in works such as he supposes there would be an annual consumption of about 20,000 tons of coal, or for every ton of copper made from a mixture of ores yielding ten per cent. of copper, 18 tons of coal. Following out such elements of a general estimate, it was found in 1869 that 149,238 tons of coal were used in the entire smeltings of copper ores in Britain. Very large quantities of copper ores and regulus are brought to Swansea to be smelted from Chili, from the Cape, from Portugal and elsewhere, because it has hitherto cost less to bring the ore to the coal than to send the coal to the ore.

In like manner we may pursue our inquiry into the consumption of coal for the reduction of all of the metallic ores raised by us or sent here. Keeping to the year 1869, and adverting to lead, it was estimated that in smelting and desilverising the 966,868 tons of lead ore then raised, about 145,299 tons of coal were burnt, and that for the ten preceding years the average annual consumption of coal for such work of all kinds must have been 141,694 tons. If the lead ore imported by us in 1869 be added, the estimate of coal consumed must be raised to 177,577 tons. Of zinc, it may be added, that if we include the large imports of that metal, our zinc smelters used, for the whole reduction of the zinc in the same year, as much as 231,176 tons of coal.

The whole matter, then, resolves itself into a question of mineral instead of monetary capital and issue. We have a natural bank of bituminous or carbonaceous fuel, and the capital in that bank is a fixed quantity, while at the same time we have a manufacturing demand upon this natural bank which, in such times as the recent and the present, has amounted to a run. The whole nation, indeed, is running upon

its natural bank, and in nature as well as in commerce the results are the same, with this difference, that the natural has not, like the national bank, any artificial system of adjustment. It has no prudential reserves, no raising of the rate of discount, except what manifests itself in the augmented cost of production. This is in fact the correlative of the Bank of England's variations of the rate of discount. In the deep subterraneous cellars of our bank of coal there is so much bituminous bullion, and no more; it cannot be added to, but can only be subtracted from; there is no influx, but only efflux; therefore, if you draw too much by a sudden and simultaneous rush upon it, the pits' mouths are like the bank-doors—they must be closed for a time, or at least the price of the supply will be raised.

We must be prepared to follow out this leading truth into all the departments of trade and manufacture, and to find that the coal famine, as it has been expressively called, has been caused by a strong demand for coal in all directions. Every householder and every manufacturer has presented his demand, and all of these cannot be met. The bituminous bank cannot raise its rate of production, but it can raise the cost of extraction, and does raise it to the dismay and disaster of all—even the comparatively rich. Everywhere gloom exists, and very gloomy apprehensions prevail as to what is to come.* Iron has not only of late advanced very greatly, but it is still rapidly advancing. Look at an ironmaker's circular, and you will read the same kind of intelligence as this, dated February 14 ult., from the representative of the great firm, in the following words:—'I beg to inform you that the price of Earl 'Dudley's iron this day has been advanced 1*l*. per ton.' Of course other firms will follow their leader. Bars are dearer than they were a year ago by 2*l*., and yet the 12*l*. of the preceding February became 16*l*. in July of last year. Advances up to March 14 of this year have raised the best marked bars of Staffordshire throughout to 15*l*. and 16*l*. per

* The intelligence received from many quarters informs us of the partial or total close of several iron-works. How can they be kept in operation when the cost of smelting the ore, owing to the cost of coal, exceeds the profit derivable from the process? It is impossible to work at a loss, and the question is when that loss will be realised. The price of iron may be raised to a point at which consumers cannot take it; and when it cannot be sold to advantage, the whole manufacture will be at an end in this country. (See our note at the close of this article, on American diminished demands.)

ton. Nor are these advances quite the largest in iron-making; for in another description of the made metal the advance has been 40*s.* within five weeks; if the advance within five weeks be 40*s.*, what will it be in five months? Moreover, during the five months including and following after February, the demand is always the most urgent.

Already the consequence of the increased price of iron has told severely upon all undertakings largely requiring it. Our railways have suffered greatly, and the directors of all of them complained loudly at their last half-yearly meetings of this, the principal cause of diminished dividends. The recent report of the London and South-Western Railway, while it gives a very favourable account of this company's affairs, mentions that the increased price of coal from 15*s.* 3*d.* a ton in 1871 to 22*s.* 10*d.* a ton at present, has, in their requirements for locomotives and traffic purposes, cost no less than 22,000*l.* in the accounts for the half year. In the last statement of the North Staffordshire Railway Company we read, that whereas the coal for their locomotives had previously cost them from 8*s.* to 10*s.* per ton (they drawing it from their own coal field), coal has recently cost them from 18*s.* to 20*s.*, and is still advancing. Colonial Railways have suffered like our own. The Great Indian Peninsular Railway in 1867 paid 51*s.* per ton for coal; for coke, 62*s.* a ton; and for patent fuel, 54*s.* a ton. Nor are these the highest figures. The Madras Lines of Railway, as well as the Railway Companies in Western India generally, are dependent for coal upon England and share in its surcharges for their fuel. Next to iron, gas-works probably consume one-ninth of all the coal raised, and their consumption is in direct proportion to population and prosperity. Every addition to the habitations of the metropolis and large provincial cities and towns, must be accompanied with gaslighting in streets and largely in houses. Gasometers appear in all directions, and gas companies will abound and thrive, until they also feel the cost of coal, and endeavour to raise the price of gas, from doing which many of them are by their Acts of Parliament restricted; but ultimately they must follow the general and imperious law of higher prices or smaller profits to their shareholders.

Our cotton manufactures require every year at least two and a half millions of tons of coal, and our woollen and worsted manufactures about one million and a quarter. In all the manufactures of textile fabrics, the disadvantage of a rise of price has been similar if not equal in amount. Manufacturers have declared that the high price of coal has been to them

equivalent to an increase of from one halfpenny to one penny halfpenny in every pound of cotton. Curiously too, in the Staffordshire Potteries situated in one coal field, it has lately been found desirable to import coals from another.

In whatever direction we look, nothing can at present be discerned but a constantly augmenting demand upon our coal fields. Steam power now makes a very large demand upon the extraction of coal, and we may warrantably compute it at between twenty-five and twenty-six millions of tons every year for the United Kingdom. When we add steam navigation to this, we shall scarcely be in excess if we give in round numbers the large amount of thirty millions of tons of coal as the total annual requisite for all steam purposes in manufactures and navigation. Extended steam navigation, steam machinery, steam power appearing in numerous new modes; heating, lighting, cooking, the fashioning of most articles of luxury as well as of necessity, all depend upon coal as the prime motive power. Archimedes could move the world if he had his right standing place; so can we if we stand upon coal as we have stood. But take it from under us, and we are as weak as Archimedes was in reality.

In addition to the reasons for a rise already stated, another strongly operative cause is the immense and rapid increase of population. It has been computed that for every additional person born an additional ton of coal is required. We take this as an element of average, but if we examine the total quantities of coal annually raised in Great Britain from 1855 to 1870, we shall see that by a table which the Commissioners give (vol. iii. p. 178), the consumption of coal in relation to each head of the population ranges from two to three tons. This of course is a fallacious view, since the demand for manufactures and metallurgy is included in the calculation. Since, however, the domestic consumption of coal in 1869 was estimated at 18,481,572 tons out of the total extraction of 107,427,557 tons, we may assume the domestic consumption at present to amount to in round numbers twenty millions of tons; hence too we may fairly assume that an increased supply of at least one million tons is required every five years from the mere increase of population. The effect of this increase in the metropolis and its immediate suburbs is obvious. In every six minutes a child is born in London and its boundaries; hence in every six minutes an additional ton of coal is required. The increase of London during the ten years from 1851 to 1861 showed that the population will double itself in forty years. London in sixty years of the present century has trebled its inhabitants. At the rate

of doubling them in forty years, the number of inhabitants in London in the year 1901 may rise to 5,700,000 human beings. Some Londoners who read these pages may live to hear that there are six millions of fellow-creatures around them, each one of whom may need a ton of coals. If the existing three and a half millions cannot obtain coals enough at a moderate cost, what will be the case of their successors, and, indeed, their future metropolitan contemporaries? Add to this the entire future population of the United Kingdom, and the anticipation becomes appalling. Making all due abatement for the uncertainty of statistical facts and deductions, *appalling* is not too strong a term to apply to even a cautious anticipation. Conceive six or ten millions of Londoners and Suburbans making the same run upon the national bituminous bank as we are now making—for mineral fuel in domestic heating and cooking, for street and house gas, and for various manufacturing purposes, while the same or similar restrictions of supply prevail—conceive that this issue may be realised, and then who will predict the result? Coal has become as necessary to social life as food is to man. But if population really increased, as Mr. Malthus supposed, in a geometrical ratio, whilst the deposit of coal is not capable of any increase at all, it is evident that at no very distant period, it would be impossible to obtain coal enough for all the wants of society—at least in this island.

From the continual operation of these combined causes the reader will be prepared to credit the astonishing progress of coal extraction in the last few years. If we begin with the sixty-five millions of tons extracted in 1857, and pass to the seventy-two (nearly) millions of tons extracted in the year 1859, thence proceeding to the ninety-eight millions of tons in 1865, we may advance at once to the one hundred and seventeen millions of tons raised in 1871 (the latest authentic return). It is therefore manifest that we have increased our coal extraction by about fifty-two millions of tons in fifteen years, and that the increased extraction during that period approximates to the total annual extraction of the first year. Furthermore, it seems highly probable that under present causes our total coal extraction will in five years hence be at least one hundred and thirty millions of tons for the year, in which case the entire coal production of Britain will have doubled itself within twenty years. It was said in 1865 that the rate of growth in that period in the aggregate annual consumption of coal, reckoning each annual percentage on the previous year's consumption, amounted to three and a half per

cent. per annum.* For many years the consumption of coal has really been increasing at the rate of about four per cent. per annum, computed in the manner of compound interest; so that in eighteen years our present consumption would be doubled, and in thirty-six years would be quadrupled, while in fifty-four years it would be eight times more than it now is. Be this as it may, as to its entire truth, the probability previously mentioned is exceedingly strong, viz., that if prices remained the same the present consumption would again double itself in the next twenty years; and this startling conclusion prompts us to ask—whence are we to derive, and at what charges can we deliver, the amazing amount of two hundred and thirty-four million tons of coal in one year? A year or two, more or less, before such a total extraction is realised is of little moment, for we are now in the midst and under the pressure of the consequences, and we have at best but a brief space of time left us in which we can endeavour to diminish their severity, or to defer their aggravation. If we cannot succeed in so doing, no light calamity is impending over us of the present generation, and a much heavier calamity upon our successors in this country, and perhaps in other countries. If the Bank of England were to break, the whole world would feel the monetary shock; and if the bank of British coal should fail, or approach to failure, it is certain that while many of our envious neighbours and remote competitors would rejoice, they themselves, with others, would participate in the evil effects of such a failure. A bankruptcy of British coal would shake the prosperity of all civilised Europe, as we shall now show that several other countries depend upon us for the coal we raise and they import.†

Not only are we called upon to meet the wants of our own

* So stated by Mr. Jevons in his work 'On the Coal Question,' in which he anticipated that in 1871 the consumption would amount to nearly 118,000,000 of tons. We ourselves had independently made an estimate of a rather less quantity upon similar elements of computation. The result has proved that we were right by a very close approximation to Mr. Hunt's official return of 117,352,028 tons in 1871. A few years ago we were both declared to be alarmists.

† Were our space ample we should enter into the consideration of possible retarding elements of demand. Mr. Price Williams' elaborate table may be consulted in the Commissioners' Report (vol. i. p. xvi.). It is constructed upon the basis of ratios diminishing according to certain views of his own. According to this table the *annual* consumption of coal at the end of another 100 years would be 274,000,000 of tons; and further, the *total* estimated quantity of coal available for use would be exhausted by consumption in 360 years.

busy land, but several countries have made considerable calls upon our coal resources, and are continually increasing their demands, insomuch that our present exports of coal are nearly four times as large as they were twenty years ago.

France is the largest foreign consumer of our coal, and the gradual growth of the exports to that country is truly remarkable. In 1812 we gave France a very small quantity of coal. In 1822, however, we sent there 31,000 tons; in 1832 we exported as much as 37,000 tons; and in 1842 no less than 490,000 tons. Advancing to 1852, the birth year of the Second Empire, France obtained from us 652,000 tons. In 1862 it was found that the growth of manufacturing industry was so considerable that it had enlarged the coal demand of France upon us to 1,306,255 tons; while, in 1872, it rose to 2,191,340 tons. Thus steadily have our exports of coal to France grown from a few to many thousands of tons, and then to millions, so that the total increase in the fifty years, from 1822 to 1872, has been 2,160,235 tons. We find that the present total annual extraction of coal in France itself may be estimated at 14,000,000 tons, and therefore it appears that we send to it more than one-seventh of its own coal produce. In fact most of the same causes have there effected an increased consumption of coal as in Great Britain. Augmented steam power has led to augmented consumption of steam coal; and as the French have in all likelihood doubled their railway mileage since 1853, so more coal has been wanted for locomotives. In nearly all the manufactures and trades in which we have prospered they have prospered in the same proportion, and coal has become as essential to them as to us. They also have wonderfully increased their own coal extraction, so that they can compare their present annual 14,000,000 tons with a mere extraction of 770,000 tons in 1813; and they also will continually raise more coal themselves, and want more of our coal from us. They now take about one-sixth of the total shipped by us in exportation.

Of Germany, with some differences of detail, nearly the same might be said. That country does not take quite as much coal as France, but it also will be continually helping to drain us. South America took one million of tons, and Russia three quarters of a million of tons of coal in 1872. The total amount of coal shipped by us last year to foreign countries was 12,092,000 tons, showing an increase of 302,027 tons over the shipments of the previous year; and every year our exports have been increasing, although it was thought in 1869 that we had surely arrived at a maximum when we shipped nearly

ten and a half millions of tons, and, including coke and anthracite, actually 10,837,804 tons.

While existing commercial treaties last we cannot impose a duty on the export of coal, and it is against our national policy to prohibit the exportation, even if we had the power so to do. But there are still more decisive reasons against resorting to restrictive measures of this nature. They would tell in the most fatal manner against ourselves. A large portion of the coal we export is for the service of our own steamers in all parts of the world, and a great number of British ships are engaged in the foreign coal trade. Hence it may be inferred that a heavy export duty on coal would be highly injurious to our maritime interests, and would in truth be a disastrous tax on steam navigation abroad and on freight.

So far we have dealt mainly with the quantities of coal extracted, and the rapid increase of this extraction; but we are now brought to the consideration of prices—the *cost of coal* as well as its consumption; and here we have a fluctuating instead of an actual constantly advancing and calculable element. We should be glad indeed to give this element fuller consideration than our space permits, because it tends to govern consumption, checking it when high and enlarging it when low.

It is curious to examine the fluctuating prices of coal at a remote date and downwards to our day. So long ago as the year 1635 coals cost in London 10*s.* per London chaldron, the lowest price to which we can trace them, as well as the earliest date. In 1665 they had risen to 13*s.*, in 1761 to 24*s.* 9*d.*, in 1768 to 36*s.*, in 1785 to 40*s.*, and in 1793 to 42*s.* 6*d.* per London chaldron in London. In 1805 we find them at 44*s.* 9*d.*, in 1810 at 51*s.* 8*d.*, in 1819 at 59*s.* 1*d.* at the ship side in the port of London per London chaldron of 25 cwts., which was rather less than half of the Newcastle chaldron of 53 cwts. From this culminating price there followed a descent in subsequent years, down to 33*s.* 6*d.* in 1831. In 1832 the average price was 21*s.* 11*d.* per ton, from which a rise ensued to 23*s.* 8*d.* in 1839, and thence again a varying descent down to 20*s.* 2*d.* per ton, always at the ship side, and apart from duty. From all these details it seems that the price of 10*s.* per chaldron in 1635 became doubled in 1761, and then again became more than doubled in 1793, when the price was 42*s.* 6*d.* per chaldron. There were, therefore, in old times causes in full operation which doubled and quadrupled the relative prices of coal, though we cannot now ascertain their precise nature; but we thus see how similar and fluctuating causes have in like

manner sometimes doubled, and, as at present, even more than doubled, the cost of coals, to London consumers at least, who must deal with London coal merchants. Persons not paupers, but in the condition of economical lodgers, have this last winter been paying as much as five shillings for a single sack of coals of inferior quality.

As the recent very high cost is now a special subject of inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee, it is needless here to dwell upon it, much as it has been talked and written about in all circles. Nobody, indeed, at present really knows where the chief blame lies, and the chief gain accrues. We have conversed with merchants on the London Coal Exchange, with coal owners, with subordinate dealers, and with miners, but without any decided and clear result. Mutual recriminations are the fashion, and each class flatly denies the affirmations of the other. They must all be examined and confronted in order to elicit the truth.

Some principal elements of the inquiry respecting recent and present cost are tolerably definite, and may be fairly adduced. They are such as these: an extraordinary demand by revived iron-making and manufacture has lately prevailed, so that for a year or two vastly more iron-working has been in operation than for several previous years. A season of activity has succeeded one of prostration, and consequently a largely increased demand for coal has ensued, and raised its price. All manufactures have in a greater or less degree simultaneously revived, and have in a greater or less measure demanded coal. Coal miners well knew this, and naturally inferred that the coal owners were making immense profits, of which they, the workers, ought to have a share; they struck for this participation in many coal fields, and made their wages rise by forty and fifty per cent. in little more than one year. Determined to prosper as well as their masters, and to drink champagne also as their masters do, the masters began to find out that they are so only in name. The pitmen thought that they had the key of the situation, as indeed they partly had. Dear labour is dear coal; dear coal is dear iron; dear metallic trade is dear commerce in general to England; and dear general commerce is dear bread, dear meat, cold comfort, and a cold home. Diminish colliers' wages, if you can, and you get at the root of the matter. If the love of money be the root of all evil, certainly the love of it by colliers is the root of that particular evil from which all of us have lately suffered so severely. The pitmen advanced in their demands upon the owners or workers of pits proportionately as they

thought the owners advanced upon the public consumer. The owners had too long been getting the lion's share, and the pitmen would have their fair share—being assured that their masters were gaining to a far greater extent. Upon this, the rise in pitmen's wages was made the ground of a further advance in the price of the commodity.

Circumstances have lately brought matters to a crisis, and while the two classes were contending of course the public had to pay, and to pay inordinately. On their side the pitmen have clever calculators with many figures, and they fill their journals with strong assertions. The difficulty is to discover the truth. Newspapers in all directions have published notes of the price of coal at the pit's mouth and in London coal offices. The difference was so great that some middleman or middlemen must be public plunderers. Coals selling eighteen months ago, as Mr. Mundella avouched, at from 18*s.* to 20*s.* per ton are now, or recently have been, selling at from 45*s.* to 50*s.* per ton, while the miners' wages, which a year and a half ago were 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton, are now only 3*s.* 2½*d.* per ton. Were this a persistent condition the rise rests either with the coal owners or coal merchants, or upon both in combination.

Now let us listen on the other side to a coal owner in conference with his miners and others, one of the few who has consented to explain as well as to complain that he lay under unjust odium. At the Clifton Collieries, near Nottingham, the new proprietor lately asserted that it could be shown by the books that out of the increased prices current labour now received a very much larger proportion of the increase than the proprietary. He entered into details and averred that in 1870 the 'stall-men' (the workers in the *stalls*, or mining galleries), received 2*s.* 3*d.* for getting a ton of coal, and the wages paid to the unskilled labourer were from 3*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* a-day. Now the stall-men receive 4*s.* 3*d.* for getting a ton, equal to 95 per cent. of increase on their previous daily pay, while the day-labourer can earn 6*s.* 6*d.* a-day. Considering the large addition of outlay required by the almost doubled price of timber and rails, the proprietor contended that the labourer got a larger proportion of the increased price of coals than he himself did, although the realised price of coals is now 12*s.* 4*d.* a ton, whereas in 1870 it was but 6*s.* 9*d.* per ton. He, the proprietor, was now receiving, as the capitalist, on this excessive rise a profit of 17½ per cent. upon his sales, while labour is actually realising 75 per cent. additional as compared with the wages received in 1870. Such is the best exculpation, upon an owner's part, within our reach.

In continual perplexity, we turn again to the pitmen, and ask, 'What is your comment upon this explanation?' 'A denial of the statement,' they reply. The best method of illustrating this denial is to proceed to the great coal fields of the North of England, and to take the facts there offered to us on the side of the miners, by a local paper. In these great coal fields the owners are affirmed to have been realising about 13s. per ton on the prices of coal maintained for a year past, and if so their gains must be inordinate; for the thirty millions of tons of coal now annually raised in Northumberland and Durham would, at 13s. per ton of profit, yield a clear revenue of more than nineteen, or nearly twenty, millions of pounds. Amongst how many owners is this distributed? It is said that the large owners in the two northern counties number about two hundred, each of whom, therefore, would realise nearly as much as 100,000*l.* in one year; a princely income, indeed, and a liberal reward for the exercise of 'an enlightened self-interest'!

There is a third party, or a third plunderer in public estimation, whom we have in passing to consider—the great London coal merchants. Their name is not 'Legion,' for they are said to number between twenty and thirty; but their alleged misdeeds are very suggestive of an unholy alliance, and certainly they have plagued us very sorely, and could not be cast out. It has been said that they have kept back coal, and artificially raised its price, and that they have 'rigged' the London coal market as stockbrokers often 'rig' the Stock Exchange. It is not our duty to examine, or charge, or exculpate them, only, till they are publicly and clearly exculpated, they must expect to bear a bad name. Unluckily for them appearances are against them, and they must make their case much clearer than it is, if they would escape from general obloquy.

The recent diminished output of coal from our principal coal fields is a consequence not a cause, or, at all events, only a secondary cause, of high prices. Here we have only to establish the fact that the output has of late been considerably less, and we shall be led to the conclusion that by contrivance and collusion it can at any similar conjuncture of conditions be brought about in like manner, if not in like measure.

From Durham the output in 1872 was less than it was in 1871 by 350,000 tons. In Lancashire the amount of coal raised in January 1873 was from three to fifteen per cent. below the average, and in some other districts about twenty-five per cent.

below the average brought to bank.* It is very difficult in such disturbance of the equilibrium of a great trade to trace and assign to each disturbing element its prime value. This it will be the duty of the Select Committee recently appointed to inquire into this subject to accomplish.

We say little respecting existing or previous strikes, because these are phenomena of passing times, often fully detailed in the journals of the day, and happily forgotten when past, though unhappily the lessons they convey are equally forgotten.† If the terrible sufferings produced by every great strike were remembered, and if the results of experience were recorded and acted upon, such strikes would seldom, if ever, recur. Existing strikes may slowly or suddenly cease, and presently discordant elements will disappear, but the permanent and progressive causes of demand which we have been anxious to elucidate, will continue, unless we can institute radical and national economies. In all our observations we have more regard to these lasting economies than to temporary questions of cost, however urgent. In all such considerations we have to look at great natural and commercial conditions, to the

* If we compare the chief railway deliveries of coal from the collieries in the chief coal fields of our country for two consecutive months, viz., December of last year and January of the present year, we discover a singular falling off in the amounts carried to London in January, although that was by far the colder month. Taking some examples in the Yorkshire coal fields, the Great Northern Railway carried only 65,125 tons in January as against 91,181 in December. Of the Silkstone coals, which have been much used in London for household purposes, 9,248 tons were brought in January against 14,319 in December; and of the Barnsley thick coal only 11,509 tons were carried in January as against 15,677 in December.

By the Midland Railway, which serves the Derbyshire coal fields, there arrived 80,775 tons of coal in January, but in December 90,511 tons. The same contrast might be drawn in relation to other coal fields; and from this it is manifest that by so much less coal than ordinary was delivered to Londoners, and London coal merchants were compelled to charge more unless they themselves conspired to keep back the delivery.

† The anonymous author of the well-known work entitled 'Our Coal and Our Coal-Pits; the People in them, and the Scenes around them by a Traveller Underground' (London, 1853), has afforded much appropriate information about strikes under the head of 'Strikes of the Pitmen and Striking Sketches,' in pp. 203 *et seq.* of his popular work, forming a part of Messrs. Longman's Travellers' Library. The whole question is there clearly and concisely discussed, and it is curious that these points all reappear as unsettled to-day as they were then.

countervailing evils which follow an excessive national prosperity, and to the fact that our national prosperity is founded upon coal and our manner and rate of using it. The misfortune is that our knowledge grows only with our exigencies, and that our exigencies alone quicken our desire for knowledge. Most of the information that the great public have gained about coal has reached them very late, and not only late but also in irregular instalments. What has been buried in 'blue books' ought to have been published on the housetops.

It is an elementary proposition in political economy that a rise of prices tends to correct itself by a twofold influence: it increases supply by attracting more labour to a profitable field, and it restricts demand by reason of the increased cost of the commodity. But in this case of coal, these general principles have been counteracted by some peculiar and exceptional causes. The rise in prices and in wages, instead of bringing more labour into the market, diminished the actual quantity of work done; because the colliers, finding they earned as much by three days' labour as they had earned before in five days, preferred to take more leisure rather than more money. Although wages had advanced 40 per cent., the total amount earned in many of the collieries was positively less than it had been before the rise. Of course the 'output' of the pits diminished in the same proportion; and the colliers found that the less they worked the more highly they were paid. This depended on their having a virtual monopoly of labour in the pits, owing to the difficulty of training new men to so laborious and repulsive an employment, and to the opposition the men would themselves offer to any new comers. The only true remedy of the evil is, in our opinion, to be found in absolute freedom of labour. The men have a right to refuse to work more than three days a week, if such is their pleasure; but they have no right to combine against the introduction of independent labour from other quarters. To leave the pitmen in possession of an exclusive right to work the collieries would be to leave the fate of the nation in their hands. Other underground men can be found, or machinery can be introduced. It is impossible to admit that the price of coal is to be permanently raised by a monopoly of the labour which extracts it.

Freedom of labour will restore the supply; to limit the demand we must look to economy: and in this view of the case, we are not sorry that the people of England should have had a severe lesson on the clumsiness and extravagance of their arrangements for producing heat. The extreme abundance

and cheapness of coal had made this country the worst provided in the world in its domestic arrangements for warming and cooking. The same amount of warmth may be obtained at one-fifth the expense of fuel; and the huge British kitchen range is absolutely destructive of all good cookery. Recent improvements in steam boilers have demonstrated that an equal economy is quite practicable in the production of steam power. Henceforth the profits of trade will be found to depend to a considerable extent on a strict economy of fuel.

The Commissioners whose Reports we have placed at the head of this article are half a century too late, and diligent as they have been, in this case the hand of the diligent has not made us rich, but displayed our poverty. The emergency in which we are now placed was not and perhaps could not have been anticipated by them, and so we really mourn with a justifiable sorrow over the waste of pages after pages of details which have no present or practical utility. On some main points, however, they do afford us valuable information.

When we arrive at an examination of the evidence for the total amount of coal probably remaining to us in this country we have first to estimate the total, and then to draw a line between the available and the inaccessible coal. There is in all geological probability a vast quantity of this mineral fuel buried at inaccessible depths. Taking for the moment the extreme limit of accessibility at 4,000 vertical feet, there are beneath that limit, according to well-founded conjectures as to what lies below and between the Permian and other newer strata, about 41,144 millions of tons of coal. This last total is composed of more than 29,341 millions lying at depths varying from 4,000 to 6,000 feet, while 15,302 millions might be found at depths of from 6,000 to 10,000 feet. In respect of the temperature of the earth, that would be 156° Fahr. at a depth of 6,000 feet, while it would be 215° Fahr. at a depth of 10,000 feet, that is three degrees above the temperature of boiling water at the sea-level.

Within the area of known coal fields, above 7,320 millions of tons of the mineral fuel lie at greater depths than 4,000 feet; and of this quantity probably 5,922 millions of tons rest between the limits of 4,000 and 6,000 feet in depth, and the remaining 1,397 millions of tons at between 6,000 and 10,000 feet. Hence the combined totals of all coal conjectured to lie at greater depths than 4,000 feet is a little more than 48,465 millions of tons. If our posterity can in any way contrive to reach and extract any of this deep coal, by so much will they be the warmer and the wealthier, and in order to become both

they must necessarily be also wiser in economy than ourselves. They may, however, be cleverer and yet be colder.

Our own concern is restricted to shallower coal; and the Commissioners, after instituting careful and extended inquiries, inform us that the probable quantity of coal contained in the ascertained coal fields of the United Kingdom is 90,207 millions of tons, while the quantity which probably exists at workable depths under the Permian, New Red Sandstone, and other superincumbent strata in our kingdom is 56,273 millions of tons; together forming an aggregate of 146,480 millions of tons of coal, which may be reasonably expected to be available for future use from the time of inquiry.

The essence of all the researches and conjectures as to the probable duration of the above-named quantity may be given in a few lines. Basing these estimates upon present consumption (it is important to distinguish this from *increasing* consumption), the relation which the total amount of 146,480 millions of tons bears to the consumption of 115 millions of tons (in 1871) is as follows: The available total just stated will support our production as at present for 1,273 years; the same quantity would support an annual production of 146 millions of tons for one thousand years; and one of 175 millions for eight hundred and thirty-seven years. Doubling the recent annual consumption, that is making it 230 millions of tons, this would be supported by the estimated supply for six hundred and thirty-six years.

Such is the shortest and most popular mode of stating the results of a long and laborious investigation bearing upon the future. The concluding expressions of the nine competent Commissioners in their General Report on this inquiry are well worth quotation.

‘Whatever view may be taken of the question of the duration of coal, the results will be subject to contingencies, which cannot in any degree be foreseen. On the one hand, the rate of consumption may be thrown back to any extent by adverse causes affecting our national prosperity; and on the other hand, new discoveries and developments in new directions may arise to produce a contrary effect upon the consumption of coal. Every hypothesis must be speculative; but it is certain that if the present rate of increase in the consumption of coal be indefinitely continued, even in an approximate degree, the progress towards the exhaustion of our coal will be very rapid.

‘In all the foregoing estimates of duration we have, for the sake of simplicity, excluded from view the impossibility of supposing that the production of coal could continue in full operation until the last remnant was used, and then suddenly cease. In reality a period of scarcity and dearness would first be reached. This would diminish

consumption and prolong duration; but only by checking the prosperity of the country.

'The *absolute* exhaustion of coal is a stage which will probably never be reached. In the natural order of events the best and most accessible coal is that which is the first to be worked, and nearly all the coal which has hitherto been raised in this country has been taken from the most valuable seams, many of which have in consequence suffered great diminution. Vast deposits of excellent and highly available coal still remain, but a preference will continue to be given to the best and the cheapest beds; and as we approach exhaustion the country will, by slow degrees, lose the advantageous position it now enjoys in regard to its coal supply. Much of the coal included in the returns could never be worked except under conditions of scarcity and high price. A time must even be anticipated when it will be more economical to import part of our coal than to raise the whole of it from our residual coal-beds; and before complete exhaustion is reached, the importation of coal will become the rule, and not the exception, of our practice. Other countries would undoubtedly be in a position to supply our deficiencies, for North America alone possesses tracts of coal-bearing strata as yet almost untouched of seventy times the area of our own. But it may be doubted whether the manufacturing supremacy of this kingdom can be maintained after the importation of coal has become a necessity.' (*General Report*, vol. i. pp. xvii—xviii.)

Respecting the possibility of working at great depths below the surface, the Commissioners took great pains to obtain evidence, and to form sound opinions. They printed a series of seventy-nine questions, and distributed 530 sets of these in circulars, to which the replies appear to have been exceedingly disproportionate, although the *vivâ voce* evidence which they obtained was sufficient. In brief, their conclusions are as follows:—The workable depth of coal mines depends upon human endurance of high temperatures and the possibility of reducing the temperature of the air in contact with heated strata. The mechanical difficulties connected with increased depth, and the cost of steam power for hoisting the deeper coal, do not appear too formidable; while the extra pumping of water is met by the presumption, that water is seldom met with in mining for coal at great depths, nor, as a rule, are deep mines more liable to inflammable gas than shallower mines.

The increase of temperature, then, is one main point of consideration. In this country the earth's temperature is constant at a depth of about 50 feet, where the temperature is 50° Fahr. The rate of increase of temperature is in our coal mines generally 1° Fahr. for every 60 feet of depth. It is questionable, however, whether after a great depth the rate of increase does not prove more rapid than before. The best test we have is that of the deepest coal pit in Great

Britain, viz., that at Rosebridge near Wigan, where the shaft is now 2,376 feet deep, and is still descending lower and lower. There the ratio of heat-increase agreed with the ordinary rate down to a depth of 1,800 feet, after which it became considerably more rapid. At the lowest point of the sinking the thermometer indicated 92° Fahr.

Much more is said about temperature, and its equality and diversity, but the few foregoing and following facts are enough to enable us to understand the conclusions in relation to it. What is the maximum temperature of air compatible with the healthful exercise of human mining labour? Now the normal heat of our blood is 98°, and fever heat commences at 100°, and the extreme limit of fever heat may be taken at 112°. Dr. Thudicum, a physician who has specially investigated this subject, has concluded from experiments on his own body at high temperatures, that at a heat of 140° no work whatever could be carried on, and that at a temperature of from 130° to 140° only a very small amount of labour, and that at short periods, was practicable; and further, that human labour, daily and during ordinary periods, is limited by 100° of temperature as a fixed point, and then the air must be dry; for in moist air he did not think men could endure ordinary labour at a temperature exceeding 90°. Dr. Sanderson added useful testimony in detail leading to a similar conclusion, observing that gymnastic exercises can be practised by men in high temperatures up to a certain point, but that immediately when the temperature of the body rises to 102° or 103° Fahr., then all capacity for further exertion ceases. A case in Cornwall was instanced of the excavation of mining galleries where the air was heated by a hot spring to a temperature said to amount to 117°. Dr. Sanderson visited this mine, and found the highest temperature to be 114½° Fahr., and the total duration of each of the men's work who were there engaged was less than three hours in the twenty-four. When urged to express the limit of temperature which he considered consistent with continuous healthy labour during five hours at a time, Dr. Sanderson replied, 90° Fahr., with the observation, that a man could not or would not do as much work in moist air at 90° as he could in ordinary conditions; and even at 90° the loss of working power would be very considerable.

The temperature of the earth at 3,000 feet deep would probably be 98° in England. Under what is technically called the long-wall system of working the coal, a difference of about 7° appears to exist between the temperature of the air and that

of the strata at the working faces, and this difference increases 4 per cent. a further depth of 420 feet; so that the depth at which the temperature of the air would become, under present conditions, equal to the heat of the blood, would be about 3,420 feet. As to depths beyond this the Commission declined to speculate, but they thought that the ultimate limit of coal-working could be reached. Still many important details in the evidence on this question would, it appears to us, have to be reconsidered in all such deep coal-mining.

Besides the physical capacity of human endurance and existence at any such depths, the increased cost of working and winding up the coals, the greater wear and tear of materials as well as men, and the augmented difficulties of penetration and extraction, and of propping up roofs, would have to be considered, and would all tend to enhance the cost of coal, until perhaps such increased cost would bear such a large proportion to increased depth as to cause the financial to equal or exceed the mechanical obstacles. The deeper the pits the larger the initial cost and the greater all subsequent expenses. If to win coal lying at a depth of, say 2,000 feet, costs 100,000*l.*, to win coal at 4,000 feet might require 250,000*l.* Add to this that the rise in the cost of all mining materials has been as great as in other things, and we foresee limits financial and limits mechanical both combining against us; and where human free will, or rather ill will, superadds its opposing combination, it would hardly help us if half our earth were composed of coal or down to its centre while we could not use it.

'Waste not, want not,' is a proverb as applicable to coal as in common life. We *have* wasted coal and therefore we do want it, and we have wasted in several ways, and to a most lamentable extent. Every one acquainted with coal-mining knows how much of this invaluable fuel has been absolutely and for ever lost by bad methods of working. It may be affirmed that during many years the amount of coal wasted by leaving pillars needlessly large to support the roof, by clumsy and quite unscientific methods of getting the coal, and by rough modes of carrying and delivering it, has amounted to fifty per cent. of the total; that is, that fully one-half as much coal has been wasted as has been delivered to the consumer.

It is melancholy also to learn that in what is termed the 'waste' and the 'goaves' of many large coal pits, some of which have been shut for ever, thousands upon thousands of tons of the best coal lie buried as in a fathomless sepulchre. Improvements in mining in the North of England have allowed of a much less wasteful extraction there than previously

but taking all our coal fields together, the ordinary and unavoidable waste amounts to at least ten per cent. of their whole delivery, while the avoidable waste sometimes reaches thirty or forty per cent.*

Early miners in newly explored districts will naturally perform their work in a primitive manner, and hence we are not surprised to hear that similar wastefulness characterises the working of the coal fields of other countries. An American authority estimates the entire waste in the mining of the anthracite of Pennsylvania as fifty per cent., and is sure that it might well be reduced to twenty per cent. of the total extracted. This loss of mineral seems the more inexcusable as the greater part of the present delivery of anthracite is extracted from a single bed called the Mammoth Seam. That seam is now exhausted above water level, and is known to depreciate below. If the extraction should increase like our own, and augment, as it is said now to do, by about five per cent. per annum, and should double itself in twenty years, it is easy to foresee the imminent exhaustion of that immense coal seam at available depths.

Out of all the coal which we have been burning for centuries nothing is surer than this, that we have never obtained a quarter of its theoretical heating value. We have squandered our mineral fuel like prodigals, with no better excuse than that we were in part helpless in our prodigality. As we know that our steam boilers now consume scarcely half as much coal as they consumed ten years ago, and as the present calorific effect is only one-eighth of the coal actually consumed, what must have been the waste of coal retrospectively for many years! In fact we may be said to have been burning coal in systematic waste; even now our knowledge of the laws of heat, and the adaptations of mechanism, do not combine in our favour as we should expect from the rapid advances of

* One singular example of waste is that of the 'pit-heaps,' which are known to colliers. We ourselves were wont to look at these vast mounds of small coal, which had by annual accumulations swelled into very considerable mounds, and to wonder at the fearful waste of fuel therein involved. Many years ago we stood upon an eminence at South Hetton, and looked over a vast area of these pit-heaps, which, in some instances, were burning away during the night. All the colliers had free access to these accumulations of small coal, and filled their scuttles as often as they pleased. Now, however, the just retribution has arrived. These neglected pit-heaps have become valuable and chargeable; and what had been recklessly wasted for half a century is now sought with money and the remnants are sold to eager purchasers.

practical science. Other countries have been and are more economical in the consumption of coal in their boilers, and this, as well as the great cost of the fuel, should stimulate the inventiveness of our mechanical engineers. Some of them think that we cannot confidently anticipate immediate economy of fuel. They argue, that since we cannot transfer above one-eighth of the total into mechanical power, while the natural conditions remain the same, and the same materials are acted upon, we must not expect a future economy of more than two-sevenths, and that even this economy will probably only be effected in the next generation.

As the consumption of coal in iron works of all kinds consists of about one-fourth of our whole extraction, it would be highly desirable if a considerable economy could be effected in this department of industry. But we have little immediate hope of its realisation. We have said that Dank's rotary furnace is not expected to save much fuel, nor do other hoped-for improvements promise much more immediately. In other branches of metallurgy there is similar waste of coal, but there is little prospect of saving excepting in copper works, where economy is plainly possible.

Nearly every householder has been lately discussing, and often adopting, expedients for economising his costly fuel, and much has been written and said about grates and stoves, and bricks and iron plates, and fire-balls. Here again we want because we have wasted; we have all been using open grates, and these probably deliver to our apartments an amount of heat which may be represented as one-twentieth of the total heat capable of being extracted from the fuel they consume. When, however, we are advised to throw forward our domestic grates, we have only a very partial remedy proposed to us. Throw them as far forward into our rooms as we will, the heat radiated will only be effective while it issues from luminous fuel, and luminosity depends upon quantity and quality of coal. A material saving might, however, be effected amongst the poor by the adaptation of the small Belgian stove, which travellers may have seen in use in Belgium. This is very serviceable; but the people of this country will long continue the old and wasteful grates, for they dislike stoves of all kinds.

A number of methods of economising fuel will suggest themselves to all large consumers of coal. No doubt many steamers will coal at foreign ports for a time, and similar expedients may be adopted in certain departments of manufacture. But if we sum up all of these savings, and look at them

as hopefully as we may, the utmost early diminution which they may produce in our annual consumption will not, we fear, be very considerable, and the sudden loud cry for universal economy in coal will die into silence without an echo. Those who sagely counsel us to reduce our consumption and extraction within definite limits, such as eighty or fifty millions of tons annually, would do well to point out the methods and the probabilities of any such diminution. There is really little hope of it; a prohibition of exports would save most, and the most readily; domestic thrift would secure some considerable saving, but not so much as is vaguely expected; metallurgical and manufacturing economy is the most important, but not immediately the most promising, element of hope; so that we are reluctantly brought back to rest upon unwelcome conclusions. Even if Government were to buy up and work all our coal mines—which, however, it cannot and will not do—the difficulty would only be shifted from the shoulders of coal owners and workers to the shoulders of Government; for it is plain that the natural conditions of the extraction and delivery of the mineral would remain the same, while all the trouble of management, and strikes, and social disorders would accompany the transfer of the burden. The power of the State cannot be brought to bear upon class contentions without changing our system of Government.

Having thus adverted to one impracticable suggestion for our present difficulties, let us take others and more apparently feasible ones into brief consideration. What are the present and prospective remedies for, or alleviations of, the existing and future scarcity of coal? and what can we do to prevent an aggravation of our present calamity? Let us advert to the several probabilities which we calculate upon from our present and past experience.

In respect of human labour in coal pits, it is hard to see how it can or will become continuously cheaper, though it will perhaps materially abate its present extravagant pretensions. We must exclude moral and educational possibilities from the consideration; for so long as Trades' Unions continue powerful, and men remain inaccessible to argument and reason, it is vain to offer them enlightenment. All, however, who have opportunity should show these deluded miners that they are working mischief not only to the nation but to themselves, and not merely moral but also pecuniary mischief. If they reduce their amount of labour, by so much do they shorten the supply and raise the cost of coal to the public, and especially to their own order, the artisans and the poor. By enhancing the cost

of coal to consumers, they will ultimately advance the cost of nearly every necessary of life produced in this country, and living will become dearer to colliers themselves. Their wages will purchase less, and though these should be nominally higher, they may in time be relatively lower. This and other certain evil consequences, both personal and national, might be orally explained in lectures, or printed in simple tracts and largely distributed.

The pitmen being commonly an isolated class of workmen are strongly prejudiced, and pride themselves upon their labour being skilled and difficult of acquisition by navvies; and so it certainly is, more particularly in the thinner seams of coal, and in the deep mines, as well as in the inner recesses of deep mines. But the skill is chiefly amongst the hewers, and the whole body of workers are decidedly wrong in magnifying the skill required by them, for much of it is merely hard work. The art is principally that of bodily adaptation and posture working, not that of delicate fingering and quick thought and eyesight. There are a dozen kinds of skilled labour greatly more difficult, demanding, indeed, somewhat less physical exertion but far more of the superior qualities of head and ready-handedness. Well knowing what coal-pit labour is in all its forms, for we have seen it often in them all, we venture to affirm that a thoroughly good and patient colliery viewer would, under urgent necessity, drill and discipline some hundreds of willing labourers and workers, particularly if they were young and in all other respects suitable; and if the same viewer could keep the same men at the same work for a year or two, they might be made tolerably capable pitmen. If, therefore, the present colliers continue impracticable, and obstinate, and unreasonable, the coal owners must and will either import foreigners, whether Chinese or others, and make the best of the early incompetence of such men, which also the public must be content to endure for a time. An immediate supply of labour would give immediate relief, and though the poor foreigners might endure a sorry experience for a year or two, ultimately they would take the place of their refractory predecessors, and secure continual work, and for them capital pay. No doubt they too might strike, and belong to Unions, and suffer and commit all sorts of mischief; but to enumerate such possibilities does not help us, nor does it hinder the desirableness in a time of necessity of trying this remedy. When our British colliery Othellos saw their occupation going or gone, they themselves would become more reasonable, and much more manageable for the future.

A far more agreeable compromise between the modern antagonism of labour and capital would be a union of interests. In this view the pamphlet of Mr. Briggs, named at the head of our article, is seasonable and instructive. The Whitwood Collieries, situated near Normanton, and of which Mr. A. Briggs is the Managing Director, were worked by a private firm previously to 1865, and, says Mr. Briggs,

‘It is really almost impossible to overstate the virulence of the passions that were excited by the frequent disputes between masters and men. During ten years we went through four strikes, lasting in the aggregate seventy-eight weeks; besides innumerable disputes and consequent interruptions to work. During those ten years of almost daily recurring annoyances and anxiety, the firm went through the varied and painful experience of enforcing evictions from their cottages, guarding, by the aid of the police, non-unionists from the attacks of desperate unionists, the receipt of threatening letters on the model of those revealed before the Trades’ Union Committee at Sheffield; the whole culminating in a riot in the village on the night of September 24, 1863, and the consequent prosecution and conviction of some of the ring-leaders at the following York Assizes. The pecuniary effect of these difficulties, as regards the employers, was that for several years barely 5 per cent. per annum could be realised on the capital embarked; while most of the workmen were so impoverished, that in many cases they were compelled to dismantle their houses, and to sell property, the fruits of former labour, to obtain the means of subsistence during the continuance of the strikes. So disgusted were the owners of the collieries—not merely with the pecuniary sacrifice entailed, but also with the constant annoyance and anxiety of mind thus occasioned—that they had serious thoughts of disposing of them, trusting to find another investment for their capital, which might bring in a better return, and which would not, at any rate, lead to such incessant conflicts with the apparently inveterately adverse interests of labour.’

Fortunately for them they did not sell their collieries, but converted the whole concern, in 1867, into a Joint-stock Company, with an encouragement in every form to the workpeople to become shareholders. Here was the co-operative principle proposed in a colliery company. Whenever the divisible profits accruing from the business should, after provision for redemption of capital, exceed ten per cent. on the capital embarked, all the employed, in whatever capacity, would receive one-half of such excess profit as a bonus to be distributed amongst them in proportion to, and as percentage upon, their respective earnings during the year in which such profits might accrue. Thus the workpeople became directly interested in the concern, and if they could aid in realising a larger profit they themselves would receive a share of it.

The effects of this change—the dissatisfaction of some, the

conversion of others, the apathy and caution of many, and the final co-operation of all—are detailed by the Director. When the Company was enabled to declare a dividend of 12 per cent. on the capital for one year, and to devote a further 2 per cent. or 1,800*l.* to the formation of a workman's bonus fund, out of which was distributed an average bonus of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon their year's earnings among all the workmen who had properly qualified themselves, their eyes and hearts were opened, as well as their purses, and many of them had a 5*l.* note in their pockets for the first time, while some had two, the highest bonus paid to a miner being 10*l.* 18*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* upon his year's earnings of 109*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* 'From that time,' adds the writer, 'we have gone on prosperously (up to 1870), dividing from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to our shareholders, and a proportionate 'bonus to labour.' In a very recent communication to ourselves in answer to inquiry, Mr. Briggs writes, 'Since that time the 'Industrial Partnership system has on the whole worked well. 'The production of the collieries is now at its maximum, and 'this in spite of advances in wages during the last two or three 'years of 40 to 50 per cent. We believe few private firms 'could say as much.' This is no doubt excellent when there is a profit to divide, but how would it be in bad years when the 'Company may have to bear a loss?

Nothing can be more satisfactory, and we commend this pamphlet (privately printed), and the very useful details which the writer has simply and clearly recorded, to the study of all coal owners and workers. The obstacles to a general introduction of the co-operative principle amongst pitmen are unhappily manifold; but looking at this particular instance, we find that one colliery concern, with about 100,000*l.* of share or invested capital, pays about 60,000*l.* per annum in wages, and that sum, therefore, falls to be considered as the average labour capital. Any further derivable profit, after the initial ten per cent. on the invested capital, would be appropriated to the payment of a future dividend or bonus on the whole 160,000*l.*, being the aggregate of the united investment of monetary and labour capital. Thus, therefore, the proportion in which labour is to participate in profits will regulate itself, and the prosperity of the whole depends upon the recognition of the unity of interests, between the representatives in this undertaking, of capital and labour. Much remains to be considered, for which we refer to the pamphlet, only further observing the distinction, that this is not a mere co-operation of working men, but also a union of those who are commonly antagonists, and so far a successful merging of their antagonism.

We must either subordinate human labour in mining to capital, or we must harmonise it with capital, or supplant it by contrivance and mechanism. No other courses are open to us. We have long been trying to subordinate it, let us now try to harmonise it, or the third course becomes imperative. Many are now anxiously looking to this last course as increasingly imminent, and as perhaps ultimately imperative. Let us therefore offer a few remarks on this subject so far as they can be adapted to general intelligence.

At the outset, it is apparent that if mechanical coal-cutters could be extensively and successfully employed, several advantages would be gained besides supplanting the men. Not only would strikes be at an end, but ventilation improved, and the depth of mining probably increased, since most of the difficulties caused by the limit of human endurance under exhausting exertion would be at once overcome. Collateral benefits of several kinds, particularly the disuse of gunpowder to at least a large amount, would follow; and on this account the question of the possibility of their adoption becomes highly important. Can mechanism of any kind, whether partly or wholly employed in coal mines, or can improvements in applied mechanism, be made to supersede the labour of man?

In thick seams like those of Staffordshire, in ten yard or even ten feet seams of coal, there is plainly no serious obstacle to the use of coal-cutting machines. You have only to cut and bring down, and deliver at the pit's mouth. But in thin seams and in the innermost passages of long-worked pits the case is very different. Any one who has actually seen a hewer at work in the most awkward places in thin seams, and no other person, will at once understand the difficulties to be overcome. A hewer in the worst 'faces' of coal-getting must squat and twist and contort himself like a posture-master, and do so for some hours at a time. This adaptation the human body is capable of affording and enduring, and that most wonderful vital machine, the human arm and hand, can so twist and turn and harmonise itself to natural necessities as to show in this very circumstance its immeasurable superiority to any mechanism which the mind of man has conceived. Watch, for instance, a northern hewer making his 'jud' and his 'jenkin' in the coal seam, and then turning and squatting, and sidling and squeezing, and gasping and sweating, and picking and poking with perfect bodily adaptation to mining exigencies, and you will form such a conception of the peculiarities of the work as will very much modify your expectations of a mechanical substitute for the grumbling and perspiring hewer.

Several coal-cutting machines have been brought under the notice of colliery engineers and managers during late years, and these have been considered and discussed at their local meetings and by their committees. Some are superior to others, but practical men soon perceive their defects, which, indeed, are more or less inevitable. You cannot convert the machine into the man, any more than you can make the man a machine. In one respect it is good that the machine has no free will. Then in another, it is just the lack of free will which precludes free use. So soon as we inspected several of these machines we perceived their faults, while admitting their excellences. Allowing for their defects, the question is, will they win the coal? can they be made to do so by use, and by a gradually acquired knowledge of needful improvements?

One or two of such machines have commended themselves more than others to coal engineers. That which at present appears to be one of the most promising is well worth a passing description. It is known as Gledhill's Patent Imperial, and has been successfully introduced by Messrs. William Baird & Co. in Scotland. The work is performed by an endless chain with attached cutters, driven round an arm which extends underneath the coal. When the machine is at work, it draws itself by means of the motive power of air, which is compressed at the pit's mouth to 35 or 40 lbs. per square inch, and is conveyed from the pit's mouth to the inner cast-iron pipes, and while at work it is attended only by three men. It is hopeless to render it quite intelligible without one or more drawings, and in fact even with these—and they lie before us as we write—it would be unintelligible to the uninitiated in machinery and coal-mining. Yet it is easy to understand how such a machine having nine cutters of coal sharpened at each shift of work by removal daily to the surface for this purpose, and, when sharpened, again fixed in the chain, can proceed in its assigned duty. Mechanical ingenuity can certainly contrive to propel such cutters into a regular coal seam, to make those cutters of the best metal, to sharpen and re-adapt them, to fit them very nearly to the natural face of the coal, and to undercut with considerable efficiency. The colliery engineers wherever the machine is employed must of course see to the special adaptation of the machine to their particular pit.

There are, besides those collateral advantages over human labour by the employment of these machines to which we have already alluded, others of the same character which will be

discovered in practice. One signal advantage is the saving of coal from waste. A man wastes coal in all operations and all directions. The hewer tears down the coal like a tiger, flings it into his heap, and at the same time into your mouth and eyes as a spectator of the hewing in the innermost recesses of a great pit filled with coal dust, and hence arise to the constant workers asthma and bronchitis. But the machine works without bluster or dust, without more of dust and without more of waste than is inevitable in all extraction of coal.

Two of these machines are to be tried at the famous Hetton Colliery near Newcastle, and we shall therefore in time hear of its success, or the contrary. The Messrs. Baird are sanguine and quite assured, and tell us that the present work done by this invention is 300 to 350 feet, cut 2 feet 9 inches deep, in a shift of from eight to ten hours' work, and as the particular seam worked by them is 2 feet 10 inches thick, the yield is from 75 to 90 tons. As the cost of each machine is 200*l.*, it would be easy to calculate the pecuniary results of their adoption. We do not anticipate that human labour in and about mines could be entirely dispensed with. Of the 300,000 colliers now employed a proportion would be retained. Those who propose these machines reckon that if universally employed in our coal pits, 60,000 colliers would suffice to raise our annual extraction of 120,000,000 of tons.

It would be well worth while to spend some thousands of pounds in inventing or perfecting coal-getting machines.* All interested persons will look anxiously to the results of the intended Hetton Colliery adoption of them. If they succeed in the largest pits producing the best northern coal, the end of our distressing coal famine is not far off, and, what is best of all, it cannot suddenly and unexpectedly return. Let us remember that although machinery will not prevent, but rather by its ingenuity accelerate, bituminous and carbonaceous bankruptcy, it will on this very account enable us to calculate and forecast the *ultima dies* and to prepare for its arrival.

* We refrain from noticing several already proposed coal-cutting machines, because they are subject to mining and mechanical judgment. A few years of trial will decide the question, and it will be one of the few benefits traceable to our present coal deficiency, if the old proverb shall be realised in this matter, and 'Necessity prove the mother of invention.' For a like reason we merely name the advantage of largely adopting coal-washing machinery, by means of which many thousands of tons of small and refuse coal, long lying useless in coaling vicinities, may be cleansed from earthy matter, shale, and pyrites, and reduced and screened, and made marketable.

If all mechanical substitutes fail in coal-getting, and if human labour becomes and continues still more and more intractable, there will remain only two other principal or partial remedies: one is the substitution of another fuel for coal, the other an importation of coal from other countries.

No prospect of a natural substitute for coal dawns upon us at present. That sun whose beams shone upon the primeval vegetation and originated coal shines upon all alike—the good and bad, the near and the remote; but the coal it helped to form is only locally stored. If we turn to Peat, there are immense and readily accessible deposits of that useful substance, and peat-compressing machines are being perfected and vaunted. But it will never, for other reasons besides cost, extensively supply the place of coal. Nature gives us nothing like good coal; science holds out no hope of anything like it; and the combinations and decompositions of chemistry are at present in this direction only vaporous and vague.

It is melancholy to contemplate a necessary importation of coal to a country which by its possession and utilisation has dominated the manufacturing world. It will be indeed a kind of moral retribution when we, the great and prodigal exporters of coal, or rather our less fortunate descendants, shall come to beg abroad for the mineral we have for a century been sending away. We have had coal enough and to spare, but we have squandered our inheritance, and alas! may be severely punished.

Speculating upon such a dismal futurity, let us in imagination unroll a coal-map of the known world before us. Such a map could never be stereotyped, because geographical exploration and topographical surveys reveal to us more coal than we but a few years since knew to be on our earth.* Thus a map of the surface would be of little use to us; we require particulars of thickness, depth, quality, and deposition.

Very probably we shall commence importing foreign coals by having recourse to the Belgian coal field, which lies near to us,

* In an article in vol. cxi. pp. 88–9, of this Review, we gave the late Professor Rogers's estimate of the areas of coal in the principal countries of the world. Although this is still useful, it does not in all particulars precisely correspond with our present knowledge. The article, however, contains a considerable amount of information about coal which is still of value and interest. In a subsequent article, vol. cxxv. p. 549, entitled 'Fatal Accidents in Coal Mines,' we had occasion to explain some particulars of coal-mining which may be referred to with advantage.

although at present the Belgian demand presses on the supply. This forms a part of a long and comparatively narrow series of basins, extending about seventy-five miles from east to west, and lying in about equal proportions within France and Belgium, the latter country possessing a field of about forty miles in longitudinal extent, and eight miles wide in the mean, with an area of 326 square miles of productive coal measures. Most of the seams, however, are thin and less than two feet thick on an average. About 120 seams are now well developed, but the production is limited, in comparing the number of working people with what a similar number would produce in a British mine. There may be fifty thousand persons altogether employed in the Belgian collieries, of whom about forty thousand are engaged underground and ten thousand above ground. The total production in 1864 was reported at 10,000,000 tons of coal, whereas in 1850 the total extraction did not amount to quite six millions. It is now perhaps twelve millions.

We may also resort to the coal fields of Westphalia, which ought to be generally known, as they contain more than sixty beds of workable coal in seams of from three to nine feet thick, comprising a total thickness of about 200 feet of pure coal of various kinds, and extending over a surface of about 200 square miles. It is estimated that there are about forty thousand millions of tons of coal in this entire field, and calculations would probably show that this coal might even now be imported by sea to the port of London at a much less price than we have been recently paying for our fuel. In 1867 the Ruhr Coal Basin produced ten and a half millions of tons of coal, while in 1851 it did not yield two millions of tons. Railways and low charges have promoted its development.*

In the future, probably our country will obtain coal from the British North American Provinces, which contain about 8,000 square miles of the mineral. Remaining under our own dominion, this mineral resource will be at our immediate service; and the coal in Nova Scotia is already attracting considerable attention. Were it not for the impediments of distance and carriage we might at once avail ourselves of these

* We can only name the Saarbrück coal field in Rhenish Bavaria, although it has an area of nearly a thousand square miles. Dr. H. Von Dechen has published a detailed account of the coal fields in the Rhine Provinces and Westphalia. The development of its coal mines will probably prove of prime importance and interest to Germany in the future, and perhaps also to us.

deposits, some of which are now extensively mined, but cannot be wrought at a price to meet our home necessities. The element of cost is the forbidding element, even in our own remote dominions; and, in fact, a mountain of coal at three or four guineas a ton would be of no more advantage to us than Mont Blanc with thousands of tons of useless snow.

For a like reason the vast coal deposits of India are of small present value. They are full of hope for the future progress of India, but a cold comfort to us. Dr. Oldham and his coadjutors have done good work in estimating that about sixteen thousand millions of tons of coal exist in all the known Indian coal fields. The extension of the railway system of India will of course be largely aided by the discovery of native beds of coal; and we shall be relieved from the necessity of exporting British coal for Indian locomotives and navigation. But that is the extent of the benefit to ourselves. Few persons who speak or write upon the coal famine which at present perplexes the whole nation, appear to remember that the existence of immense remote deposits of coal is of little or no value to us in our existing emergency. Looking at the long future these are sufficiently important, but looking at the present they offer no solution of our difficulties, and no hope of low-priced coal next winter. For the remote future alone do they afford hope. In the last number of this Review, we gave a brief notice (p. 243) of the discovery of extensive coal fields in East Berar, comprising an estimated aggregate of 480,000,000 tons of coal. The subject of Indian Coal Resources would of itself demand a separate article.

It has only of late years been made known that the coal fields of China extend over an area of 400,000 square miles; and a good geologist, Baron Von Richthofen, has reported, that he himself has found a coal field in the province of Hunan covering an area of 21,700 square miles, which is nearly double of our British coal area of 12,000 square miles. In the province of Shansi, the Baron discovered nearly 30,000 square miles of coal, with unrivalled facilities for mining. But all these vast coal fields, capable of supplying the whole world for some thousands of years to come, are lying unworked; and it appears from some late observations in the House of Commons, that certain overtures lately made for bringing these valuable deposits into mining development were rejected. So morally dead are the Chinese authorities and people, and perhaps so jealous of all hints and help from the exterior world, that they even prefer to pay for the coal imported rather than use their own. They are ignorant of good mining, object to it politically,

and suffer all the natural difficulties which other nations have overcome, to frighten them into inveterate obstinacy and industrial inactivity.

The greatest resource for coal in the future will be the deposits of the United States of America, which have an area of coal formations extending over 500,000 square miles, under which the productive or workable area has been calculated at 200,000 square miles. We can count up more than twenty coal fields in America, some of which are small and others very large. Pennsylvania possesses no less than 12,656 square miles of bituminous coal and 470 square miles of anthracite; while West Virginia has 15,000 square miles; Illinois 30,000 square miles; Michigan thirteen thousand; Iowa twenty-four thousand, and Missouri twenty-one thousand square miles of coal. Add to these the great coal fields lying within the Ancient Appalachian Basin, amounting in all to 203,000 square miles.

It must not be thought that the small extent of the areas of anthracite in America is a measure of their value, for their value is in inverse proportion to their area. In many respects Pennsylvanian anthracite is peculiarly serviceable; it is more dense and compact than other kinds, and a pure specimen will yield from 90 to 95 per cent. of carbon. On the north side of our South Welsh coal fields we possess an anthracite resembling that of Pennsylvania, and which is therefore valuable as steam coal. At this present time the Americans would perhaps value their 470 square miles of anthracite in Pennsylvania above their 200,000 square miles of bituminous coal lying elsewhere, for the beds of anthracite are situated in the vicinity of numerous great and prosperous cities and have done for all that region something like what our coal fields have done for us. There are now twelve millions of people deriving their chief supplies of coal from those deposits, and the same process is going on there as here. The present 12,000,000 will increase, and the present produce of anthracite likewise, and they will increase in accelerated ratios. Taking the present annual anthracite production at about ten or twelve million tons, this will soon advance with the enlarging demand, and we can readily anticipate both the simultaneous growth of population and anthracite mining. A dense population rapidly extending over an area twice as large as that of Great Britain, will eventually bring up the extraction of anthracite to a high amount, and the cost will increase until the people begin to work their bituminous coal, which will always preserve them from a coal famine like our own, and at the same time tend to

bring more and more of their adjoining deposits into mining and to market.

Numerous momentous results depend upon the successful solution of the problems adverted to in this article. That our commercial prosperity is founded upon the possession and use of coal is sufficiently known as a general truth, but the whole state of the case is not so widely understood. Great Britain has become the working coal field of the world. We have for some years been raising more than half the total coal raised in all parts of the globe, and we have recently raised considerably more than half that total, which in 1866 was estimated at 170,430,544 millions of tons. If the whole world may now be supposed to raise annually about 200,000,000 of tons, we are raising about 120,000,000 out of the 200,000,000. Yet with this immense extraction we have only about 32,000,000 of inhabitants in the United Kingdom.

Let us contrast our case with that of the United States. That vast region has a present population of not much more than 39,000,000, for the census of 1870 returned it as 38,558,371. Last year (according to a recent advice) the total production of coal in the States was 41,491,135 tons. In 1865 the total production in the United States was 11,324,207 tons, and of anthracite 11,532,732 tons; altogether making 22,856,939 tons; and the capital then employed in coal-mining throughout the United States was 40,000,000 of dollars, while the capital invested in railroads and canals penetrating those coal fields, made principally for their development and sustained by the coal trade, amounted to 170,000,000 of dollars. This large increase is a striking example of prosperity; but the Americans have one serious drawback, namely dear labour, and they cannot as yet compete with our cheaper labour. Should, however, our mining labour continue at any such cost as recently, the wages in America may become actually less than ours or equal to them. Then the present relative conditions may be reversed: *we* have possessed far less coal, and enjoyed far better and cheaper means of extracting it; *they* have had the most coal and have only required as cheap or cheaper labour than ours, and equal skill in mining, to turn the balance in their favour.* The Superintendent of

* The question is too large for present discussion, or we should show grounds for believing that the balance is now turning against us, and that just as coal and iron have become dearer here, the Americans have resorted to their own iron and wrought their own coal. In 1871 and 1872 they exhibited great energy in both departments, and

the American Census thinks that the population of the United States in the year 1900 will number 100,000,000. If by that period the balance should be turned in their favour, then the vast demands for coal will have stimulated a corresponding extension of coal-mining; and the Americans must open coal fields of far wider extent than our own.

The course of manufacturing supremacy, of wealth, and of power is directed by Coal. That wonderful mineral, of the possession of which Englishmen have hitherto thought so little, but wasted so much, is the modern realisation of the philosopher's stone. This chemical result of primeval vegetation has been the means by its abundance of raising this country to an unprecedented height of prosperity, and its deficiency might have the effect of lowering it to slow decline, while by greater abundance it raises another country in the Far West to a prosperity possibly greater than our own. It supplies food, force, heat, light, and motion—wonderful alike in its geological origin and in commercial and national influences. It raises up one people and casts down another; it makes railways on land and paths on the seas. It founds cities, it rules nations, it changes the course of empires. And along with all this physical and social efficiency, it reads us a grave and solemn admonition. There is a moral purpose and retribution in all its vicissitudes. Prodigality, wastefulness, lack of prudent calculation, social selfishness, embittered class interests, and the national neglect of social and moral as well as physical laws in relation to this one indispensable gift of nature, will assuredly bring retributive justice upon us all or upon our posterity.

as a consequence have bought less of our iron. In the first two months of 1872 they received 88,430 tons of our iron rails, while in the first two months of this year they took only 48,901 tons; thus showing a decrease of 39,529 tons; and as American orders largely go to Wales, we at once arrive at an important conclusion on the suicidal character of strikes in that country. It has recently come to light that in the English market iron is 3*l*. per ton dearer than in the American market.

ART. VII.—*The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., &c. With Photographic and other Illustrations. London: 1872.

MR. DARWIN has added another volume of amusing stories and grotesque illustrations to the remarkable series of works already devoted to the exposition and defence of the evolutionary hypothesis. Few, however, except faithful disciples will regard this new work as contributing much either to the author's fame, the scientific treatment of expression, or the support of the general theory. For ourselves, we must confess to having risen from its perusal with a feeling of the profoundest disappointment. Knowing the point to which Sir Charles Bell's admirable essay had carried the exposition of the subject, and finding from Mr. Darwin's introduction that he had given special attention to it for upwards of thirty years, we naturally expected that the volume would throw some fresh light on the philosophy of expression. This anticipation has not been realised. Of course the work contains a number of the careful observations, ingenious reflections, and faithful analogies with which Mr. Darwin's writings abound. But with regard to the interpretation of expression in men or animals, there is no advance on previous inquiries; while in relation to the most important branch, human expression, the exposition is positively retrograde, sinking far below the high level already reached. In his zeal for his favourite theory, Mr. Darwin seems to regard the nobler and more distinguishing human emotions with a curious kind of jealousy, as though they had no right to scientific recognition. He dwells at large only on the lower and more animal aspects and elements of emotion, and seems at times almost unwilling to admit that an expression is human at all, unless he can verify its existence in some of the lower animals. His one-sided devotion to an *à priori* scheme of interpretation seems thus steadily tending to impair the author's hitherto unrivalled powers as an observer.

However this may be, most impartial critics will, we think, admit that there is a marked falling-off both in philosophical tone and scientific interest in the works produced since Mr. Darwin committed himself to the crude metaphysical conception so largely associated with his name. The 'Origin of Species' contained a number of typical facts carefully selected, admirably described, and skilfully marshalled in support of the general argument. The tone of the exposition was moreover cautious, sober, and perfectly candid. No attempt

was made to disguise the partial and provisional nature of the results arrived at. The conception of gradual evolution by means of natural selection was stated as an hypothesis towards which many facts seem to point, but which in the present state of our knowledge could not be positively verified. In 'The Descent of Man,' while the relevant facts were far fewer, and the gaps in the evidence wider and more serious, the tone of the reasoning founded on them was confident even to dogmatism. In the present work, especially in the earlier or animal part, the facts, even when well established, are vague and ambiguous, while many of the more important are doubtful and disputed. A large proportion of them would indeed suit almost any other hypothesis quite as well as Mr. Darwin's, and many directly suggest a counter theory. Yet on the strength of this obscure and uncertain evidence Mr. Darwin claims to have established his general conclusion by even an excess of proof.

This significant result naturally suggests many reflections. Amongst others it raises the question as to the influence which the wholesale importation of hypotheses into many of its branches has had upon the development of modern science, and in particular the manner in which the leading hypothesis of evolution has affected the recent progress of the science of natural history. It has undoubtedly influenced very largely their whole spirit and procedure. During the last fifteen years not only have special branches been revolutionised, but science itself—the very conception of what is scientific—appears to have undergone a very serious change. Instead of designating what is most rigorous, exact, and assured in human knowledge, natural science is fast becoming identified with what is most fluctuating, hypothetical, and uncertain in current opinion and belief. It is worth inquiring for a moment what amount of gain and loss is involved in the change, what are the relative advantages and disadvantages accruing to science from the disturbing element of speculative conjecture which the Darwin hypothesis has so largely introduced.

In the first place, there can be little doubt that the theory of evolution, like any large intellectual conception provisionally uniting widely sundered spheres of knowledge, may, under proper regulation, have a very salutary effect. If its true character be kept in view, the theory is likely to do good rather than harm. It will prompt inquiry after the links connecting various branches of science, and thus turn observation and research into wholly new directions. Under its influence attention will be fixed with interest and anticipation on the interspaces in the map of natural knowledge, which

would be neglected so long as the different provinces were held to be separate and independent kingdoms. In short, it would establish a sort of temporary federation between the different provinces of science, and thus suggest and encourage the prospect of their more intimate and lasting union. In this way such a conception helps to correct one of the most serious incidental evils connected with the rapid progress of science—the tendency to isolation and exclusiveness. It has long been a reproach against the votaries of physical research, that they are, as a rule, specialists, wise only in one, or at most one or two departments of inquiry, and thus taking a somewhat limited and one-sided view of nature's operations. The provinces of natural knowledge are too vast and varied to be mastered in detail by any single mind, and even accomplished students can at most have a first-hand acquaintance with comparatively few. With so many wide and prolific fields to cultivate, the division of labour becomes a necessity, and the ardent specialist, engrossed in his own work, is comparatively indifferent to other and more remote scenes of exertion. This absorption of mind in a single direction may be a secret of success in science, but it tends to narrow the vision to a particular area of inquiry and to give exaggerated importance to one class of results. The kind of knowledge with which the specialist is most familiar comes almost unconsciously to be regarded as the only kind of real knowledge, its phenomena being the typical facts and its generalisations the ultimate laws of nature. The ignorance of other subjects even by proficient in science, may thus be denser and more hopeless than in minds of lower culture and intelligence. As Dr. Lyon Playfair has recently said, in discussing the mutual relation of professional and liberal studies, 'the focusing of light upon a particular spot, while it brilliantly illuminates that spot, intensifies the darkness all around.' And the darkness is usually most impenetrable at points further removed from the specialist's own field of vision. Continually engaged in the study of sensuous facts and the working of material forces, he becomes relatively insensible to the phenomena and powers of the moral and spiritual universe. He not unnaturally comes to regard these mental realities as altogether imaginary or wholly unknown, denying that they can ever become objects of science, or indeed knowledge in the limited meaning he attaches to the term. With such inquirers the terms metaphysical and theological are convenient and commendable epithets for describing their special ignorances and favourite aversions. They look, indeed, with impatience and suspicion on all theories designed to give a speculative basis

to the different branches of science, and unite all lines of investigation into a totality or universum of knowledge.

The doctrine of evolution acts as a corrective to this separatist tendency of analytical inquiry. It expands the horizon of science, and illuminates a wider prospect. For the old notion of nature as an aggregate of independent parts it substitutes the larger and more vital conception of all being mutually related and constituting an organic whole. The old lines of rigid difference, the hard isolating boundaries, including ultimate distinctions of form and substance, melt away before the incessant ebb and flow, flux and reflux, of common elements and common forces. The same constituents are found in the mightiest orbs above us as in the dust beneath our feet, and the same processes are illustrated in the formation alike of a star, a gem, or a flower. Man himself occupies a subordinate place in a vast secular procession which has moved on through interminable ages in the past, and, like the shadowy train that startled Macbeth in the Witches' Cavern, stretches out to the crack of doom in the future. Such a conception has undoubtedly a power and dignity of its own that, apart from definite evidence, would make it almost irresistibly attractive to a certain order of minds. If it seems at first sight to aggrandise nature at the expense of man, the unwelcome impression is soon removed by perceiving that it virtually annihilates the distinction between them. In the same way its bearing upon the moral universe is purposely left obscure in the ambiguity as to whether it may ultimately tend to materialise spirit or spiritualise matter. Ardent and imaginative minds, enamoured of natural inquiry, will not hesitate at speculative difficulties of this kind, or inquire too curiously about the links of proof. They will be fascinated by the novelty and grandeur of a conception that seems to rend the veil in nature's temple and reveal her hidden mysteries; that avowedly gathers the scattered rays of knowledge into a focus for the purpose of illuminating the past, the present, and the possible; that regards geological ages as moments in the rhythmical evolution of universal life, and planetary systems as mere specks in the fathomless abyss of infinite being. Such an hypothesis appeals quite as strongly to the imagination and the emotions as it does to the judgment and the reason, and hence the danger of its premature acceptance and indiscriminate application. Excitable but untrained minds would eagerly welcome it, and through the open avenues of fancy and feeling it will gain access to numbers who cannot estimate its value and know nothing of the evidence

upon which it rests. Nay, where the passion for novelty is stronger than the power of scrutinising proofs and estimating impartially the force of reasoning, even earnest students of science may be led astray by hastily adopting the guidance of a grand conviction or belief instead of following the slower but surer road of experimental verification and inductive proof. The partial though still popular acceptance of the new doctrine will thus be likely to illustrate in its working the evils associated with outbursts of social and religious enthusiasm. It will operate as a disturbing force in science, introducing into its domain elements of confusion and perplexity from which it had hitherto been almost wholly free. And subjected to this newer influence science can no longer claim any immunity from the perils and difficulties besetting other and less positive branches of inquiry. In proportion to their rash adoption and indiscriminate use the new doctrines must produce injurious results both speculative and practical.

These evils are, indeed, already apparent in almost every department of inquiry. As we have seen, the theory of evolution supplies physical science with a speculative basis or philosophy which it sorely needed, and with a kind of religion as well. At least the grand cosmical conception gives a powerful emotional stimulus to a certain order of susceptible minds, which may be regarded as a species of inverted religious feeling. But what is thus gained in one direction is certainly lost in another. While giving to science a philosophy and religion, the great hypothesis has also brought with it all the vices usually associated with the more excited types of metaphysical and theological discussion. The intellectual evils thus introduced are exemplified in the writings of even the more eminent scientific men belonging to the evolutionist school. No doubt the hypothesis gives a breadth, vigour, and animation to the expositions of its best representatives, such as Tyndall and Huxley; but, at the same time, it infects their speculative reasoning and results with an element of vagueness and uncertainty which even the most confident tone and trenchant style cannot altogether conceal. Then, again, the polemical writings of the school abound with the strained emphasis, eager word-catching, the rhetorical denunciations and appeals which characterise the lower forms of religious controversy.

But the most serious result is the inroad which these imposing hypotheses are making on the method and language of science. With regard to the first point, Mr. Darwin himself leads the way in the virtual abandonment of the inductive

method. While nominally inductive, his procedure is really deductive, and deductive of the most unscientific and illogical kind. Mr. Darwin tells us that his favourite speculation has guided and influenced his scientific observations and reflections for upwards of thirty years. At length he propounds it avowedly as an hypothesis, the fragmentary and imperfect evidence deduced in its support being eked out with ingenious analogies and fanciful suggestions. The hypothetical character of the speculation is fully admitted by the few eminent names in science who have given it a welcome. On the other hand, men as eminent as Mr. Darwin in his own department have strongly asserted that not one of the points essential to the establishment of the hypothesis is proved; in short, that as yet it has no really scientific evidence in its support. But in his recent works Mr. Darwin boldly employs the unverified hypothesis deductively to explain the origin and history of man, and interpret what is most characteristic in human expression. And he does this with all the confidence of a theological disputant applying some dogmatic assumption, such as universal depravity or satanic influence, or defending some sectarian symbol, such as Sacramental Efficacy or an Effectual Call. In this, it need hardly be said, Mr. Darwin completely abandons the true attitude of science, which is that of suspended judgment on points not yet proved.

Again, in attempting to establish his theory, Mr. Darwin violates the fundamental canons of scientific inquiry—Newton's celebrated laws, that in interpreting nature no causes are to be assumed except those which really exist, and are sufficient to produce the effect. Now, the power of spontaneous and systematic transmutation which Mr. Darwin's hypothesis assumes has not yet been shown to exist; the slight variations within fixed and narrow limits, which is all he demonstrates, being wholly insufficient to produce the enormous changes attributed to it. The fatal flaw is the absence of evidence as to the existence and working of the power which the theory assumes. The furthest line in the past along which science can travel fails to supply the needed links of proof. Not only the long historical period, but the immensely longer geological eras are silent on this vital point. The records of thousands and hundreds of thousands of years have been ransacked in vain for the needed evidence. When pressed with these difficulties, Mr. Darwin takes refuge in infinite time and unknown space, in the alleged imperfection of the geological record, and the assumed eons of animated nature that died and made no sign. Here, of course, he cannot be followed, and is at perfect liberty, there-

fore, to fabricate his imaginary proofs in any way, and to any extent he pleases. To cover this sort of retreat, or at least to afford ample room for this sort of indefinite appeal, Professor Tyndall formally claims free scope for the exercise of the imagination in science. He admits 'that, in more senses than one, Mr. Darwin has drawn heavily upon the scientific tolerance of his age. He has drawn heavily upon *time* in the development of his species; and he has drawn adventurously upon *matter*, in his theory of pangenesis.' But he boldly demands that in science the speculative faculty shall be free to wander into regions where the hope of certainty would seem to be entirely shut out. In other words, when a daring scientific speculator finds himself in difficulties—becomes bankrupt in facts—he must be allowed to draw upon the bank of fancy at will, with the assurance that his draft, if eyed with suspicion by older-established scientific firms, will be eagerly honoured by excited, credulous, and expectant novices.

The philosophy and psychology of the school are, to a large extent, infected with the same vice. While nominally experimental and inductive, they are really, to a characteristic extent, *à priori* and hypothetical. The system of Mr. Herbert Spencer, the chief philosophical exponent of evolution, is essentially deductive, its central propositions being assumed, and only illustrated by occasional but wholly insufficient references to experience. The psychology of the school, again, rests on an extreme and one-sided theory; and the spirit of observation, though largely cultivated, is still guided and controlled by the exigencies of the theory. One important point of the theory, for example, is, that we have no perception of externality and distance through the sense of sight; no direct and intuitive perception of these relations at all, indeed, the knowledge being arrived at in a roundabout and operose manner by means of our muscular and tactile experiences. The well-known facts of animal life—such as that of chickens catching flies without any previous experience, as soon as they leave the shell—directly contradict this view. The facts rest on the express observation and testimony of eminent naturalists, and they have recently been verified afresh in a series of thoroughly scientific and exhaustive experiments. But Professor Bain, in dealing with the objection, founded on the instinctive perception of the lower animals, virtually denies the fact. He maintains that there 'does not exist a body of careful and adequate observations on the early movements of animals.' Elsewhere he still more explicitly repudiates the testimony of naturalists on the point. 'It is likewise said that the chick

‘recognises grains of corn at first sight, and can so direct its movements as to pick them up at once; being thus able to know the meaning of what it sees, to measure the distance of objects instinctively, and to graduate its movements to that of knowledge—all which is, in the present state of our acquaintance with the laws of mind, wholly incredible.’ The last statement would be more accurately expressed in the paraphrase—‘All which facts are on the theory the author has adopted wholly inadmissible.’ In other words, the facts must be denied in the interest of the theory.

The same tendency to substitute speculation for proof is seen in the physiology as well as in the psychology of the school. Even so vigorous and independent a thinker as Dr. Maudesley cannot escape the prevalent rage for hypotheses. Indeed, he has a theory designed, perhaps almost unconsciously, to cover the free use of the speculative element in which he delights,—that the man of genius is independent of the slow inductive processes, and leaps at once to their results. Unfortunately, however, all scientific conjectures need verification; and it is only after this necessary process that the man of genius can be finally distinguished from the daring but wayward speculator. However this may be, Dr. Maudesley practically illustrates the license he claims for men of genius. Accustomed to the observation and treatment of mental diseases, and thus habituated to the psychological side of his science, he boldly resolves all bodily ailments into mental disorders. All disturbances in any part of the physical system—in the lungs or liver, the stomach or kidneys—may, according to him, be ultimately traced to a temporary loss of local memory. He asserts, indeed, that every organic element of the animal body is endowed with this mental power—the pittings of small-pox being due to the fact that the virus of this terrible disease has a peculiarly tenacious memory. Extremes meet, and the ultra-physical school, in its latest developments, tends to become more metaphysical than the metaphysicians. As previous speculators of the same school had made mind a function of the body, so their more advanced followers are rapidly making body a mere function of mind.

An evil almost equally great connected with this rapid and somewhat random development of extreme theories is the confusion of tongues, or rather of technical languages it has introduced. If any of the great masters of scientific expression belonging to the last generation could look into the writings of some of their successors, they would be aghast at the loose style and mongrel dialect which in many instances have taken

the place of their own purity, dignity, and precision of scientific statement. The chief confusion, so far as language is concerned, arises from the promiscuous use of terms appropriated respectively to body and mind, as though they meant exactly the same thing. No abuse could be more opposed to good taste and scientific accuracy. Physics and physiology have a definite and established language of their own, and so also have psychology and metaphysics. There are exact and appropriate terms for describing mental states and activities, and also for describing bodily states and activities, and the first rule of scientific clearness and precision is that they should be kept distinct. The new school, however—some deliberately, and others through the force of evil example—habitually confound the two series; the physiologists continually applying psychological terms to bodily elements and functions, and the psychologists employing physiological terms to describe mental states and operations. Mr. Darwin himself is a great offender in this respect. The very title of his ablest and best known work illustrates this confusion. 'The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection' might be fairly paraphrased as 'The Origin of Species by means of Blind Foresight, Hazardous Deliberation, and Necessary Choice.' The phrase 'necessary choice' is the exact equivalent of 'natural selection,' and strictly interpreted it is simply a contradiction in terms. The very object of Mr. Darwin's theory is to exclude the conception of intelligence, forecast, and design from the operations of nature, yet the most important term used in describing the theory has no distinctive meaning apart from mind. Almost any section of Mr. Darwin's writings would furnish abundant instances of a like kind.

But this vice of confusion appears in a still more flagrant form in the writings of Dr. Maudesley. Not content with an occasional raid into the neighbouring province, Dr. Maudesley attempts to carry over the great body of psychological terms into physiology. He thus invests his purely physical expositions with a verbal haze or glamour of emotional, imaginative, and volitional language. The title of his chief work, 'The Physiology of the Mind,' indicates the kind of verbal confusion that infects its expositions. To harmonise with this feature of the work the more appropriate title would have been 'The Psychology of the Body.' The special sensations of the cerebral neurine are called by Dr. Maudesley emotions; the equilibrium of nervous power is latent thought, 'mind statical,' while the disturbance of this equilibrium is active thought, 'mind dynamical.' Then, again, the automatic response of animal tissue

to an external stimulus is, if active, perception; if latent, memory; and if irregular, we presume, imagination. If this sort of wholesale confounding of bodily elements and products with mental ones goes much further, we shall soon have young enterprising physiologists extending the dictum of Cabanis, and asserting that all the secretions of the body are thoughts, and all its excretions language, and discriminating the various excretions as different dialects of a common tongue.

On the other hand, Professor Bain, the psychologist of the school, largely adopts, if he did not introduce, the equally vicious plan of describing mental states and processes in physiological language. He continually drags in physical details and phrases, which simply disfigure the exposition without throwing any light on the mental facts to be explained. Professor Huxley attempts, it is true, to justify this inaccurate and misleading use of the language.

'In itself,' he says, 'it is of little moment whether we express the phenomena of matter in terms of spirit, or the phenomena of spirit in terms of matter; matter may be regarded as a form of thought, thought may be regarded as a property of matter; each statement has a certain relative truth. But with a view to the progress of science, the materialistic terminology is in every way to be preferred. For it connects thought with the other phenomena of the universe, and suggests inquiry into the nature of those physical conditions, or concomitants of thought, which are more or less accessible to us; . . . whereas the alternative, or spiritualistic, terminology is utterly barren, and leads to nothing but obscurity and confusion of ideas.'

If we understand this passage, Professor Huxley appears to say that such terms as thought and feeling, volition and desire, are barren, if not confused and unintelligible, and ought therefore to be abandoned. But that to speak of glandular secretions, cerebral currents, ganglionic shocks, and molecular changes, instead of intelligence, emotion, and will, is perfectly comprehensible, and contributes to the advancement of knowledge. In other words, that in dealing with mental phenomena it is more scientific to speak of their physical conditions or correlatives, of which we are never conscious, and which are indeed unknown, than to speak of the phenomena themselves, which appear in the full light of internal perception, and constitute our most habitual and vivid experiences. Such an attempted defence is surely its own best refutation. If further refutation were needed, it is found in Professor Tyndall's clear discrimination of the two provinces of inquiry, and his emphatic declaration that the fullest knowledge of the one does not throw any light upon the other. In his paper on 'Scientific Ma-

'terialism,' he points out that the passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding fact of consciousness is unthinkable. 'Granted that a definite thought and a definite molecular action in the brain occur simultaneously, we do not possess the intellectual organ, nor apparently any rudiment of the organs which would enable us to pass, by a process of reasoning, from the one to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why.' 'In affirming that the growth of the body is mechanical, and that thought, as exercised by us, has its correlative in the physics of the brain, I think the position of the "Materialist" is stated, as far as that position is a tenable one. I do not think he is entitled to say that his molecular groupings and his molecular motions *explain* everything. In reality they explain nothing. The utmost he can affirm is the association of two classes of phenomena, of whose real bond of union he is in absolute ignorance.' This is the language of science, which separates things that are distinct, and designates different sets of facts by significant and appropriate terms. And it cuts at the root of the confusion both of thought and language, which is so characteristic a feature of the school. It is due to Mr. John Stuart Mill to say that he is never guilty of this inexact and misleading use of language. He always describes mental facts in psychological terms, and physical facts in physical terms; and this is, of course, the only scientific method. The reverse of the process, however plausibly disguised or ingeniously defended, is in reality absurd. It would be quite as rational to talk of dissecting an emotion or preserving an idea in spirit, as to talk of consciously associating molecular currents, feeling the logical connexion between two nerve shocks, or realising by internal perception the production of phosphorus in the brain. We fear, however, that the sounder precept of Professor Tyndall, and the higher example of Mr. Mill, will be lost on the more advanced evolutionists. Mr. Mill is, indeed, already regarded by the new school as somewhat out of date; his philosophy with them is becoming antiquated. His purer taste and more accurate style are hardly likely, therefore, to have much influence on young Darwinians revelling in all the looseness of vast but unverified generalisations, and clothing their crudities of thought in the grotesque confusion of a Babylonish dialect.

The practical influence of the new doctrine is seen in the rise and rapid growth of a pseudo-scientific sect,—the sect of the Darwinian evolutionists. This sect is largely recruited from the crowd of facile minds ever ready to follow the newest

fashion in art or science, in social or religious life, as accidents of association or influence may determine. No doubt, as already intimated, some of the more susceptible minds may have been attracted not only by the novelty and notoriety, but by the grandeur and power, the secular sweep and material sublimity, of the hypothesis itself. But the majority are probably influenced by more mixed and superficial motives. Amongst these is the exhilarating sense of freedom and independence in adopting advanced views, and the piquant feeling of conscious power in urging them against the alarmed remonstrances of acquaintances and friends. It is pleasant to ride as it were on the crest of the largest advancing wave of scientific speculation, and lay the flattering unction to your soul that you share its pre-eminence, and are part of the power that urges it forward. Unfortunately these new doctrines afford ample scope for this seductive species of self-glorification. The most striking points in the theory of evolution, as well as in its application, are precisely of the kind most readily apprehended by ordinary minds. That 'we were once tadpoles you know;' that men are descended from monkeys, and that 'moths and butterflies flirt 'with each other as we do' are propositions requiring no great strength of intellect to grasp or to expound in a lively conversational way. This kind of colloquial acquaintance with these advanced theories is not unfrequently mistaken for a knowledge of natural science; and in many circles, especially in certain sections of London society, fluent conversational evolutionists are to be found whose literary culture hardly goes deeper than a slight knowledge of Mr. Swinburne's poetry, and whose scientific and philosophical training is restricted to a desultory acquaintance with some of Mr. Darwin's more popular works. But whatever may have been the special influences in the case of individual converts, the majority agree in being evolutionists through feeling and fancy rather than through knowledge and insight. They thus exemplify the moral and emotional phenomena connected with temporary accesses of social and religious excitement. Their enthusiasm is for the most part unembarrassed by definite knowledge, and their zeal, like that of recent converts in general, has a tendency to outrun discretion.

One note of similarity between the Darwinian evolutionists and the more active religious sects, is to be found in the common element of strong but unenlightened belief on which they both so largely depend. The evidence in favour of the central Darwinian doctrine is notoriously deficient, but this is no hindrance to its enthusiastic acceptance. Ardent neophytes easily

personify the principle of evolution, and clothe it in imagination with all the powers necessary for the production of its reputed effects. They trust its working where they cannot trace it, and are content to walk by faith, not by sight. On all doubtful points their subjective conviction is so strong as to be independent of objective verification or outward proof of any kind. The external evidence that men are descended from monkeys, for example, is almost wholly wanting; but happily, in the case of docile converts, it is also needless. Difficulties equally serious are removed by the unquestioning faith which is the evidence of things not seen, the substance or assurance of all that is eagerly desired. The cavils of sceptics are of no avail with the true evolutionist believer, because he has an unfaltering trust in his own sacred books and inspired writers. At their bidding he is ready to adopt not only things unsupported by reason, things above and beyond reason, but things directly opposed to all reason, all probability, and all experience. The new school, indeed, virtually adopts as its own the more extreme and irrational maxims belonging to the darkest period of religious belief. Thus Dr. Maudesley, referring to the physical miracles which disciples are called upon to accept, says expressly: 'In such matters it would be more wise to adopt Tertullian's maxim, "*Credo quia impossibile est*," than that which is so much favoured by the conceit of human ignorance—that a thing is impossible because it appears to be inconceivable.'

Another note of sectarianism in the evolutionists is their tendency to intolerance. This tendency is manifested, perhaps, in its extremest form amongst the rank and file of the sect. It displays itself, however, in various shapes, some of which are amusing enough. Sometimes it appears in the eager denunciation of opposing views, the impatience of all adverse criticism, and the bringing against opponents hasty charges of blindness and obstinacy, ignorance and prejudice, servility, corruption, or fear. At other times the latent spirit of intolerance assumes the garb of missionary zeal, appearing in the tacit assumption that all who are not Darwinians are in a benighted and miserable condition. This zeal often extends to an affectionate solicitude as to the mental state of the undecided. It may then find expression in the inquiries, 'Are you yet a Darwinian?' 'Has the great doctrine of evolution been revealed to you?' 'Has the day-spring of chaos, necessity, and chance dawned upon you, or are you still groping in the outer darkness of creation, intelligence, and design?'

These anxious inquirers combine with their missionary zeal for the unconverted a sectarian keenness of scent for heresy. Any reference to soul or mind, to rational order, foresight, or adaptation, they regard with instinctive suspicion; while all such conceptions as moral order, ordained purpose, formal or final causes in nature, are promptly repudiated as mere remnants of ancient and outworn superstitions. The missionary efforts of the sect are, in fact, a kind of ludicrous travesty of the acts and artifices of sectarian aggressiveness and self-assertion. This tendency to intolerance appears also in the writings of the school, especially in the less distinguished. The tone of the discussion in many cases involves the tacit assumption that the evolutionists are the only wise men, and wisdom itself will die with them. This feature comes strongly out in the journals of the school in the free use of such terms as 'exploded' and 'extinct' applied to all opposing theories and rival views. Nor are the writings of the leaders altogether free from this taint of intolerance. Even Mr. Darwin's courtesy and candour partake in a measure of the same spirit. In the present volume his casual references to other principles of interpretation than his own, though strictly polite, indicate clearly enough that in the writer's opinion they are irrational and absurd. This method of treating opponents, though vastly superior to that of Papal denunciation, rests on the same assumption of infallibility, the same summary rejection of all rival views, as the more violent anathemas of the Sovereign Pontiff. The same spirit is traceable in the writings of Professor Huxley, perhaps the acutest thinker and most variously accomplished man belonging to the school. It is impossible, however, to read his replies to opponents without feeling that they breathe a spirit of latent intolerance, and are tinged with sectarian bitterness. In certain passages of his writings he rises to a pitch of prophetic denunciation, and tells his opponents that they are doomed to speedy extinction by the nature of things, and will soon be swept from the universe. This extreme tone is probably due in part to the fact that Professor Huxley has accepted the principle of evolution more absolutely than any other man of science except Mr. Darwin himself, and that consequently he represents what may be called its religious spirit in the most concentrated form, and partly also to the fact that his nature is essentially Puritanic, if not Calvinistic. He has the moral earnestness, the volitional energy, the absolute confidence in his own convictions, the desire and determination to impress them upon all mankind, which are

the essential marks of Puritan character. His whole temper and spirit is essentially dogmatic of the Presbyterian or Independent type, and he might fairly be described as a Roundhead who had lost his faith. He himself shows the truest instinct of this in calling his republished essays 'Lay Sermons.' They abound, in fact, with the hortatory passages, the solemn personal experiences, the heart-searchings and earnest appeals that are found in Puritan literature. The hypothesis of evolution thus met a real and vital want in his nature, and he espoused it with a crusading zeal and insistence surprising enough to less ardent minds. In perfect harmony with this feature of his character, Professor Huxley has been known to express a strong desire for a scientific hell, to which the finally impenitent, those who persist in rejecting the new physical gospel, might be condemned. In a lower degree, and in less noble forms, the same spirit of intolerance is, however, manifested by all the more energetic members of the new school.

A final note of sectarianism in the evolutionists is what may be called their illiterateness, or at least their comparative indifference to every culture or cultus except their own. This feature is closely connected with the last—the spirit of latent intolerance—and may perhaps be regarded as one of its special manifestations. Just as religious sectaries think merely their own thoughts, read none but their own books, and are exclusively interested in the activities of their own little world, so genuine evolutionists appear to have no interest in any subjects except natural history and anthropology. They repudiate all inquiries that have no direct or perceptible bearing on these central objects of pursuit. From this point of view they stigmatise literature and philosophy as vain, if not frivolous, pursuits. The greatest poets—Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Shakspeare—are passed by as mere 'fiddlers,' while metaphysicians and theologians are denounced as word-jugglers dealing in idle abstractions and fictitious entities. Even history and travels have in their view a very secondary and indirect value, as helping to throw occasional light on the physical condition of savage tribes or the material fragments of ancient culture. As a rule, therefore, the evolutionists have little or no knowledge of literature, philosophy, or history. The faithful Darwinian, like the faithful Mussulman, judges the accumulated stores of human knowledge from the point of view of his particular faith, and would deal with them as the Calif Omir did with the Alexandrian library. If other works contain only what is found in Mr. Darwin, they are superfluous

and need not be kept; if they contain anything different, anything opposed to Mr. Darwin, they are injurious, and ought to be destroyed. The old idea of catholic training, of a varied and vigorous culture fitted to develope and strengthen all the powers of the mind, is in this way so completely lost that the evolutionist's conception of education appears hardly to go beyond the teaching of physiology and natural history under Darwinian conditions. Amidst the various and conflicting notions of liberal education that are now distracting public attention, there could hardly perhaps be found a lower depth than this.

The founder himself shares to a large extent in this central characteristic of the school; and here we are brought face to face with a vital defect in the volume before us—a defect that goes far to undermine its leading principles, and vitiate some of its most prominent conclusions. It has long been a reproach against Mr. Darwin that while he extends the most ample and flattering recognition to those of his own way of thinking, his associates and disciples, he rarely refers to even the highest authorities who happen to differ from him, and then only in the most indirect and sparing manner. So long as Mr. Darwin confined himself to his own subject, this procedure, though a sign of partiality, was of comparatively little consequence, his own knowledge being so complete as to make him virtually independent of others. But in 'The Descent of Man,' and in the present work, the author is immediately concerned not only with bodily structure and functions, but with mental powers and products. He is dealing so directly with psychological elements and principles that the force of his reasoning and the value of his conclusions must depend altogether on his mastery of the facts and laws of mind. This difficult branch of investigation has been systematically cultivated by a series of thinkers whose names are as illustrious as any connected with the advancement of science. As the result of their labours, a vast body of elementary facts and illuminating principles have been gradually accumulated, and moulded into scientific shape, the different steps of the process making important stages in the history of philosophy. But Mr. Darwin shows no sign of being acquainted with any of the great thinkers whose researches and discoveries constitute eras in the progress of mental science. The only preparation he seems to have thought necessary before assuming the responsible position of an independent authority on the subject is of the most elementary and superficial kind. So far as the evidence goes, Mr. Darwin's philosophical knowledge is exclu-

sively derived from Mr. Herbert Spencer and Professor Bain. He appears to have dipped into the system of the one, and kept at hand for ready reference the students' manuals produced by the other. Now, these writers—each justly eminent in his own way—notoriously belong to extreme and one-sided schools. But Mr. Darwin never seems to have enlarged his knowledge of philosophy, to have extended his reading in any other direction, so as to be able to correct and modify the partial statements of his chosen guides. He is never wise above what they have written, and seems to have only an imperfect acquaintance even with this very limited section of philosophical literature. Yet on the strength of this elementary and one-sided knowledge he boldly undertakes to discuss and settle the most difficult and complex problems of mental science. In any other department of inquiry surely such a procedure would be justly considered as in the highest degree reprehensible. No amount of eminence in special departments of knowledge entitles a man to speak with authority on a subject he has not seriously studied and knows little or nothing about. And Mr. Darwin's sudden irruption into the domain of mental philosophy is as though a metaphysician who had merely dipped into Oken's '*Elements of Physiophilosophy*' and Carpenter's '*Manual of Human Physiology*' should, in virtue of such a smattering, set up as an independent authority on the subject, and boldly deny the conclusions of the most eminent physiologists of the time.

It is true that in terms Mr. Darwin is modest enough with regard to his pretensions. He virtually apologises for his limited knowledge of mental science; but the ground of the apology, if worth anything, ought to have been a disqualification for undertaking such a serious task as the evolution of reason and conscience from animal elements. Notwithstanding the modesty of his tone, nothing can be more presumptuous in spirit and substance—more arrogant, indeed, in its claims—than Mr. Darwin's argument. It necessarily presupposes a thorough knowledge of all psychological activities and products not only in themselves but in their mutual relations and complex development, since the exposition undertakes to enumerate, explain, and account for them all. Mr. Darwin expressly claims to trace the origin, growth, and progress of the elements of mind from the earliest and most obscure motions of sense up to the highest manifestations of intelligence, freedom, and responsibility. His very enumeration of these elements is, however, like the furniture in the poor apothecary's shop—little more than 'a beggarly account of

‘empty boxes.’ The higher faculties, which present the most serious obstacles to the application of his theory, and are indeed fatal to its larger claims, Mr. Darwin omits altogether. He does this avowedly, on the ground that hardly any two authors agree in their accounts of these powers, his minute and comprehensive historical knowledge of the subject enabling him to indulge in such sweeping assertions. The assertion is of course not true; and supposing it were true, it would not relieve Mr. Darwin from the necessity of discussing such inconvenient questions as self-consciousness, discourse of reason, and personal identity. However hardly they may press upon his particular theory, these elements of our mental life exist, and have therefore to be accounted for. And for the exponent of the theory to shrink from the crucial test is a virtual admission that it is insufficient for the purposes to which it is nominally applied. At the outset, therefore, the facts to be explained are only partially considered, the most important being omitted. And the reasoning based on these facts is weaker and more irrelevant than anything to be found in the whole compass of Mr. Darwin’s writings. It stumbles on the threshold, and is marked throughout by illegitimate assumptions and circular reasonings of the most flagrant kind. It illustrates at every point, indeed, the well-known fact, that when those who have been long devoted to minute external observation, and thus accustomed to follow step by step the limited and lower but safe guidance of inductive lights once abandon the familiar path, they wander far more widely and hopelessly than others whose mental training and activities have been less exclusive. After hugging closely for half a century the shore of material fact, navigation in the open sea of thought becomes difficult and hazardous, especially to those unacquainted with the compass and chart of speculative reason, and unaccustomed to rule their course by the higher lights in the hemisphere of experience—the lode-stars of rational but severely regulated thought. Many wonder how it is that Mr. Darwin, being so supreme in the observation, description, and arrangement of material facts should be so inferior in dealing with moral facts and reasons, so weak logically, so inconsequent and inconclusive in the region of abstract speculation and reflective proof. The explanation is in part supplied by the circumstance just adverted to, that he made the acquaintance of philosophical reasoning too late in life, if this may be said without offence; and partly also by the fact we have specially noted, that, from his absorption of mind in his own subject, he

has failed to acquaint himself with the higher province of inquiry into which he has somewhat rashly ventured.

The present volume supplies fresh evidence that Mr. Darwin's ignorance of mental science is real and not assumed. It appears from the very manner in which he uses the authors on which he exclusively relies for such information as he possesses. As his previous work, to be at all effective or complete, required a minute acquaintance with man's intellectual and moral nature, so the first condition of success in his present undertaking is a thorough knowledge of the passions, affections, and emotions. We naturally expect, therefore, at the outset to find some discrimination of the special sensibilities which find expression in the countenance and gesture of men and animals. At least we look for some explanation of what is included under emotion, as well as some classification of the distinctively human emotions. Instead of this all we find is a short quotation from Mr. Herbert Spencer on an initial point that belongs to the common-place of the subject. 'Mr. Herbert Spencer,' says Mr. Darwin, 'has drawn a clear distinction between emotions and sensations, the latter being generated in our corporeal framework. He classes as feelings both emotions and sensations.' But this is an elementary distinction taken by others long before Mr. Spencer, and more fully developed and applied than by him. Thus, to refer only to an established and easily accessible authority, we find in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' the following:—'It is convenient to lay down at once the broadest of the objective distinctions separating the kinds of feeling. A sensation is a feeling whose excitant is a phenomenon of the body; an emotion is a feeling whose excitant is a phenomenon of the mind or consciousness of the subject.' And again a little later:—'There has been already stated the distribution of feelings into sensations and emotions, distinguishable by the character of their antecedents or excitants, these being respectively phenomena of the bodily organs of the subject, or of its consciousness.' A writer familiar with the subject would indeed have assumed the distinction as common-place, without feeling it necessary to quote any authority in support of it. Mr. Darwin might almost as well have announced that Mr. Herbert Spencer, the great exponent of the principle of evolution, had made the important and original remark that 'bodily pain is different from mental suffering, and that bruised muscles may be discriminated from lacerated feelings.' Again, in dealing with the physical effects of fear, one well-known symptom referred to is the partial paralysis of the salivary glands. In illustration of this Mr.

Darwin quotes his chief psychological authority :—‘ Mr. Bain explains in the following manner the origin of the custom of subjecting criminals in India to the ordeal of the morsel of rice: “ The accused is made to take a mouthful of rice, and after a little time to throw it out. If the morsel is quite dry the party is believed to be guilty, his own evil conscience operating to paralyse the salivating organs.” ’ Here both the fact and the cause of it as are old as the hills, or at least so familiar that they might be at once assumed without any special authority. In a manual published upwards of thirty years ago both are stated, indeed, as notorious truisms. ‘ Everybody knows the almost instantaneous effect of fear in blanching the cheeks, and rendering the eye dull, as well as that of any intense emotion in occasioning an immediate suppression of various secretions, such as tears and saliva. The cleaving of the tongue to the mouth from violent emotion—the *vox hæret faucibus*—is easily explicable upon the same principles. Everybody knows the story of the detection of a thief, in an establishment of servants, by the dryness of the rice which he, in common with the rest, had been compelled to hold in his mouth, while each was taxed with the theft.’ Here, again, Mr. Darwin might almost as well have quoted the same authority in support of any familiar fact—might have said, for instance, Professor Bain has acutely remarked that a bitter taste produces wryness and contortion of the mouth, just as a bad smell operates most energetically upon the muscles of the nose.

But we must pass on to notice Mr. Darwin’s method of dealing with the facts of expression, and the principles he lays down for their interpretation. His method of arriving at the facts of human emotion is so characteristic that it well deserves a word or two of special comment. It indicates the presence and active working of a strong preconception in the author’s mind. Mr. Darwin tells us that the principle of evolution had occurred to him upwards of thirty years ago, and that he has observed the phenomena of expression at intervals ever since, in order mainly, as it would seem, to find illustrations in confirmation of the principle. But parental attachment to a new principle may be just as disturbing an element in the way of unbiassed observation as partiality for any established method. And it is impossible to read far in the present volume without feeling that the facts have been selected, arranged, and interpreted according to the exigencies of the new theory rather than according to their actual character and the results they spontaneously afford. There is an obvious effort from the first to bring vividly into

view not what is most distinctive in the expression of human emotion, but what is common to men and animals. The aim all through is to stretch this common element in every conceivable way, and make it appear as large as possible. For this purpose the higher human emotions are not dealt with at all, or, if incidentally noticed, are at once dismissed as artificial, conventional, and the like. As in 'The Descent of Man' the higher mental powers, being inconvenient, were passed over, so in the interpretation of expression the nobler emotions are treated in the same way, and for the same reason. For the same purpose the very limited expressive element in the countenances and gesture of animals is habitually overstated, while the enormously higher power of expression possessed by man is systematically understated. In relation to the first point, the extent to which Mr. Darwin persistently reads his own theory into the ambiguous muscular twitches and spasms of monkeys and other animals is often amusing in a high degree. The manner in which he continually degrades and vulgarises human emotion is equally striking.

But the method of arriving at the facts to be explained shows the working of the same mental preoccupation in a still stronger and more obtrusive form. Mr. Darwin describes minutely the plan he adopted in order to acquire as good a foundation as possible, and ascertain how far particular movements of the features and gestures are really expressive of certain states of mind. The plan consists in obtaining observations from six different sources. These are, first, infants, because they exhibit many emotions with extraordinary force; second, the insane, as they are liable to the strongest passions, and give uncontrolled vent to them; third, galvanism—that is, muscles artificially excited by means of galvanic action; fourth, art, the great masters in painting and sculpture; fifth, ruder and more savage races; sixth, the lower animals. To this last source Mr. Darwin naturally attaches a 'paramount importance,' as affording 'the safest basis for generalisation on the causes or 'origin of the various movements of expression.' Now, if the six sources are examined, it will be seen that from only one of them—the fourth—could any knowledge of the higher and more complex human emotions be derived. And, curiously enough, this is precisely the one from which Mr. Darwin confesses that he obtained little or nothing suitable to his purpose. The five other sources could illustrate at best only the simpler, ruder, and more violent forms of passion. The higher emotions are associated with the activity of reason, are indeed the reflex or developed intelligence. But in infants reason is wholly un-

developed, mere animal appetites and passions having the supremacy. In the case of the insane reason is dethroned, and while they are liable to uncontrolled outbreaks of passion, the passion is necessarily of an irrational and violent kind. Savages, again, are the infants of the race, and the emotions manifested by them will, as a rule, be of a coarse and rudimentary kind. This is still more true of the lower animals. It may be questioned, indeed, whether they have emotions at all in the stricter meaning of the term—whether they are not always moved by bodily appetites, passions, and desires, rather than by purely mental causes and antecedents. Then, again, galvanised muscle can exhibit at most only the harsher elements of expression, and that too in an isolated and extreme form. Nothing can more vividly illustrate this than the hideous portraits of the galvanised old man whose ‘skin was little ‘sensitive,’ which Mr. Darwin employs to illustrate his expositions. In these portraits all the varieties of facial expression are so repulsively unnatural that it is difficult to say which of them is the more unhuman—the grin, the frown, or the gasp. The violent distortion of isolated muscles altogether destroys the fine lines and shades of movement that are the life and soul of spontaneous expression. No wonder, therefore, that many of the illustrations could not be recognised or agreed upon as expressions of any distinctively human emotion.

The result is that from the sources to which Mr. Darwin exclusively refers for his facts, it is impossible to obtain illustrations of the higher and more characteristic human emotions. They are all, no doubt, of use in helping to throw light on the lower appetites and passions. But in studying emotion to restrict attention to such sources is a glaringly partial and one-sided procedure. It is obvious that no adequate knowledge of human expression can be gained from studying only the rude, undeveloped, and abnormal forms of humanity. If the facts of expression are to be dealt with as a whole, humanity must be studied not merely in its dwarfed, diseased, and arrested shapes, but in typical examples of varied faculty and developed power. Men of at least average endowment must be carefully observed under circumstances that call into free and varied play the higher as well as the lower powers of intelligence and sensibility, and especially in the critical moments that give concentrated and intense expression to conflicting desires, or reveal as by a flash of light the master passions of the mind. These are the moments of exultation and depression and especially the seasons of reverses, perils, and distress, the effect of which is so finely described by Lucretius:—

'Quo magis in dubiis hominem spectare periculis
Convenit adversisque in rebus noscere qui ait;
Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Eliciuntur; et eripitur persona, manet res.'

At such seasons the mask is torn away, and the man remains; all disguises of conventional expression disappear, and the realities of life, the innermost feelings and desires, are revealed in their naked depth, truthfulness, and power.

Now, apart from long and minute personal observation, the only way of carrying on this study is by means of literature and art—in the pages of great poets and prose writers, and the works of the masters of painting and sculpture. The writings of the more eminent authors, who have been careful observers of human nature, and had the profoundest insight into the mysteries of human passion, abound with admirable touches and truthful descriptions of expression. Mr. Darwin, it is true, does not include literature amongst the sources from whence information on the subject may be derived, but he avails himself of it in the body of the work. Happily in this respect, his practice is wider than his precept, or his exposition would be more imperfect than it is. But although he has derived a few graphic delineations from novelists and poets, especially from Shakspeare, this rich vein of illustration is left comparatively unworked. This has mainly arisen from the circumstance that great poets delight to exemplify the higher and nobler aspects of emotion which Mr. Darwin, as a rule, neglects. Had he taken anything like an adequate view of the higher ranges of expression, the illustrative quotations from Shakspeare alone might have been multiplied ten-fold. Then, again, the more intense, susceptible, and keenly observant modern poets, such as Shelley, abound with vivid images of the darker passions, as well as with exquisite descriptions of the kindled and exalted gestures in which the nobler feelings and desires find expression. This, indeed, is what we should naturally expect to find. It is the very nature of the poet that, being richly endowed with sensibility himself, he should be keenly alive to its manifestations in others, discriminating with quick intuitive precision even the more subtle, delicate, and evanescent forms of emotion. Many writers of imaginative prose, too, are gifted with such a spirit of minute observation that their pictures of human nature possess a kind of photographic truth, distinctness, and reality. This is especially true of the more eminent female novelists, who have a rare power of making emotion visible by its external signs, as well as audible by its impassioned utterances. Such women, being endowed

with keen and delicate sensibility, have an extraordinary power of detecting varying shades of expression, and an intuitive perception of their meaning, amounting almost to divination. Mr. Darwin has derived a few illustrations from this source, but they might with advantage have been greatly multiplied. Indeed, from the works of George Eliot alone there might easily be selected felicitous descriptive touches embracing almost every kind of human emotion and desire.

What is thus true of literature is still more true of art, the main business of great painters and sculptors being to study and portray the more characteristic types of human nature, the more impressive and affecting manifestations of human emotion. The great artists have profoundly studied the play of human feeling, have carefully observed the indications of passion and affection, for the express purpose of permanently recording them in eloquent light and shadow, in living lines and colours, or in breathing bronze and marble. Their works accordingly are the great store-house of materials for illustrating the entire range of human gesture and expression. This was so fully recognised by Sir Charles Bell, that he entitled his great work 'The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression in connexion with the Fine Arts.' Yet from this prolific source Mr. Darwin has not, we believe, derived a single illustration. Nay, as we have seen, he even asserts that, after examining copies of the well-known works of the great painters and sculptors, he found little or nothing suitable to his purpose. We venture to think that with unbiassed judges acquainted with the subject this will be a sufficient condemnation of that purpose, will sufficiently indicate that from the very outset Mr. Darwin has not attempted to consider the whole subject of human emotion, but only those parts of it which could be readily connected with the manifestations of brute instincts, of animal appetites and desires.

In this point of view it is instructive to compare Mr. Darwin's treatise with that just referred to—Sir Charles Bell's classical exposition of the philosophy of expression. In all vital points of conception and treatment, indeed, no contrast could be more striking than that presented by the two works, or, we need scarcely add, more strikingly in favour of 'The Philosophy of Expression in connexion with the Fine Arts.' Sir Charles Bell, it is true, deals largely with expression in animals as well as in man; but he does not, like Mr. Darwin, invert the true proportions of the subject, by trying to assimilate what is highest in expression to what is meanest and lowest. He preserves in this, as in other respects, the truth,

modesty, and balance of nature. While he studied diligently the lower sources whence a knowledge of expression in its rudimentary forms may be derived, he did not neglect the higher sources, the fullest consideration of which must crown any adequate exposition of the subject. Then, with regard to style and treatment, Sir Charles Bell was not more decisively Mr. Darwin's superior as an anatomist and physiologist than as a man of taste and of literary and philosophical culture. His style is marked by the rarest union of gracefulness and strength, of purity, precision, and admirably co-ordinated scientific and literary power. On the other hand, Mr. Darwin's writing is marked by slang phrases, vulgarisms, and a pervading looseness of structure that, apart from the interest of the subject, would often make the mere reading a wearisome task. We only wish there were space at command to exemplify Sir Charles Bell's immense superiority in this respect. But all who are familiar with his essay will remember how happily it illustrates the higher culture that illuminates special knowledge, connects science with history and philosophy, and thus gives to its expositions a distinctively literary character, and a broadly human interest. The author's varied, rich, and refined training as a thinker and critic appears in every part, not only in the style, but in the finished accuracy, fulness, and plastic grouping of the details, in the firm and flexible command of general principles, and in the rare beauty of the illustrations, both literary and artistic. The literary illustrations are so numerous indeed that the more eminent poets, belonging to almost all the great periods of literature—Homer, Virgil, and Ovid; Dante, Petrarch, and Tasso; Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton—are laid under contribution for felicitous descriptive touches or more elaborate but exquisitely delicate and truthful illustrations of expression.

But the respective relation or attitude of the two writers towards art brings out the vital difference of conception and treatment in the most striking form. Mr. Darwin apparently knows nothing of art, and certainly has no perception of its intimate relation to the subject he undertakes to expound. As we have seen, he professes to have looked into the masterpieces of the great European painters and sculptors without discovering any important elements of expression in their works. With Sir Charles Bell art is so vitally related to expression as to find a place in the very title of his work. Mr. Darwin's studies in art appear to have been restricted to looking over a few photographic copies of the works of great masters. Sir Charles Bell went to Italy for the express purpose of visiting its galleries

and studying the splendid monuments of painting and sculpture the country contains. Mr. Darwin has not a single illustration derived from art, no reference to the subject, indeed, except the passage in which he dismisses it from consideration. Sir Charles Bell's work abounds with the happiest illustrations derived from painting and sculpture. We may point to his descriptions of Guercino's Departure of Hagar, in the Gallery of Milan, of Raphael's St. Cecilia, of Guido's Murder of the Innocents, and of a *Pietà* by Michael Angelo as admirable examples. From his perfect knowledge of the sources of expression, moreover, Sir Charles Bell was in this way able not only to appreciate and employ for his own purposes the truthful delineations of the emotions by the great painters and sculptors; he was able to criticise their work, to detect the points where they failed accurately to represent the complexity or harmony of muscular movement involved in particular emotions, or sacrificed the consensus of expressive form and gesture to the imagined requirements of the composition. In general, however, his finely critical and scientific insight led him to vindicate afresh the wonderfully accurate rendering of emotion in gesture and expression which characterises the works of the great masters, both in painting and sculpture.

The reasons of this widely different treatment of art by the two authors are as worthy of notice as the treatment itself. With Sir Charles Bell expression is the material reflex or manifestation of mind. It indicates the command of an intelligent and sensitive being over the physical machinery which is its instrument—an instrument admirably adapted in every part for this purpose, and which has an important share in aiding the development of latent power. But that power, once developed through the double instrumentality of speech and gesture, may, and often does, assert its superiority by governing the physical machinery, not of course independently of outward conditions and bodily wants, but in absolute conformity to ideal aims, to a spiritualistic conception of life and labour. Of this outward revelation of powers and capacities, transcending all merely animal elements, great artists are the students and interpreters. As the result of their labours, its essential points are transcribed with ever-increasing fulness and accuracy for the delight and instruction of mankind. At first the interpretation is feeble and faltering, the transcript imperfect, but with the progress of art it advances in delicacy, truthfulness, and power, until it becomes an authentic revelation of the nobler elements of mind,

the higher nature of man. Sir Charles Bell traces this progress in his introduction :—

‘With better times the influence of the Church was more happily exercised, and finer feelings prevailed. The subjects were from the Scriptures, and noble efforts were made, attesting a deep feeling of every condition of humanity. What we see in the churches of Italy, and almost in every church, is the representation of innocence and tenderness in the Madonna and Child and in the young St. John. Contrasted with the truth, and beauty, and innocence of the Virgin, there is the mature beauty and abandonment of the Magdalen. In the dead Christ, in the swooning of the mother of the Saviour, and in the Marys there is the utmost scope for the genius of the painter. We see there, also, the grave character of mature years in the prophets and evangelists, and the grandeur of expression in Moses. In short, we have the whole range of human character and expression, from the divine loveliness and purity of the infant Saviour, of angels and saints, to the strength, fierceness, and brutality of the executioners.’

This manifestation of inward and higher feeling beautifies even what is physically weak, poor, and unattractive :—

‘Human sentiments prevailing in the expression of a face will always make it agreeable or lovely. Expression is even of more consequence than shape : it will light up features otherwise heavy ; it will make us forget all but the quality of the mind. As the natural tones of the voice are understood and felt by all, so it is with the movements of the countenance ; on these we are continually intent, and the mind ever insensibly exercised. . . . Anatomy, in its relation to the arts of design, is, in truth, the grammar of that language in which they address us. The expressions, attitudes, and movements of the human figure are the characters of this language, adapted to convey the effect of historical narration, as well as to show the working of human passion, and to give the most striking and lively indications of intellectual power and energy. The art of the painter, considered with a view to these interesting representations, assumes a high character. Every lesser embellishment and minuteness of detail is regarded by an artist who has those more enlarged views of his profession as foreign to the main design, distracting and hurtful to the grand effect, admired only as accurate imitations, almost appearing to be what they are not. . . . It is by his creative powers alone that he can become truly a painter ; and for these he is to trust to original genius, cultivated and enriched by a constant observation of nature. Till he has acquired a poet’s eye for nature, and can seize with intuitive quickness the appearances of passion, and all the effects produced upon the body by the operations of the mind, he has not raised himself above the mechanism of his art, nor does he rank with the poet or historian. . . . As we may define anatomy to be the examination of that structure by which the mind expresses emotion, and through which the emotions are controlled and modified, it introduces us to the knowledge of the relations and mutual influences which exist between the mind and the body. To the painter, therefore, the

study is necessarily one of great importance; it does not teach him to use his pencil, but it teaches him to observe nature, to see forms in their minute varieties which, but for the principles here elucidated, would pass unnoticed—to catch expressions so evanescent that they must escape him, did he not know their sources. It is this reducing of things to their principles which elevates his art into a connexion with philosophy, and which gives it the character of a liberal art.

‘By anatomy in its relation to the arts of design I understand not merely the study of the individual and dissected muscles of the face, or body, or limbs, but the observation of all the characteristic varieties which distinguish the frame of the body or countenance. A knowledge of the peculiarities of infancy, youth, or age; of sickness or robust health; or of the contrasts between manly or muscular strength and feminine delicacy; or of the appearances which pain or death present, belongs to its province as much as the study of the muscles of the face when affected in emotion. Viewed in this comprehensive light, anatomy forms a science not only of great interest, but one which will be sure to give the artist a true spirit of observation, teach him to distinguish what is essential to just expression, and direct his attention to appearances on which the effect and force, as well as the delicacy, of his delineations will be found to depend.’

This thorough knowledge of the groundwork or grammar of art, the play of the muscles involved in expression, Sir Charles Bell justly regards as essential to the production of ideal beauty, as well as for reaching the dignity, grandeur, and power, the majestic harmony and repose, that belong to the masterpieces of classic art. This end is obtained in the highest perfection, indeed, by vividly depicting the triumph of the mind over its physical instruments and conditions, the innate greatness of soul that overcomes the extremities of bodily torture and mental anguish:—

‘With the view of attaining beauty, the artist is not to slight nature or to avoid it, but to study it deeply, as the only source of improvement. He must not only contemplate those beauties which we may suppose to stand before him, but consider where they differ from others less admirable. How beautiful that smile! How eloquent those lips! Let him ask himself in what this consists. Smiling and speech are characteristic of man, and are bestowed to express the affections of the heart and communicate thought. Give to the mouth the capacity for these. Observe the forehead and the defined eyebrow: what is there in nature superior? Let him mark them, and then raise and throw forward the forehead—a feature especially human and elevating to the countenance. Now he sees that depth is given to the eye; that the shadows fall with bold relief; the eyebrow acquires more freedom, stands in a finer arch, and is more expressive of agreeable emotions. And thus he passes from point to point, from one feature to another—the nose, the ear—exaggerating a little the outline of whatever indicates the higher and purer qualities, and avoiding what is low, or whatever

is associated with the baser human passions or with the form of the brutes; and by insensible gradations and long contemplation of what is highest and best he acquires, and from nature, that idea which is, in his mind, the perfection of form. . . . Thus the painter must study the traits of human expression. The noblest aim of painting is unquestionably to affect the mind, which can only be done by the representation of sentiment and passion—of emotion as indicated by the figure and the countenance. But if it be contended that an imposing stillness and tranquillity must pervade the higher subjects of painting, I venture to affirm that it is a tranquillity which he can never attain who is not capable of representing all the violence and agitation of passion. It is not such repose as the artist who has despised or neglected natural character may be able to represent, but such as he alone can conceive and execute who has studied all the variety of expression, and learned the anatomy of the face and limbs in their most violent action. Nay, tranquillity or repose, in the strict sense of the words, can only be truly represented by one who can with equal facility give energy to the features and figure; for in rest there must be character, and that character will best be expressed by him who has studied the effect of the action of the muscles. It ought also to be remembered that repose and agitation must ever greatly depend on contrast and opposition. There are few grand subjects in history or mythology in which the tranquillity and higher beauty of expression in the main figure does not borrow some aid from the contrast of the harsher features, more marked characters, and more passionate gestures of the surrounding groups.'

From this just and fruitful conception of the relation of art to expression we turn for a final contrast to Mr. Darwin's account of his art-studies and their result. This account, short as it is, throws so much light on the author's taste and appreciation, that every word of it deserves to be recorded:—

'I had hoped,' says Mr. Darwin, 'to derive much aid from the great masters in painting and sculpture, who are such close observers. Accordingly I have looked at photographs and engravings of many well-known works, but, with a few exceptions, have not thus profited. The reason, no doubt, is that in works of art beauty is the chief object, and strongly contracted facial muscles destroy beauty. The story of the composition is generally told with wonderful force and truth by skillfully given accessories.'

Here it may be noted in passing that the author unconsciously reveals what he is in search of—'strongly contracted facial muscles'—and these, of course, mainly belong to the lower and more violent passions. But, apart from this, the statement as applied to the great schools of European art is so remarkable that we earnestly commend it to anyone, especially to any disciple, who combines confidence in Mr. Darwin's knowledge and judgment with the very slightest individual acquaintance with the subject. The statement

virtually is that in the works of the great painters and sculptors the countenances and gestures are as a rule inexpressive, the story of the composition being told by skilfully given accessories. We need hardly say that this is not true even with regard to ancient art—to Greek sculpture—where the sense of harmony, repose, and completeness of effect was so strong that expression and gesture are often partially sacrificed to beauty of feature and proportion of form. Even here, however, the educated and observant eye will find rich materials for the study of expression as well as of feature and form. But as applied to mediæval and modern art, and especially to the great Italian schools of painting and sculpture, Mr. Darwin's statement is ludicrously wide of the mark—is, indeed, the exact reverse of the truth. Expression is the very point by which modern art is so broadly and decisively separated from ancient art. This element is so predominant and distinctive as to constitute not only the glory of modern art, but to some extent its reproach as well. At least critics, like Winckelmann, devoted to classic art condemn modern or romantic art on the very ground of gesture being made too prominent, of a disproportionate attention being given to expression, beauty, harmony, and proportion being often sacrificed to the powerful rendering of passion. Critics of almost all schools, indeed, have recognised the tendency of modern art to make individual feeling unduly prominent, to give concentrated and intense, if not exaggerated, expression to emotion. The striking, and well-known contrast between ancient and modern art in this respect is brought vividly out in one of Browning's most characteristic poems, entitled 'Old Pictures in Florence.' While the whole poem is full of truth, stated in the author's eccentric and wayward style, a single stanza will sufficiently indicate the vital point of the contrast:—

'On which I conclude that the early painters,
To cries of "Greek art, and what more wish you?"
Replied, "Become now self-acquainters,
And paint man, man—whatever the issue!
Make the hopes shine through the flesh they fray,
New fears aggrandise the rags and tatters,
So bring the invisible full into play,
Let the visible go to the dogs—what matters?"

From the very rise of modern art in Italy, its progress was marked by a series of masters and schools, whose aim was to give full expression to varieties of personal character. Their work is conspicuous for the force of well-defined feeling in the

face and gesture of individual figures, and the dramatic interest of the groups to which they belong. The names of Cimabue, Giotto, Orcagna, and Massaccio, of Bellini, Titian, Giorgione, and Ghirlandajo, will sufficiently recall the long line of early but illustrious painters, remarkable for their vivid and powerful rendering of expression. Other contemporary masters devoted themselves almost exclusively to religious subjects, and became eminent for the exquisite truth and purity with which they delineated the more tender and intense affections, such as filial piety, saintly devotion, and maternal love. The best characteristics of these previous schools were, it is well known, united in the works of Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, and Raphael; and to say that the masterpieces of these great artists are relatively expressionless, that expression is neglected or sacrificed in their works, is simply a blank confession of ignorance or insensibility. If illustrations were required they might be found near at hand. From Raphael's cartoons alone there might be obtained admirable exemplifications of almost every human emotion dealt with by Mr. Darwin—of sorrow, pity, anxiety, and acute suffering; of joy, expectation, and enthusiasm; of hatred, malice, disgust, fear, wonder, horror, and amazement.

But although there is no historic truth or relevancy in Mr. Darwin's statement about art, it has no doubt a meaning in relation to himself and his own narrow point of view. He failed to find what he wanted in the best pictures and statues, because the great painters, while embodying in their works the whole range of human feeling, still select in the main for representation the pure, refined, and exalted emotions. These, as we already know, have little interest for Mr. Darwin. Had he taken a truer and more comprehensive view of the subject, instead of finding their works useless, he would have found them invaluable. Nay, even within the lower ranges and less noble aspects of emotion he deals with, Mr. Darwin would have found a little knowledge of art of essential service. We may take as a single example, his curious and highly characteristic account of tenderness and love:—

'Love, tender feelings, &c.—Although the emotion of love (for instance, that of a mother for her infant) is one of the strongest of which the human mind is capable, it can hardly be said to have any proper or peculiar means of expression; and this is intelligible, as it has not habitually led to any special line of action. No doubt, as affection is a pleasurable sensation, it generally causes a gentle smile and some brightening of the eyes. A strong desire to touch the beloved person is commonly felt; and love is expressed by this means more plainly than by

any other. Hence we long to clasp in our arms those whom we tenderly love. We probably owe this desire to inherited habit, in association with the nursing and tending of our children, and with the mutual caresses of lovers.

‘With the lower animals we see the same principle of pleasure derived from contact in association with love. Dogs and cats manifestly take pleasure in rubbing against their masters and mistresses, and in being rubbed or patted by them. Many kinds of monkeys, as I am assured by the keepers in the Zoological Gardens, delight in fondling and being fondled by each other, and by persons to whom they are attached. Mr. Bartlett has described to me the behaviour of two chimpanzees—rather older animals than those generally imported into this country—when they were first brought together. They sat opposite, touching each other with their much-protruded lips, and the one put his hand on the shoulder of the other. They then mutually folded each other in their arms. Afterwards they stood up, each with one arm on the shoulder of the other, lifted up their heads, opened their mouths, and yelled with delight.’

Here it will be seen that in Mr. Darwin's view, maternal love can hardly be said to have any proper or peculiar means of expression. But had he carefully studied the Madonnas of some of the great masters, he would have found abundant reasons for a different opinion. We may give, as an instance, a description of one by Shelley:—

‘But perhaps the most interesting of all the pictures of Guido which I saw was a Madonna Lattante. She is leaning over her child, and the maternal feelings with which she is pervaded are shadowed forth on her soft and gentle countenance and in her simple and affectionate gestures. There is what an unfeeling observer would call a dulness in the expression of her face; her eyes are almost closed, her lip depressed; there is a serious and even heavy relaxation, as it were, of all the muscles which are called into action by ordinary emotions; but it is only as if the spirit of love, almost insupportable from its intensity, were brooding over and weighing down the soul, or whatever it is, without which the material frame is inanimate and inexpressive.’

This gives the main characteristics of the emotion. It is marked not only by absorbed devotion, but by infinite yearning and an almost divine compassion. It has, moreover, an element of latent sadness, of *attendrissement* inseparable, perhaps, from the depth and intensity of pure affection. The utter self-forgetfulness of the emotion, the complete outgoing of heart to the beloved object, subdues the harsher lines with which the violent and selfish passions—such as fear and jealousy, hatred and revenge—furrow and scar the countenance. All hard lines and unlovely shadows melt away in the softened and radiant fulness of maternal fruition. From the object of devotion being neither superior in nature as in heavenly love, nor

in position and power as in conjugal affection, but wholly dependent and usually infolded within the caressing arms, the eyes will naturally have a downward gaze, and the lids, from the constancy of the habit, will be slightly drooped. Again, the strong maternal yearning, touched with seriousness in its depth and intensity, will slightly depress the corners of the mouth. The eyes and mouth, the main expressive centres of intensely human emotion, thus aid in portraying the dominant feeling. To so marked an extent is this the case, that there are many celebrated pictures, where, apart from the presence of the Divine Child, or other accessories, the expression of the Madonnas would at once be recognised as that of maternal love. The expression proper to other forms of the general emotion touched or charged with religious feeling or with devotion for a lofty ideal of any kind, are illustrated in the imaginative portraiture of saints and martyrs. Religious devotion, for example—the intense but calm and steadfast fervour of conscious absorption in a higher life, and the rapture of ideal passion, of ecstatic emotional fruition, are represented respectively in Raphael's St. Catherine and St. Cecilia.

It will be seen from the latter part of the passage quoted, that Mr. Darwin regards the highest form of this absorbing emotion—mutual love—as a cutaneous affection, resting ultimately on the mutual contact and irritation of adjacent claws and skins, and represented in the most lively form by the favourite actions and occupations of apes and monkeys. This view of the matter may be appropriately left without comment.

Before passing from the passage, which may be described throughout as a favourable specimen of the author's manner, we may however notice a characteristic piece of reasoning it contains. Just as Mr. Darwin's account of human intelligence and human emotion is an inversion of the true method of nature, so his argumentation is an inversion of the true method of reasoning. Much of it when carefully analysed will be found to rest on the novel principle that the effect produces its own cause. Thus, in the passage on love, Mr. Darwin argues that the desire of caressing springs from the habit of caressing; and as on this theory the habit cannot be traced to desire, it is perhaps ultimately resolvable into an aversion. And if so, on Darwinian principles, the desire of caressing would be explained by an aversion to caressing. This may be paralleled with the exquisite logical sea-saw in 'The Descent of Man' on the relation of higher mental power to language, the growth of speech being traced to the existence

of higher mental power, and the higher mental power ascribed to the use of language.

We must pass in conclusion from Mr. Darwin's acephalous method of gathering his facts to his equally characteristic and truncated method of explaining them. Mr. Darwin's great object in undertaking the explanation of expressive movements is to explain them away, to show that they are not essentially or ultimately expressive at all. The attempt, it need hardly be said, is unsuccessful, but it is interesting to follow the steps of the curious process. The two distinctive principles Mr. Darwin lays down for the interpretation of expression are those of serviceable associable habits, and of antithesis. His third principle, that of the direct action of the nervous system, may be thrown out of account, as it is not peculiar to Mr. Darwin, but common to him with other writers of the same school. The interesting point about the two principles as explained by Mr. Darwin is that they neutralise each other, are, in fact, mutually destructive. The first principle—that of serviceable, associable habits—rests on the assumption that gestures and facial movements are not originally expressive. On the contrary, they are wholly concerned with physically serviceable actions, the satisfaction of bodily wants, of mere animal appetites and desires. These in a reflex and automatic way become subsequently, through the influence of association, expressive of internal states, of mental desires and emotions. On the other hand, the second principle, that of antithesis, rests on the assumption that from the first a large class of gestures and movements are intentionally expressive, are adopted for the very purpose of manifesting outwardly inward states of feeling and desire. There is no doubt a good deal of truth in this view, but it is fatal to Mr. Darwin's general theory, as well as to the force of his first principle. He denies, and he is bound to deny, the intentional use of special muscles for the purpose of expression. They can originally be exerted, he maintains, only for bodily, not for mental purposes. Yet under the head of antithesis are included large classes of significant movements that are intentionally employed for expression, and have no other use. In these it is obvious that volition must have an active and essential share. They are, moreover, as primitive and original as the first class of expressive movements, being indeed their necessary correlatives. And correlatives, it need hardly be said, exist and are manifested in mutual dependence on each other.

According to the theory an antithetical expression is a spontaneous or intuitive reaction from a strongly-marked

gesture of an opposite kind. If hostility, for example, is manifested in a series of well-defined actions of an aggressive kind, friendliness will be expressed in a series of gestures exactly the reverse, and so of all the other movements coming under the same head. The gestures of desire will be the opposite of those expressing aversion, and those of joy the antithesis of sorrow. But it is clear from the nature of the case, as well as from the requirements of the theory, that both series must from the first exist, and be manifested together, as they are necessarily dependent on each other. The just inference, surely, therefore would be that they must be due to common causes, and exemplify the working of a common principle. If the one set of movements are spontaneous and instinctive, so also must be the other. The only way of escaping this conclusion, and saving Mr. Darwin's first principle, is by supposing that for countless generations animal life must have been vitally divided, cut in twain like the child of Solomon's Judgment, and the one half developed in a lop-sided manner irrespective of the other. It must be assumed that the one side or aspect of emotions and desires, which in actual life are the relief, balance, and counter-part of each other, existed in an isolated form; that the expressive movements belonging to them were from generation to generation slowly matured without any admixture of opposite gestures and expressions; that when they were all matured, a strong reaction set in, love coming to balance hate, joy to mitigate sorrow, desire to counteract aversion, and that the reaction developed a whole series of strongly antithetical expressive movements. It need hardly be said that this supposition is an absurdity. Still, if it is to work at all, Mr. Darwin's theory requires some such assumption.

This well illustrates the suicidal confusion which results from attempting to explain a product without taking fully into account one of the factors, and that the most important, essential to its production. Human gestures and expression, as the reflex of human intelligence and emotion, cannot of course be explained apart from the rational faculties which are their ground and cause. But in attempting the explanation Mr. Darwin deals only with animal elements, and thinks only of animal necessities. He justly assumes that expression having no direct physical use, is not absolutely necessary to animal life; and as he must identify rational and animal life, he naturally makes the same supposition with regard to man. Here, however, he at once travels beyond the record, and leaps to a conclusion not supported by the premises, and at variance with the facts. To a rational self-conscious being, like man,

endowed with progressive intelligence, ample means of expression are not only useful, but a vital necessity of the first order. The development of his powers depends on society, on intercourse with his fellow-men, and for this purpose he absolutely requires prompt and effective means of communicating both his thoughts and feelings. These wants are supplied by expressive gesture and articulate speech; and though man has never been found without the developed use of both, yet of the two, gesture, especially in earlier and ruder states of society, is the more important. It is a universal language which overrides all local dialects, and is everywhere intelligible. The testimony of explorers visiting unknown tribes and coming into contact with the rudest and most barbarous races, is on this point explicit and unanimous. Gesture-language enables men to communicate with each other in every corner of the globe, and is universally intelligible alike to the savage and the civilised. The language of expression is, moreover, in relation to the emotions and desires, a more distinctive and effective vehicle of communication than articulate speech. In this respect it reflects the superior force and directness of feeling as compared with thought. As the combination of letters and words in language expresses thought, so the rapid combination of living curves and lines, of varying lights and shadows, and quickly changing hues in the human countenance express feeling. It is, moreover, not only the more rapid and direct, but the truest and most authentic index of emotion—more delicate, diversified, and instantaneous than any other. In a larger view of use and service expression is thus to a rational being a prime necessity of existence, the very breath of social and progressive life. To meet these primary rational wants and desires is to an intelligent being quite as much an impulse and necessity of nature as the satisfaction of bodily wants is to a mere animal. Had Mr. Darwin taken a wider and truer view of use and service he would have perceived this, but his attention is so restricted to animal elements that he thinks only of animal uses. In other words, he has not included amongst his fundamental principles the human intelligence and emotion, without which it is for ever impossible to explain human expression. This is the fatal defect that vitiates so much of his ingenious speculation and laborious industry. Assuming only animal elements, Mr. Darwin employs them as a kind of common substance, a physiological gutta serena, which he is always trying to stretch and twist, to mould and manipulate, into the semblance of humanity. It is a vain and even preposterous effort. The confused and contradictory

results it produces sufficiently show that if you do not start with rationality or conscious intelligence in attempting to explain the higher powers and capacities, the distinctive acquisitions and activities of man, the attempt will inevitably fail.

Mr. Darwin's recent works are conspicuous monuments of this failure. In trying to extract reason and conscience out of animal elements he is, indeed, little better than a physiological alchemist, and his labours, in their higher scope, are just as barren as those of his chemical predecessors, traditionally connected with the darkest ages and the blackest arts. It is, indeed, a spectacle worthy of an elder day to see the venerable evolutionist bending over his slow metaphysical fire, mingling animal ingredients in the favourite crucibles of natural selection and sexual variation, and announcing with an air of absolute confidence and triumph the anticipated result. He evidently thinks that he has at length secured the 'drop profound,' the protoplasmic globule, which, under skilful distillation, may be evolved, not only into the panorama of animated nature, but into the long phantasmagorial procession of the different races and generations of men. But like the drop profound caught by the witches in its fall from the corner of the moon, and distilled with unholy rites in their seething cauldron, it simply leads on the eager inquirer into the mysteries of nature to his own confusion. The pursuit is a hopeless one, and the confidence in its results mere illusion. The higher secrets of nature are not so readily discovered or so easily exhausted. The *elixir rationis* is not thus to be obtained. But though the labour, in its higher aspects, is like that of the alchemist vain, it contributes indirectly to the advancement of science. Although the alchemists did not discover the secret of life or the philosopher's stone, their labours gave a useful impulse to chemical research. And though Mr. Darwin's efforts to extract reason and conscience from physical elements are vain, his writings have undoubtedly given a stimulus to the higher branches of physiological inquiry. And if, like the labours of the alchemists of old, they have done some incidental mischief in fostering vain expectations and prompting useless efforts, the example of such single-minded devotion to the speculative side of science is undoubtedly a noble one, and apart from the value of its results is justly entitled to admiration and respect.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Zur Geschichte der Römisch-Deutschen Frage.* Von Dr. OTTO MEJER. 2 vols. Rostock: 1872.
2. *Die Grenzen zwischen Staat und Kirche. Historisch-dogmatische Studie.* Von Dr. EMIL FRIEDBERG. Tübingen: 1872.
3. *Das Veto der Regierungen bei Bischofswahlen.* Von Dr. EMIL FRIEDBERG. Halle: 1869.
4. *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche Deutschlands von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis in die Gegenwart.* Von Dr. H. SCHMID. 1 Hälfte. München: 1872.
5. *Verhandlungen des zweiten Alt-Katholiken Congresses zu Köln.* 1872.

IT was on the very day in July 1870, and almost at the same hour, when the King of Prussia uttered that memorable appeal which made the whole Fatherland flock to his standard with a unanimity which eventually resulted in the acclamation of an Empire, that Pius IX. gave vent in St. Peter's to the exultation of his seemingly absolute triumph over a few disregarded remonstrants, by solemn promulgation of his infallibility as a divine truth incumbent on all who would be saved to believe; and again, by a coincidence equally unpremeditated and no less striking, it happened that the ecstatic glorification of a mystical grace assumed to have been vouchsafed from on High to Pius IX., in the visible sign of a prolongation of reign beyond what had fallen to the lot of any Pontiff since the legendary days of St. Peter, was celebrated at Rome with the gorgeous pomp of sacerdotal pageantry, at the same instant of time when the weather-beaten soldiers of Germany were marching back into the capital with the hale old soldier at their head—a King when he went forth, the acclaimed German Emperor of a German Empire as he then rode in, the visible symbol of what the work they had achieved really implied. Thus at the very moment when the Imperial authority was created anew, out of one block without the flaw of any foreign vein, the old contest between Rome and Germany was rekindled at the very point at which it had died away more than two centuries ago.

At the sight of the conflict declaring itself once more between Germany and the Court of Rome, the question cannot but at once occur, whether the challenge thrown down to Rome proceeds from merely individual caprice—from the ambition of one daring and self-willed statesman, dexterous and powerful

enough to initiate a vigorous movement—or whether it proceeds from the concurrent impulse of that statesman's vigour co-operating with a native vein of sentiment, to be traced historically through generations. Should it appear that the movement now a-foot in Germany—by which we mean the attitude of the State, and not the theological considerations constituting the specific subject of the Old-Catholic controversy—is mainly due to a personal influence, we should be driven to the conclusion that it would share the fate of the ephemeral efforts of Joseph II. During that emperor's lifetime the privileges of the Roman system might well have seemed thoroughly shaken in his dominions, and yet the breath had scarcely left his body when matters rapidly gravitated back into the old lines, because the Emperor's arm was the one prop of the particular structure of anti-ecclesiastical policy he had been striving with hot haste to rear. If the thirteen million Germans professing the Roman Catholic faith should present one unbroken opposition to a policy, which, while avoiding to strike the spiritual essences of doctrine, should aim at loosening the stringency of the hierarchical bonds by which all local independence of religious life has become fettered into helpless dependence on an autocratic and irresponsible authority in Rome, then we must abandon expectations of any organic movement towards permanent emancipation. It is to this question—which must instantly force itself before every other on whoever is at all curious about the ultimate result of the pending controversy—that the following pages will be devoted.

It would, indeed, be singularly presumptuous to profess, within the compass of an article, to gauge all the elements which in Germany might contribute to the force of a movement for reform in the Roman Church, through a joint action from within the pale of Catholicism and from the State. The titles of some recent German publications on the subject which appear at the head of this article afford abundant evidence of how vast a field has to be travelled over by those who would master so complicated a problem. On the other hand, these writings facilitate a survey of leading circumstances. With the help of these guides, we shall accordingly cursorily review some significant facts in the course of German history—ecclesiastical and secular—which may help the reader to form an opinion whether there be reasonable ground for assuming the existence of any latent element within the pale of German Catholic communities likely to abet vigorous State action directed against those particular assumptions of despotic power

which are essentially Papal, in distinction to doctrinally Catholic, principles.

Before proceeding, however, to consider past facts, we must say some words regarding the elements that combine to swell this religious movement in Germany. For a right appreciation of its nature, both actual and possible, it is essential to have a distinct perception of the fact that the movement is not of one jet; that it is composed by the, in some sense fortuitous, confluence of two streams, distinct in their character and origin—the one absolutely ethical and religious, the other as absolutely political and secular. No student of Church history, and specially of movements for ecclesiastical reform, will dispute the momentous significance of the spontaneous concurrence of religious and secular currents, when they happen to coalesce and set in one direction. In the present instance, the religious element is represented by the so-called Old-Catholic body, which draws its inspiration entirely from religious and ethical sources. The characteristic feature of the men who constitute this body is that they are actuated solely by the irrepressible sense of a moral principle. The strictly defensive attitude taken up against the demands addressed to their consciences from Rome is indicative of the eminently Catholic temperament of these men's minds. Schismatical propensities are foreign to their motives; political purposes are beyond their aims.* If their

* The now published authoritative report of the speeches delivered at the Cologne Congress, well merits the attention of those who would gauge the import of the Old-Catholic movement. 'The ground on which we take our stand,' said the great canonist Dr. Schulte, who was in the chair, 'can only be the ground of positive faith in Christianity. Whoever forsakes this ground, whoever does not profess that faith in Christianity, as inculcated in Scripture and as enjoined in the generally universal Councils, him we cannot consider a Catholic. Whoever does not stand on the ground of faith, does not belong to us as an active member. . . . Our standpoint is and remains the Catholic standpoint.' And Dr. Maassen, in a very remarkable discourse on the position in which the Old Catholics necessarily must stand towards the State in its conflict with Rome, said, 'The sole ground on which we reject the Vatican dogma is that it is contrary to the Gospel. Non-Christians also reject the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, but they do so because they in general reject the Gospel. But we reject the infallibility of a human being solely for the Gospel's sake. . . . To us therefore it is not a matter of vital importance whether the State take up a right attitude against the heresy of Infallibility and against the community which affirms that this doctrine has been revealed by God himself.'

work should combine the practical promotion of either the one or the other, it will not be of their seeking. The proceedings at the Cologne Congress are there to show how the representative Old Catholics stubbornly entrench themselves on the unassailable vantage ground of hereditary doctrine, which conscience forbids them to abandon. Tested by the standard of secular forces, the strength of a strictly ethical movement has been deemed by some of small moment. We think there has been a tendency to underrate the specific value of an element that presented itself in the unostentatious guise of a merely theological controversy. But it is precisely this kind of movement which can influence a school of thought, and impart the singularly impressive complexion of a high moral principle to such material forces as may ally themselves in practical work with it. The value of such an element in co-operation is great. Actuated itself by the inward glow of principle, it is the moral element alone which can inflame the electrical spark which stirs conscience, kindles conviction, and excites stern enthusiasm. The forces with which such elements can cope are of a wholly different category from those the powers of the State are fitted to reduce to order. The State is powerless to overmaster mere dogmas and ideas; it can deal with them only as embodied in actions which it may see reason to proscribe as contrary to public policy. Should the actions so proscribed by the State happen to be a practical application of principles reprobated by others on ethical grounds, then, so far, there will be a spontaneous coalition against a common antagonist between the secular force, of which the State is the organ, and the moral principle represented by the other party; but they act from independent bases.

This is precisely the relation in which stand towards each other in Germany the Old Catholics and the State, in respect of its action against the Roman Hierarchy. The decrees of the Vatican Council, by shocking sincere consciences, have impelled them stubbornly to decline to load their souls with the guilt of professing what they hold to be a deliberate untruth. At the same time, the promulgation of the dogma has had for its necessary consequence that the hierarchical representatives in Germany of the ecclesiastical system culminating in the infallible Pope as its head, have been driven to put forth all the coercive powers at their disposal, with the view of constraining acquiescence, as an indispensable condition of continued membership in the Catholic community as recognised by the State. But this pretension of the Hierarchy the State is not disposed to countenance, and,

as it is the direct and practical emanation of that same principle which, embodied in the formula of a dogma, has shocked the consciences of the Old Catholics, we find ourselves in presence of an undeniable coalition, for the time being, against an identical adversary, of two very distinct forces that complement each other—the one solely impelled by inward convictions and speculative sentiments, that have no ulterior scope than the vindication of true doctrine, and appeal only to religious interests; the other starting avowedly from motives of State policy, and operating only on principles of expediency and law. The problem is, of course, how far this combination of effort may extend between two such differently constituted factors, working through such very different means. It is sufficient to draw attention here to the fact that, as it is really the Papal system in its development of absolute autocracy which the State is attacking in Germany, so there is nothing in such an attack which must needs overstep what a consistent Old Catholic can go heartily along with. Conservative as the men assembled in Cologne showed themselves in regard to questions of doctrine, both the speeches delivered generally at the Congress and the writings of the great patriarch of the movement are conclusive in their condemnation of the Papal system, as consolidated by the action of centuries and visibly centred in the Court of Rome.

It is impossible, indeed, to study Dr. Döllinger's writings, although he refuses to venture even into the borderland of rationalistic speculation, without acquiring the conviction that acceptance of his views is absolutely incompatible with maintenance of those peculiar facts and principles which constitute the vital characteristics of Romanism. But without staying at present to consider at what point it may be likely that these concurrent elements should cease to act together, we would draw particular attention to the fact that such concurrence of a religious and of a secular impulse towards a movement of reform in the Roman establishment has previously occurred but on two occasions, and these the only occasions in which the movement has succeeded in effecting permanent results. Single-handed impulses from one side or the other, however vigorous, have never attained to more than ephemeral success. Neither the burning words of Arnold of Brescia nor the earnest teachings of Wycliffe survived in practical results their individual influences, any more than in later times the distinguished school of liberal divines which radiated from Port Royal. The same failure overtook repeated attempts on the part of vigorous sovereigns to curb, with a strong arm, the exorbitant preten-

sions of the Hierarchy. Neither the masterful spirit of the Hohenstauffens, nor the onslaught of Joseph II. in the last century, were able to achieve any enduring success against the strength of Roman ascendancy. On two occasions alone has the Reformation resulted in effecting lasting inroads on the Papal system: once when launched by Luther it became so firmly rooted a fact that all the repressive forces of the world could no more blot it out; and, again, when the ecclesiastical separation of England from Rome was accomplished. In both cases the result was plainly promoted by the circumstance of religious and secular influences combining simultaneously and working in parallel grooves against the same antagonist.

Luther hurled the fiery darts of devout denunciation against the impiety of an ecclesiastical system that made a traffic of indulgences, while the Elector of Saxony and other princes of the Realm really resented in this systematic imposture an aggression upon the vitals of the German people by a grasping foreign potentate, who contrived through cunning devices to enthrall their independence and extort a tribute. Luther brought into the field the high element of intellectual principle that stirred consciences; but what enabled him to leave behind a work no more to be undone was the fact that state agency, for reasons of its own, interfered to break the power of the Roman See, and to protect an intellectual revolution against the weight of an empire's persecution. And so again was it in England, where a latent but sporadic Protestantism was enabled to assert itself, mainly through the hostility of Henry VIII. to the Pope, the See of Rome, and the Catholic interests that clustered around the person of Charles V. With the exception of these two instances history can neither show any really permanent breach effected in the solidity of the Roman system nor any convergence of religious and secular forces simultaneously directed in assaults on that system until we come to the movement now going on in Germany; a circumstance on which great stress may well be laid.

It is known how conspicuous were the services rendered by the Society of Jesus in the missionary campaign which stemmed the once seemingly irresistible onward wave of Protestantism in Germany. The reward of these conspicuous exertions was that the members of the Society came to be looked upon as the special bodyguard of Catholicism. The Jesuits not merely occupied the pulpit and the confessional, they became emphatically the schoolmasters and university teachers and intellectual guides of Catholic Germany. With the activity of an organised hive they poured over the length

and breadth of the empire, and snatched a monopoly of education wherever the Catholic element asserted itself as supreme, so that the eighteenth century, when it dawned, found the Catholics of Germany under the guardianship of Jesuit preceptors. At the dissolution of the Empire the spiritual sovereignties alone amounted to thirty-nine, with over three million subjects, exclusive of lay Catholic principalities, amongst which Bavaria occupied the first position. Germany seemed the unassailable nursery of sacerdotalism with its network of ecclesiastical temporalities, where the sovereign was a priest, the state an endowment for the benefit of an ecclesiastical corporation, and every institution just calculated to secure, free from counteracting influences, the rank growth of priestly principles and the ascendancy of ideas according to the strictest spirit of the Papal system. Nevertheless within the pale of these guarded ecclesiastical preserves—in these very gardens that for generations had been tended and husbanded and cropped by the undisturbed skill of Jesuit fathers—plants were springing up which demanded a more vigorous method of culture. Undeniable energy had marked the generation of Jesuits who did the original missionary work in Germany. But the Jesuits who succeeded to the fruits of triumph, and on whom it devolved to turn to good account its advantages, fell woefully short of what they should have been. The German Jesuits of the eighteenth century had before them two clear aims. They sought to establish a Catholicism saturated with fanatical obedience to a Papal Caliph, and they strove to insure the permanence of that sentiment by subjecting mind to stagnation and by crippling the faculties of the intellect, just as a miserable system of baby-farming is calculated to rear lymphatic children that never can grow into vigorous beings.

One glaring example will give a measure of the meagreness to which instruction was systematically reduced. The University of Ingolstadt was of all foundations the most vaunted and patronised school of Jesuit teaching. Situated in the Arch-Catholic territory of the Arch-Catholic Elector of Bavaria, it was raised by the Jesuit Fathers to the position of the most approved high school of orthodox training in Germany, from which youth should go forth equipped with the fulness of learning, and the rays of Catholic science should beam forth to the confusion of secular wisdom. Yet in this centre of Catholic faculties it happened that when on occasion of the second centenary a professor unguardedly sought to vent his learned enthusiasm in a Hebrew oration, the University presses were actually destitute of the types to print it. When this was the

state of things in what assumed to be the special seat of Roman Catholic learning in the middle of the eighteenth century, alive with many intellectual influences, and pregnant with the quickening elements of German thought, it is not surprising that there should have been marked symptoms of indisposition to remain satisfied with such scanty doles of intellectual nourishment. It deserves, however, to be pointed out that these symptoms were not marked with the sceptical complexion of eighteenth century philosophy as it sprang up in Catholic France. That sceptical vein did show itself, certainly, to a large extent, but there was besides in France a school of liberal but earnest theology, emanating from Port Royal, which courted the criticisms of science with the ingenuous confidence that comes from hearty conviction in the invulnerability of truth. This eminently Catholic school of thought seems to have found an echo in Germany. At all events there existed about this period a set of Catholic divines whose writings, while free from an undertone of scepticism, clearly indicate a conception of Catholic doctrine which does not involve identity with the rigidly Papal formularies taught in the Jesuit schools. The reader curious on this subject will find information concerning these writers in Professor Schmid's interesting '*History of the Catholic Church*,'* who, though himself a Protestant theologian, candidly declares how superior in earnestness and scientific spirit these Catholic divines were to their Protestant contemporaries in Germany.

But quite distinct from this purely intellectual vein of an independent tendency, there was abroad another far more visible element of secular origin, which was decidedly hostile to the pretensions of the Church, viewed as a corporation dependent for direction on the will of the Court of Rome. This was the contagion of the spirit of Louis XIV. which swelled the breasts of all sovereigns, however diminutive, and of none more than the petty German rulers, with an inordinate sense of authority. They might be fervent and even fanatical Catholics, grimly eager to exterminate the pestilential seeds of heresy; and yet they would aspire to be in some sense Primates in their dominions, and would not brook clerics more exempt than lay functionaries from the action of their autocratic jurisdiction. Yet in vigilantly circumscribing the powers of the Church, these princes were not prompted by a mere lust of power; they considered themselves to be enforcing an inherent prerogative of the State, recognised by jurists, as constituting the so styled

* See Schmid, pp. 54, 55.

jus circa sacra, and for which in Germany there existed a more specific title than in most other countries. From early times the Head of the Holy Roman Empire was invested with the title of *Ecclesiæ Advocatus*; he was not only the champion of the Church, but also the protector of its liberties, called upon as such to vindicate the privileges of the inferior clergy against encroachment from spiritual superiors. This peculiar position gave the princes a direct claim to intervene in points connected with ecclesiastical organisation. The limits of such authority were indeed ill defined, and no doubt often strained, but its recognition is distinct. In so loose a political organism as the Empire, feudatories inevitably assumed powers that should have remained exclusive attributes of Imperial prerogative; and so the control over the Church, which should have been exercised solely by the holder of the Imperial Crown, came to be shared by constituent members of the Empire. Duke George of Saxony imperiously affirmed that 'in his States he 'himself was Pope and Emperor;' a declaration he made good by such stringent injunctions that no Bishop could make a visitation in convents without the attendance of a State functionary. In Cleves the privileges of the Sovereign (and be it observed not without Papal sanction) were so extensive as to have given rise to the proverb '*Dux Clivias in suis terris est Papa.*' This spirit of territorial autonomy was signally promoted in Germany by the political events culminating in the Treaty of Westphalia. The terms of this important instrument involved a loosening of the Imperial tie as a federal bond with a proportionate increase of autocratic power in communities previously subordinate. Moreover, by recognising the establishment of Protestant Churches under the direct supremacy of local sovereigns—thus making the legal existence of these religious establishments dependent upon the countenance of the prince—this treaty inspired Catholic rulers with a craving to possess the same degree of police control* over the organism of the Church corporations in their territories. This desire once conceived was acted upon so resolutely, that even in the dominions of the most Catholic princes ecclesiastical authorities lived in such stringent dependence that a licence

* On occasion of the serious controversy in the last century as to the right of German princes to let Papal Nuncios exercise spiritual jurisdiction in their dominions, the Elector of Bavaria expressly rested his competency to do so on the eighth article of the Treaty of Westphalia, 'as having secured absolute sovereign authority in spiritual matters.' (See Mejer, vol. i. p. 109.)

from the civil power was sometimes indispensable for Bishops to perform the ordinary duties of their office.

It is of capital importance to have a clear conception of the degree to which State control was stretched at this period without shocking public opinion or being effectually resisted by the Church. We can find no better illustrations than in the practice prevailing in Austria under Maria Theresa, who was not Empress of Germany, but Sovereign of Austria; and under her sway the motley assemblage of provinces presided over by the Hapsburgs was first cemented into something like State unity and quickened with a State consciousness. Feeling herself emphatically Sovereign of Austria, Maria Theresa was irresistibly affected with the regal and territorial sentiments which prompted the prevalent autocratic disposition of contemporary princes. On the other hand, no sovereign of the day was freer from suspicion of lukewarmness on religious matters. Maria Theresa was a fervent, not to say a bigoted, Catholic, who considered Protestantism as an emanation from the Evil One, the toleration of which she could not bring herself to think of otherwise than as a sin. All her personal feelings were those of a thoroughly devout and even priest-ridden Catholic woman; so that when we find her, as Sovereign, spontaneously concurring in decrees calculated to make the clergy feel that the civil power set a sharp curb on their actions, it is clear that the Empress believed she was exercising as integral a portion of her royal prerogative as when she signed a death-warrant or granted a pardon. In 1760 a special commission was charged to revise the course of University education. Its leading member was Van Swieten, a disciple of the Louvain canonist Van Espen, the special advocate of the excommunicated Church of Utrecht. One of its acts was to render compulsory the use of Riegger's and Rautenstrauch's Handbooks of Jurisprudence, the spirit of which is sufficiently evidenced by the proposition 'that it is within the competency of princes, 'in virtue of their authority from God, to prescribe the measure 'and the mode to be observed in the application of ecclesiastical censures.' Subsequently these text-books were rendered obligatory even on ecclesiastical seminaries, and no theses were tolerated for public disputation that were not drawn from them. The reading of the Bull 'In Cœna Domini' was absolutely prohibited; and the Lesson of Gregory VII., as derogatory to Royal authority, actually expunged from the Breviary by decree of the Aulic Council. In 1745 the Archbishop of Vienna was censured for having issued, without previous lay sanction, a Pastoral concerning lenten observances. The episco-

pal powers of imposing disciplinary correction were reduced to a minimum. No excommunication was allowed to be pronounced without the approval of the State, and even mere acts of penance required the like sanction. Let it be borne in mind that these measures were not only adopted under the devout Maria Theresa, but that they seem to have passed as a matter of course, without creating sensation or eliciting more than feeble remonstrances from the Nuncio, which were taken no notice of.* It is, therefore, not surprising that a work in the anti-Roman sense—the celebrated volume published under the pseudonym of Febronius—not only was permitted in Vienna, but that the Roman promulgation of the author's retraction was expressly forbidden to be made public there; 'because,' says the Imperial ordinance, 'Her Imperial Majesty has obtained knowledge from many quarters of the unjustifiable devices by which a purported voluntary retraction has been extorted.'

In September, 1763, this treatise appeared, entitled 'De Statu Ecclesiæ et Legitima Potestate Romani Pontificis.' On the title-page Bouillon was given as the place of publication and Febronius as the author's name. Both were false. The volume was printed in Frankfort, and had been written by Nicolaus von Hontheim, Suffragan Bishop of Trèves. It contained no new matter, nor aught necessarily attractive to the general public. It was a careful reproduction of propositions often stated by French canonists, and known as Gallican principles. The book, however, created a sensation that may be likened to that which attended in our own time the appearance of 'Janus.' It ran through several editions quickly, and the Court of Rome, without loss of time, put the volume on the Index. No doubt the circumstance, which became soon known,

* It may not be uninteresting, in exemplification of opinions then publicly in vogue, to read the following extract from an official report drawn up for Maria Theresa by Hofrath Greiner, in the name of the Aulic Council, on Rautenstrauch's 'Handbook.' 'No man of education in all Christendom now believes any more in the Pope's infallibility. . . . Why then should one out of low flattery for the Court of Rome confound [the infallibility of the Pope with that of the Church] and write ambiguous sentences, and consequently seem not to dare tell scholars the truth they are apparently to infer? The same holds good as to the authority of sovereigns over ecclesiastics, when there comes to be a question of exercising civil jurisdiction. No reasonable being will now any more have doubt as to the undeniable right of sovereigns.' (See Friedberg, *Grenzen zwischen Staat und Kirche*, p. 148.)

of its having been written by a Bishop, gave the book a particular interest; but still the real cause of success must have lain in the fact of seasonable publication. The pith of these ideas was condensed into negation of the Papal system; denial to the Pope of any right to powers that make a monarchy of the Church; reduction of the Pope's precedence to that of mere *primus inter pares*, and consequent exaltation of episcopal prerogative and affirmation of the sovereign authority of Councils. The tone throughout was rather of legal than theological argument, breathing the spirit of a laycanonist rather than of a divine. But therein lay, probably, a main reason why the volume met with the particular favour it encountered at the hands of great ecclesiastical dignitaries. The German Church counted four Metropolitan Sees—the spiritual Electorates of Trèves, Cologne, and Mayence, and the Archbishopric of Salzburg—each having under it a number of suffragan Bishops, but also constituting each a Sovereign State; so that these Archbishops, in their character of secular princes, had become impregnated with the caste sentiments of territorial autonomy which then so strongly characterised rulers.

Six months after the publication of Febronius, and immediately on the fact of the book having been put on the Index becoming known, the high dignitaries of the Church took advantage of a conflict between the Suffragan Chapter of Spire and the Archbishop of Mayence, in which the former had lodged an appeal in Rome, to present to the Emperor a joint memorial inviting him to exercise his protecting powers in vindication of the liberties of the German Church from Roman encroachments, on the basis of articles embodied in the Petition of Grievances presented by the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1530. The matter, however, dropped there until 1769, when plenipotentiaries of the three Electors met at Coblenz—Honthelm, who still was Suffragan Bishop of Trèves notwithstanding the Pope, being the guiding spirit of the conference—to draw up for presentation to the Emperor an elaborate statement of the grievances of the German Church in thirty articles, which were endorsed by several leading spiritual princes of the Empire, amongst them the Prince-Bishops of Salzburg and Würzburg. These articles were so many indictments of Rome—they comprised every point of the so-called Gallican principles, and were couched in language of such sharpness against pretensions based 'on the fabrication of false decretals,' and against the 'extortions of the Roman Chancery,' as to be more like bluff utterances of the Reformation period than what could have been thought likely to come from the lips of courtly

prelates of the Catholic Church. At this time Clement XIV. had just mounted the Chair of St. Peter, and the knowledge of this Pope's reforming tendencies, with expectation of what he was likely to do, probably induced the Emperor to refrain from pushing these remonstrances. At all events, matters were allowed to remain in suspense, until fourteen years later they were blown into a flame on the occasion of what the German Metropolitans resented as a capital encroachment on their jurisdiction by the creation of a new Papal Nunciature in Munich at request of the Elector of Bavaria.

In 1777 the course of natural succession united the two Wittelsbach territories—the Palatinate and Bavaria—under the Palatine Charles Theodore, a type of all the bad qualities that can disfigure the petty tyrant; a fanatically bigoted obscurantist, grasping despot, and selfish autocrat, greedy of money and power, to whom subjects and dominions were articles meant for the mere enjoyment of his princely person in virtue of a principle of divine authority; and who doated with the fondness of superstition on the Jesuit Fathers, who had been his preceptors and connived at his despotical passions in return for his being as sovereign a ready instrument of their views. This would-be *Grand Monarque* was hurt to find that in his dominions there was not one Bishop the circumscription of whose diocese lay wholly within the Electoral territories, and who was not either himself in some portion of his see a sovereign or dependent on one or more Metropolitans who were all of sovereign rank. The difficulties of altering diocesan circumscriptions being insuperable, the Elector sought to attain his purpose of securing in ecclesiastical respects the same territorial autonomy as in secular affairs, by having a Nuncio in Munich, who as Apostolical Vicar should then become Primate in his dominions, and supersede the virtual jurisdictions of other sovereign prelates. What the powers vested in Nuncios amounted to has been much debated. It would seem there was no absolute definition, and that latitude was left to the Pope in this respect. There is, however, no disputing the fact that these representatives of the Court of Rome stood in the position to act as Legates, and that in virtue of their specific character they did claim to be not merely diplomatic representatives of the Sovereign Pontiff but to be invested with ecclesiastical faculties that signally clashed with the otherwise exclusive jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese. This antagonism had become particularly sensible at Cologne, where, notwithstanding its being the seat of a spiritual Elector, the Court of Rome maintained a Nuncio, ever since

the temporary apostasy of two Archbishops in the Reformation period had afforded a pretext for intruding the presence of its direct authority. But in addition to the ordinary powers of every Nuncio, the one at Cologne was in the enjoyment of extraordinary faculties. He was not merely *de facto* a co-Bishop with the Elector, to whom he purported to be accredited, but he was also an Apostolical Vicar governing with episcopal authority as delegate of the Pope in his capacity as Universal Bishop a large portion of North Germany, where in virtue of the Treaty of Westphalia Protestant establishments had superseded the old sees. It is, however, a point of principle with the See of Rome never to recognise the fact of sees being suppressed by any other action than its own. As dethroned princes still affect to style themselves by their titles, so Rome affects to consider such extinct sees as merely *impeded*—according to Curial terminology—by temporary obstructions preventing for a while the public display of ecclesiastical prerogatives. Therefore these regions were put by the Court of Rome into the category of Missions, until circumstances should become more favourable, whereby they were brought ecclesiastically under the Pope's direct episcopal administration, the priests as mere missionaries being absolutely dependent on the orders of their immediate superiors sent forth by a word from Rome, and liable to be recalled at another word. In consequence of the nature of this service they were almost exclusively selected from the Society of Jesus, which in so special a manner devoted itself to the propagation of Roman principles.

The delusion had been indeed entertained, when the Nuncio Bellisoni was promoted, that the Pope would recognise the expediency of not sending to Cologne a successor. The report, that not only was Monsignor Pacca on his way thither, but that an entirely new Nunciature was created, with a jurisdiction strictly coterminous with the Elector of Bavaria's dominions, and therefore invading the curiously dovetailed areas of three metropolitan provinces, kindled the resentment of these high dignitaries. A formal memorial, affirming that no Papal representative would be tolerated who should claim more than a merely diplomatic character, having been replied to by the Pope in a sharp declaration of all the ecclesiastical powers which his Nuncios were authorised to exercise, the Electors met in congress in August 1786, at Ems, and there drew up the so-called Punctations, embodying an elaborate recapitulation of points already comprised in the Coblenz Articles, with a yet clearer affirmation of German ecclesiastical autonomy.

independent of the jurisdiction claimed by Roman officials. This important document distinctly professed to state the historical rights of the German Church as a whole—of the Hierarchy and the Clergy, and not only of the Metropolitans. By a fatal error of judgment, the unfortunate result of the supercilious spirit of the times, these Metropolitans had concocted this organic document without inviting those directly interested to participate in its composition. It never occurred to them that men of the second rank in the Hierarchy could entertain a kindred jealousy of the Pope's usurpations. The Court of Rome adroitly taking advantage of this slip, applied the lever of personal interests. It insinuated to the Suffragan Bishops that the carrying into effect the Ems Punctations must entail serious additions to the power lodged with the Metropolitans, and as serious diminution of that vested in Suffragans; and as all German Metropolitans were sovereigns, and a large number of Suffragans likewise, there arose a dread amongst the latter of a loss of secular power; and with this dread the sentiment gained ground that to co-operate with the Metropolitans would be to accept subjection to a tighter thralldom than could be ever permanently imposed by a Pope residing far away in Rome. Thus did it happen that, though as a body not favourable to Roman principles, the German Bishops, from purely personal motives connected with their desire for autocratic principedoms, hung back from rallying at a critical moment round their Metropolitans, and so failed to afford the Emperor Joseph that compact support which he was only seeking, to step forward vigorously as protector of the German Church. It was another instance of the thorough disjointedness which disabled the old Empire from ever becoming an effective agent in carrying out a national undertaking.

Foiled thus in whatever expectation they might have entertained of arraying the united force of the German Hierarchy in resistance to Roman pretensions, the three Electors fell back within their territorial lines, there to warn off the Nuncio, as lords who would not tolerate trespassers on their domain. The area comprised within it was considerable. Either as Metropolitans or as Bishops (for these dignitaries were episcopal pluralists), or as Sovereigns, these three Electors wielded authority, though varied in degree, throughout the region stretching from Augsburg, inclusively, to the borders of Holland; and within this circuit they were resolved that, as far as depended on them, the Pope's emissary should exercise no power superseding their episcopal jurisdiction. When Monsignor Pacca arrived at his destination, no Elector would admit the Nuncio

to his presence unless he previously declared himself a mere diplomatic representative of the Sovereign Pontiff, which having declined to do he was obliged to be content with staying on in Cologne, without being able to establish any relations with the Metropolitans. Not improbably, the attitude of defection amongst the episcopal body encouraged the Court of Rome, for before long the Nuncio deliberately provoked the local autonomies by exercising episcopal functions, in virtue of the assumed superior ecclesiastical authority inherent in the Pope. An instruction was addressed by him to all priests in the three archiepiscopal provinces, to consider as invalid marriage dispensations which it had been customary for the Archbishops to grant, on the ground that they were within the exclusive competency of the Pope, and of those empowered by him to that purpose with such special faculties as the Nuncio claimed to hold, and in virtue whereof he proceeded to grant dispensations under the eyes of the Elector-Archbishops. This glaring pretension of the Papal delegate was met by a peremptory injunction on the part of the spiritual Electors, ordering all priests in the three archiepiscopal jurisdictions to send back to the Nuncio his instruction, and forbidding the acceptance of any bull, brief, dispensation, or document whatsoever from Rome, except through the channel of an archiepiscopal office. Moreover, a Pastoral was published wherein the Nuncio was specially designated as a disturber of peace and gibbeted as an evil-minded firebrand. By an interchange of vehemently recriminatory effusions of this kind, this wrangle between dignitaries of the Church and the Holy Father degenerated into a chronic altercation, which lasted several years without any decisive results. This halting attitude was due to the curious action of a purely political interest, quite extraneous to the point of ecclesiastical privilege at issue. That indwelling antagonism which impelled Prussia from the first to seek to supersede Austria was then concentrated in the effort to effect a political alliance of German States under the guiding influence of Frederick the Great. The Elector of Mayence stood in the very first rank of German princes, both as Primate of the Empire and by the extent of his dominions. To secure his adhesion to a Prussian confederacy was therefore a matter of signal consequence.

This task embraced a most perplexing combination of problems. It involved nothing less than inducing a number of political units each to do the very acts most diametrically opposite to their natural instincts. The Elector was to be made untrue to his cherished ambition; for to turn away from the Emperor

Joseph would be to desert the approved champion of an anti-Papal policy. To render such defection feasible it was, however, indispensable to possess the means of offering the Elector a pledge of sterling value in return. But the only pledges which, in the Elector's estimation, could be considered of such value were within the inflexible custody of Rome. For Prussia to come forward and help to coerce the Pope's hand would simply be, however, to reinforce Joseph's policy, and to swell that very Imperial power which it was Frederick's special purpose to split up. Therefore no avenue to success was open but through the seemingly hopeless chance that an heretical and upstart potentate, whose royal title the Pope steadily refused to acknowledge, should be able to coax the inflexibility of the Papacy into yielding some concession of sufficient attraction for the Elector to forsake his natural allegiance to the really anti-Papal Emperor. But even then only half the work would be achieved. It was not enough for Frederick to have drawn away from Austria the reigning Elector—a prince advanced in years; he needed to secure the reasonable prospect of a durable Prussian ascendancy in the State of Mayence, and to this end it would be requisite to insure the succession to an individual in whom the King felt confidence. That could be effected only through the canonical nomination of a coadjutor, which again could not happen without the Pope's concurrence, the difficulty in the way of obtaining which was not likely to be diminished by the fact that the person whom Frederick wished to see named was known to have made himself obnoxious to the Pope. This was Dalberg, the scion of one of the most illustrious pedigrees in the Empire, who united the natural independence of aristocratic birth with a strong propensity to liberal culture of the mind. This tangled scheme of apparently incompatible designs the diplomacy of Frederick successfully carried through; and, to set the crown on this jumble of anomalies, when the Pope's conscience made difficulties about concurring in the promotion of Dalberg on the score of his supposed latitudinarianism, the person who was sent to convince the Holy Father of his orthodoxy by the Archbishop-Elector was the historian, Johannes von Müller—a Protestant of the least dogmatic stamp. By what spell, then, was this wonderful concordance brought about? The Pope was won by an assurance that the Elector would separate himself from his comrades in the Ems Congress, and abandon the further corporate advocacy of the particular articles embodied in the Punctations. On the other hand, the Elector believed himself to have received a personal guarantee, through Prussia, that the Pope, in return

for his renunciation of overt confederacy in assertion of general episcopal independence, would abstain from further attempts to exercise in the Mayence diocese the faculties his Nuncio had sought to enforce. Events proved that there must have been some misunderstanding as to the engagements which Prussia was really authorised by either party to convey to the other. Still the fact remained, that the Pope had irrevocably sanctioned Dalberg's nomination, and had shown a conciliatory spirit of temporisation contrasting with the attitude previously taken up. The memoirs of Pacca show him to have been a shrewd observer of what was going on in Germany. We shall hardly be wrong, then, in ascribing, in part, this modification of policy to knowledge gained through the Nuncio of an existing frame of mind amongst the Catholics in Germany which prudence would counsel the Court of Rome not to provoke.

The frame of mind in question may be considered as a wave of the great tide of free thought which pervaded the eighteenth century and in some degree affected every section of its generation. It is, indeed, not unworthy of notice, how the Spiritual Electors—the princes looked upon as the special representatives of clericalism in the body politic of the German Empire—were conspicuous favourers in their court circles of that fashionable Rationalism which gave a playful tone to the contemporary culture of French society. The Elector of Mayence notably drew around him men of wit and science who certainly were not of an ecclesiastical stamp of thought. At this period the University of Mayence counted amongst its professors men of eminence, but their fame was not due to orthodox associations. In these quarters the principles of the Rights of Man were in higher favour than the doctrines of Revelation, and nowhere in Germany did the French republicans in their opening crusade meet with more welcome than from distinguished members of the Archbishop-Elector's high school. From minds so tempered no movement of serious religious reform could be anticipated any more than from the purely secular impulse, which had nerved the Spiritual Electors in their conflict with the Pope; nor shall we stay to discuss the characteristics of these men. But there was a section of society in the Roman Catholic population of Germany, which, with an unmistakable tendency towards ecclesiastical reform, yet had no desire to plunge into the open sea of Rationalism; a section that clung to the landmarks of positive faith, though quite ready to get rid of principles and practices by which the Papacy laid great store. These dispositions were not confined to laymen; they were shared by not a few of the Romish clergy, as is tes-

tified by evidence of a very conclusive character. The Elector's defection, conceived and matured in the secrecy of underground negotiations, broke up whatever elements of strength originally existed in the anti-papal combinations of the three spiritual princes and metropolitans. Staves never a whit too strong for the strain even when in a bundle, became singly quite unable to offer solid resistance against the weight of Roman pressure ; and thus disunited by mutual suspicions, the German Metropolitans stood singly exposed, without defence, against the persistent action of the Papal system. Moreover, circumstances arose which very naturally disconcerted dignitaries who besides being priests were also princes by no means indifferent to the possession of temporalities. The lurid glare of the French Revolution was reflected ominously on the horizon of these ecclesiastical regions. The sight instinctively checked the disposition of these spiritual magnates to press on in the direction of revolutionary changes, while the See of Rome persisted in its determination to assert its absolute powers.

The Nuncios accordingly again proceeded to assume all manner of authority ; and when the Elector of Mayence remonstrated on the ground of the assurance he considered himself to have received from the Pope through the medium of Prussia, the existence of any such assurance was denied. The Pope even went the length of assuming to grant, for use of the Elector of Bavaria, certain tithes in that portion of the Palatinate which lay within the Elector of Mayence's immediate jurisdiction. This proceeding so irritated the latter that he ventured on a step which if taken at a different conjuncture might have had far-reaching consequences. In virtue of his metropolitan rights the Archbishop-Elector convoked a diocesan synod. On July 18, 1788, an archiepiscopal brief called on the Ordinary of the province, the theological faculty, and all presbyteries to prepare memorials 'as to what might be advantageous for maintenance of pure faith ; the means for restoring ecclesiastical discipline . . . and in what respects the rigour of canon law might be mitigated, as well as in what manner the wants of the Lord's flock might best be met.' The assembly which was to deal with so wide a range of matter never came together, for before its appointed time the wave of French irruption was on Mayence. But the preparatory material elaborated for its consideration by those to whom the Elector had addressed his appeal is preserved. Fifty years later, a venerable survivor of the Mayence clergy, Dr. Kopp, anxious

to rescue from oblivion, in presence of the inroads made by Ultramontaniam, the record of what sincere Catholic priests had deliberately concurred in doing for the interests of the Church, printed a copious selection from these memorials.* As the eye scans the schedules of *desideranda* sent in by those who certainly did represent the ecclesiastical sentiment of a region unequivocally Roman Catholic, it is startled at the identity between the points then brought forward as calling for reform, and those dwelt upon in the debates of the Cologne Congress as lying within the pale of the Old-Catholic action. Against dogmatic matters there is not a word, even by implication, that we have been able to discover; but the points raised comprise the most characteristic practices of a system which has made the Catholic Church a Papal corporation, including the enforced obligation of vows of celibacy on priests; the need of a German liturgy; the system of indulgences; and the general abuse of the invocation of saints and the use of relics. On all these points reforms were affirmed to be imperatively demanded, with a recurrence that is conclusive as to the sentiments prevailing amongst a large section of the clergy in these Rhenish regions.

It might, however, be thought that in this region an artificial stimulant was possibly at work through the political influence of the Elector. But this manifestation of Catholic opinion in favour of reform was not singular at that period in Germany. A kindred sentiment, in almost the very same expressions, is met with in regions entirely free from the action of extraneous motives. It would certainly be impossible to pick out a locality more intimately identified with associations of Roman Catholic fanaticism than the diocese of Salzburg, the scene of that memorable expulsion of humble Protestants from their mountain homes which equalled in cruelty the ruthless persecutions of Louis XIV. If ever there was a spot that would seem set apart for the vegetation of undiluted Romish sentiment it should be a region like Salzburg in the heart of Catholic Germany, with a population notoriously prone to superstition and fanaticism, and under the sway of an ecclesiastical government. Nevertheless in this secluded quarter we meet with a Prince-Bishop, distinguished for piety, alive indeed to his indisputable rights, but not actuated by worldly ambition, a man of high birth, who

* The title of this volume, now out of print, is 'Die Katholische Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhunderte und die zeitgemässe Umgestaltung ihrer äusseren Verfassung, herausgegeben von G. Kopp. Mainz, 1830.'

did not deem a pedigree the all-sufficient qualification for a sacred office. This prelate, a conscientious shepherd of his flock, steadily directed his influence towards promoting reforms in the practices of his Church analogous to those demanded by the Mayence memorialists. It is indeed a curious page of ecclesiastical history which lies hidden away from general sight within the unostentatious administration of Count Jerome Joseph Colloredo, the first amongst Roman Catholic Bishops in Germany who did not think a man necessarily unfit for the priesthood because he had listened to lectures in some school less strictly denominational than a seminary. On succeeding, in 1772, to the See of Salzburg, he lost no time in sanctioning the publication of a German version of the New Testament and a German hymn-book, the use of the latter of which he subsequently enjoined on his diocese. But the most characteristic memorial of the Archbishop's cast of mind is furnished in a Pastoral issued in 1782, on occasion of the twelfth centenary of the diocese, which Professor Schmid calls 'the finest ecclesiastical document of the period.' In this remarkable address, breathing throughout the genial tone of unaffected piety, the clergy are told that neither pomp, nor display, nor mere practice constitute the essentials of religion. They are directed to set above observances the duty of serious teaching; remembering 'to leave out from the topics of public instruction matters incapable of strict demonstration, inasmuch as the thoughtful Christian has a right to demand evidences and persuasion.' To this end the Archbishop admonishes his clergy to read frequently the Scriptures to their congregations, as more calculated to impart instruction than sermons concerning indulgences and saintly mediation, 'which are productive of serious mental dissatisfaction to enlightened lovers of religion.' What was inculcated in this memorable charge on the Roman Catholic priesthood of the most Roman Catholic diocese in Germany was the paramount value of charity and forbearance, and the duty of 'tolerance towards brethren who may think differently on this or that point of faith.' It is the accent of what in our day is called Broad-Church sentiment which runs throughout the Pastoral of this Bishop of unimpeached character and exclusively Roman Catholic surroundings, and the interest of the phenomenon is heightened by the fact that this tone is not an isolated sound.

In another emphatically Catholic region under the administration of a Prince-Bishop equally distinguished for devotion to his religious duties, there prevailed a kindred disposition to consider the profession of Catholic doctrine consistent with a

vigorous exercise of mind, and the observance of orthodox worship with much modification of established practices. The See of Würzburg was long a special stronghold of the Society of Jesus, which had succeeded in monopolising the intellectual teaching in this diocese as thoroughly as it controlled the Ingolstadt University. Against this system a current of suppressed dissatisfaction manifested itself, which became declared on the elevation to the see of a prelate who happened to be himself no friend to the peculiar method of instruction favoured by the Jesuits. This prelate was Francis von Erthal, brother to the Elector of Mayence, but in essential respects a very different individual. The Elector was more of a man of the world, a prince, and a sensualist than a priest. Political ambition appealed to him more keenly than religious considerations, and when he gathered around him in his capital men of parts, he selected them rather for talent than for moral worth. His brother, on the contrary, was a thorough Churchman, who attended to visitations and similar duties most punctually, and took no interest in the political schemes which occupied his aspiring brother's brain. The good of his flock absorbed the Bishop, and from the first he strove to promote a solid system of popular schools rather than to foster a spurious distinction by attracting, like the showy Elector, a circle of brilliant wits and unclerical thinkers. Whatever was done at Würzburg for enlightenment proceeded from the impulse of a trustful and religious nature working in thorough good faith. 'I declare,' wrote the Bishop, 'that I shall ever be a promoter of true and expedient enlightenment, being thoroughly convinced of its advantageousness, when a really sound religious instruction and moral practice are conjoined with the same.' He discountenanced and even proscribed the sentimental practice of pilgrimages and visits to miraculous shrines; yet he rigidly proclaimed the distinctive dogmas of his Church, though advocating forbearance towards Protestants. 'If I intend setting my face against the mania of calling people heretics,' are his words, 'I mean, however, just as little to let the distinctive truths of religion be impugned, deformed, undermined, and reasoned away through presumptuous and crooked expositions.' The range of free discussion which the Bishop allowed in his dominions was very great. Although the University was to him a matter of secondary importance, it became a school at which a number of professors taught whose lectures and writings gave much offence to the Jesuits, but who, in contradistinction to many occupants of chairs at Mayence, vehemently professed themselves

active members of the Church, many of them being in priests' orders, and who maintained, like our *Essayists and Reviewers*, that their tone of criticism was thoroughly in unison with the true interests of religion. These Würzburg theologians, men of earnest mind, whatever may be thought of their scientific power, addressed their contemporaries through a literary organ of their foundation, 'Die Würzburger Gelehrten Anzeiger,' which, though now forgotten, deserves to be looked at by whoever wishes to gauge the spirit and the degree of criticism to which a school of Catholic divines ventured to push speculation in the last century, under the tacit sanction of an irreproachable prelate. The free criticism of this school was, however, little to the taste of the rural clergy, which had been mostly trained in Jesuit establishments. At least it would not appear that any serious progress was made in rendering these views generally popular, for when the French invasion overthrew here as elsewhere the established order of things, we fail to hear of any decided manifestations amongst the local clergy in the sense of broader Church views. When Würzburg passed into the hands of an Austrian Archduke, in 1805, all liberal movement of religious thought became extinguished, the university was remodelled, and the leaden weight of Jesuit teaching was re-imposed on mind. It is deserving of note, however, that Bishop Erthal never, like many sovereigns, allowed himself to be turned from his purpose by alarm at the course taken by the French Revolution. He had adopted his line from conviction, and that line he saw no reason to swerve from on account of the extravagant perversions prevalent in some quarters. In 1792, when already the French Revolution was a subject of terror, the Bishop, in a remarkable instruction to his ministers, pointed out the unwisdom of some governments in 'absolutely prohibiting philosophy and enlightenment,' because from the 'misapplication of the same in a neighbouring country and the overthrow of the constitution,' it had been inferred that the study itself must be put under a ban.

There can be little doubt that the wild tide of French convulsion, which proved fatal to much goodly seed, affected injuriously the just quickening germs of an indigenous movement amongst Catholics in Germany for relaxation from the stringent ecclesiastical dependence on Rome to which their Church had been reduced. For twenty years men's minds remained wholly absorbed in the stirring incidents of secular politics. Not until the smoke of incessant warfare began to clear away, could the intrinsic bearings of ecclesiastical matters

on the welfare of a nation attract public attention. It is true that even during the iron period of Napoleonic spoliation all was not absolute silence. One man at least occupied a conspicuous position, though his authority in many respects was small, who had formed to himself a tolerably clear conception of practical reforms in the constitution of the German Church. That man was Dalberg, who, on the secularisation of ecclesiastical principalities in 1803, had been transferred from Mayence with the Pope's sanction to Ratisbon, the only archiepiscopal see left in Germany, and who then was invested with the title of Primate, as far as such a title could be given by secular powers in the first instance—that is by a vote of the Imperial Diet, subsequently confirmed by the great autocrat of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon. This is not the place to discuss the career of Dalberg. Possessed of fine intellectual sympathies and sincere religious feelings, Dalberg was yet unfitted for the rough and resolute requirements of a stormy period by the delicate texture of his facile nature. The vacillations of an amiable mind made him perpetually inconsistent and feeble in action, exposing a really conscientious and well-meaning man to the unjust imputation of unpatriotic servility for the ends of personal advantage. Goethe aptly defined Dalberg as 'a man who brought out of himself wholly foreign results.' All his errors in life were due to weakness of purpose, to the absence of any masterful sinews in a very impressionable temperament. His intentions were good, sincere, and intelligent; but living in stern times, and being specially thrown into contact with the granite nature of Napoleon, Dalberg found himself involved in turbulent situations, to grapple with which adequately was above the vigour of his sensitive nature, so that he drifted like a victim who is sucked in by the eddies of a whirlpool. Nevertheless, on one point Dalberg throughout maintained a consistent language. His earnest desire was to secure for the German hierarchy, under a real Primate, a practically independent organisation in matters of discipline, through the instrumentality of a Concordat on the model of the French one, which should prove a solemn guarantee for ecclesiastical liberties. The German Bishops would thus not be mere papal lieutenants, and the ecclesiastical life of the German Catholics could assert itself in national synodical assemblies. It is characteristic of Dalberg that he should have flattered himself with the hope of being able to effect such organic changes through the means at his disposal. Napoleon never intended that vassal Germany should acquire the independent privileges implied in the subscription of the Pope to

an organic charter, while it was hopeless to assume that the Pope would ever make the contemplated concession except under stringent coercion. Still it deserves to be noted, that Dalberg's views became matter of public discussion; and the reader will find in Dr. Mejer's volume the analysis of some remarkable articles in an ecclesiastical periodical of that period — '*Das Archiv für das Katholische Kirchenwesen*,' which was edited by the Mayence theologian Dr. Kopp.

There was, however, another individual less conspicuous than Dalberg, who, as a representative of purely ecclesiastical impulse, demands attention. This was Baron Wessenberg, Dalberg's Vicar-General in the See of Constance (which the latter held together with other preferments); like him the scion of an ancient family, but unlike him without showy qualities to strike the eye and little prone to be swayed to and fro between alternate fits of elation and depression. There was nothing original or inventive about Wessenberg's nature; and the fact conduces to render him, as an ecclesiastical reformer, the more typical of a pervading sentiment. The liberal tinge of his opinions can be clearly traced to his surroundings, and particularly to the Würzburg University, where he studied. As a man, his most distinctive quality was placid and unostentatious devotion to duty, and quiet persistence in affirming an opinion when deliberately formed. Throughout life Wessenberg bore himself more calmly and steadily than Dalberg, but then it must be remembered his career ran in lines beset with far less bewildering issues. It is not, however, with the man as a luminary of thought that we are here interested, but with the Roman Catholic priest of unimpeached character, who consistently and publicly advocated the necessity for surrounding the Church in Germany with organic guarantees for protection against the encroaching action of the Court of Rome.

Wessenberg administered the See of Constance in that tolerant and enlightened spirit of the Würzburg school which rated more highly the essential doctrines of the Gospel than the observances devised by the elaborate ingenuity of the Jesuit Fathers. Such action naturally was little to the taste of Rome; and when the framework of Napoleon's power began to break down, the feeble Dalberg yielded so far to the representations of the Nuncio in Lucerne as to suspend Wessenberg's powers as Vicar-General in the portion of the diocese within Swiss confines. It is illustrative of Wessenberg's unselfish temperament that he bore no grudge at a proceeding the painfulness of which was aggravated by the secrecy wherewith

it had been matured.* When in the following year, worn with age and sickness of body and disappointed hopes, the Prince-Primate called on his old friend Wessenberg to go to Vienna, and urge the forlorn position of the German Church on the ministers assembled in Congress, the latter accepted the task and fulfilled it with exemplary zeal. Points of vital importance were hanging in the balance, for a spirit of passionate reaction was abroad; and Consalvi, supported by an influential knot of German Neo-Catholics, was strenuously pressing for an absolute restoration of the pre-revolutionary condition of the Church. It was Wessenberg's special aim to convince German statesmen of the necessity for surrounding the Church establishment with the bulwarks of a national organisation, through the guarantee of articles embodied in the fundamental charter of the nation—the Act of Confederation. We must here again, as so often before, refer the reader to the volumes of Mejer and Schmid for the elaborate memorials in which Wessenberg sought to establish the paramount necessity for such safeguards. The pith of his argumentation is that, to deal with Rome effectively, it will be indispensable to be armed with the authority and weight of Germany as an unity; that the fundamental condition for good ecclesiastical organisation must be such a position for the Episcopate as may enable it, by combination within itself, to withstand the encroachments of the Roman Court; and that the solidity of such an organisation demands a hierarchical constitution culminating in a German Primate. But above all, Wessenberg insisted that whatever arrangements were concluded should be *national*, affecting the Confederation generally, and thus enjoying the protection of its corporate guarantee against the grinding process to which he felt German Bishops must become helplessly exposed if left isolated, with no stronger protection than could be furnished singly by the princes in whose territories their sees might happen to lie.

Against this national State protection a coalition was at work between the religious fanaticism of influential men like Schlegel and Schlosser, Pilat and Bartholdy, and the personal ambition of German princes for absolute sovereignty in their dominions. The same exclusive passion for personal autonomy, with absolute disregard for general interests, which on a former occasion led the Bishops not to make common cause with their

* 'Well meaning as Dalberg was,' writes Wessenberg, 'he wished to be just to all, and so was just to none; wished to satisfy all, and so satisfied none, because he involved himself in inconsistencies which it was beyond his power to reconcile.'

Metropolitans, lest they should aid the creation of an authority that might curtail some of their individual powers, again baffled Wessenberg's patriotic designs. An article had been drafted and accepted by Austria and Prussia, which, though in diluted terms, would have secured the constitution of the Catholic Church as a part of the Federal Charter, when Bavaria, at the last moment, vetoed its insertion. 'Bavaria is big enough,' wrote the Bavarian Minister, Zentner, to Wessenberg, 'to have her own corporate Church establishment;' words expressing the ambition which animated all German sovereigns at that epoch. But though foiled in his efforts, Wessenberg did not succumb tamely. On Dalberg's decease, in 1817, the Constance Chapter unanimously elected him as Administrator and Bishop-designate (he had before already been appointed Coadjutor according to the canonical forms); a convincing testimony to the degree in which he had secured the respect of the diocese he had so long administered. A Papal brief instantly censured the choice—*ob gravissimas causas*—and enjoined a new election, which the Chapter declined to proceed to, and this refusal met with the approval of the State. And now a remarkable conflict ensued. A formal complaint having been lodged by a special Nuncio with the Grand Duke, 'against the heresies, evil carriage, and audacious attempts' of Wessenberg, the latter, with characteristic candour of mind, proceeded of himself to Rome to rebut the charges. Consalvi received him, and intimated that of course he was come to submit himself humbly before the Pope; and as Wessenberg averred that, on the contrary, he was come to confute his detractors, he was never admitted to the Pope's presence. After a vain stay of several months in Rome Wessenberg returned home, where for awhile the Government appeared disposed to support him stoutly as Administrator of the diocese of Constance. But the pervading spirit of retrograde influences asserted itself ultimately, and made the Grand Duke seek an understanding with Rome. It was arranged that the See of Constance should be suppressed and an Archbishopric be established in Freiburg. It is a further proof of Wessenberg's popularity, that known as he now was as an individual ostracised by Rome, he should yet have been again almost unanimously recommended for nomination by the ecclesiastical electoral body of the new diocese. But the Government now intimated to Wessenberg that a sense of what was due to the public peace ought to make him voluntarily decline the proffered election; and this he did. On the ultimate appointment of an Archbishop in 1827 he issued a Pastoral to the diocese of Constance, notifying its canonical

suppression, and taking farewell of the clergy he had for many years presided over, he retired into private life. But the influence of his personal example could be traced in the region of his action for some considerable time, and the ecclesiastical authority of the Freiburg See was systematically directed to hunt out the lurking vestiges of a Wessenberg school. Had the secular conditions of the time been more favourable, it would seem that under the influence of Wessenberg, in this corner of Germany, a Catholic Church establishment might have taken root and flourished in organic freedom from the thralldom of Roman dependence.

We know the spirit in which Bavaria had checked the proposals advocated by Wessenberg. The position assumed by this State as the leading Catholic Government in Germany makes it essential to consider its action, particularly as to the Concordat concluded with Rome, to which reference has been plentifully made during the recent conflicts that have arisen between the Episcopate and the civil power out of the promulgation of the Vatican decrees. At the period of the Vienna Congress this arch-Catholic country had been for years under the rule of a strong anti-ecclesiastical administration. On the demise of Charles Theodore, the succession had again passed to a collateral member of the house of Wittelsbach—the Prince of Deux Ponts, a semi-Frenchman domiciled in Strasburg, who had imbibed the ideas of Versailles, and brought to Munich as Minister Count Montgelas, a thorough Frenchman by descent and education, an Encyclopædist in principles, who entertained undiagnosed contempt for the Church, and knew no greater pleasure than to bully and worry the priesthood. Napoleon was his idol and his model. Montgelas made it a point to show cynical disdain for a people capable of attachment to its Church, and proceeded in the most reckless manner to administer the country in what he considered the spirit of enlightenment. Not only did he at one sweep suppress monastic institutions, but he arrogated to the civil authority the most vexatious rights of interference in strictly ecclesiastical concerns, even to the extent of prescribing the number of lights to be displayed before a shrine, and the time and place for exposition of the Host. At no time and in no country, where the Catholic faith was still professed as the State religion, were the ministers of the Church subjected to such systematically imperious and disdainful treatment as in Bavaria during the days of Montgelas. Joseph II. never was guilty of a tithe of what this arbitrary Minister did under the shadow of the

French Empire; and the consciences of liberal Catholics—and there were not a few in Bavaria by no means disposed to confound Rome and Catholicism—were shocked at his wanton proceedings. The love of power and independence has at all times been strong in the Bavarian Government, and notwithstanding the fanaticism which has characterised some of its rulers, they always tempered religious devotion with a strong dash of despotic sentiment, and at no time rendered themselves so subordinate to the instincts of the Church as to relax their supremacy over the ecclesiastical agencies with which they liked to surround themselves as political forces. The right of the *Placet* and of appeal to secular courts from episcopal jurisdiction were recognised customs in Bavaria, to which the Church had accommodated itself quietly long before the Montgelas reign. Had this minister merely confined himself to a stringent exercise of such powers, his administration would not have been the failure it proved. But such was the spiritual destitution to which the Church was reduced under him—not more than two Sees remaining filled in 1815—that with the genuinely Catholic feeling of the population the ground was prepared for a reaction in sympathy with the strong manifestation of ardent Catholic sentiment exhibited in many quarters. Count Montgelas was dismissed in 1817, and the King at once opened with Rome negotiations for a Concordat, which were marked by curious and some not very creditable incidents. The Bavarian plenipotentiary was Häffelin, a Bishop *in partibus* subsequently made Cardinal, who in three months transmitted to Munich for ratification an instrument which he had concluded with Consalvi. Well disposed as Montgelas's successors were towards the Court of Rome, they yet shrank from accepting a Concordat which stipulated unrestricted freedom of communication between the clergy and the Vatican, and affirmed the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church 'with all the rights and privileges accruing to it in virtue of canon law.' Rome, however, refused any essential modifications. It felt its strength in the Conservative reaction, and in the growing embarrassment of the Bavarian Government at the impending death of the surviving Bishops. Consalvi, however, offered one concession, the attractiveness of which the crafty Italian duly estimated. He would not give way a jot in the articles asserting the indelible rights of the Church, but he consented by Papal indulgence to endow the Crown with the right to nominate for Papal confirmation to all Sees and to a considerable number of Church preferments. For this bribe of

patronage the King consented to subscribe an instrument which would have made of the Bavarian Executive an agent of the extremest pretensions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.*

The Pope now promulgated the Concordat; but the King of Bavaria, though he had subscribed the document without reserve, becoming alarmed at the public censure of this ecclesiastical instrument, had recourse to a subterfuge. He postponed the promulgation of the Concordat till after that of the Constitution, so as to give the former the appearance of being limited by the superior authority of the latter, and contingent in its application on the guarantees for toleration and the principles of State autonomy recorded in the fundamental charter, and solemnly reaffirmed in a simultaneous Royal Edict regulating and guaranteeing the liberties of Protestant congregations. This was a transparent attempt to play off on the Court of Rome the device invented by Napoleon, when he tacked the *Articles organiques* on to the Concordat as the authoritative gloss on its text. The bad faith of the proceeding was enhanced by the omission of any previous intimation to the Pope, who, on notification of the King's having ratified the Concordat, had at once despatched to Munich a Nuncio and confirmed the Royal nominees to the vacant Sees. It can therefore be no matter of wonder that Rome, which had done its part, should have seriously resented this proceeding. The Nuncio issued a declaration that Catholics could not in conscience take an oath to the Constitution as explained by the Royal Edict concerning religious matters; and thus a state of conflict ensued which lasted for some years, when it was brought to a termination by a compromise. The Concordat was reaffirmed to be a generally binding instrument on the Bavarian Government, while a Royal Rescript declared that the *Edict of Religion* was intended to affect Catholics only in relation to matters of a civil nature. The Concordat with its mediæval articles has continued to figure as the instrument regulating the relations between Church and State, but under the limitations of an Edict which virtually nullifies its authority; so that notwithstanding the freedom of communication between the clergy and Rome guaranteed in the Concordat, the rights of the Crown to subject all Episcopal promulgations, and all Papal missives to its previous *Placet*, and the supremacy of

* Not only did this Concordat provide in general terms for the assertion of Roman principles, but stipulated in special articles for the co-operation of the State in prohibiting the sale of any publication censured by the Church.

civil jurisdiction over all clerical authorities, have been vigilantly maintained and exercised. It is true that in the reign of King Louis I., under the administration of the minister Abel, the doctrines of the Ultramontane school did for a period prevail. But that was a merely passing phase in Bavarian politics. That same sentiment of State rights as against the pretensions of an organised priesthood, wielding the powerful weapons of canon law in the plenitude of ecclesiastical independence, which induced King Max to refrain from putting in force, according to the real sense of its articles, the Concordat he himself had concluded, has at all times proved strong in the minds of all but the least educated class in Bavaria—the peasantry; and Bavarian statesmen, who distinguished themselves by vigilantly keeping in check any manifestations of priestly encroachments on the domain of state authority, have always been able to rely on the sympathy of large and intelligent sections of a population which, however Catholic in religious feeling, is animated with a just pride in what is due to the autonomy of the kingdom. We have dwelt at length on the circumstances that marked the negotiations of the Bavarian Concordat; for in considering the relative position of State and Church in the conflict now pending, it seems to us of importance to understand to what degree, even in the most Catholic State of Germany, the traditions of Civil Supremacy over Ecclesiastical authority have been practically upheld by the State and tacitly acquiesced in by the Hierarchy.

At this period there existed in Bavaria a man venerable in character and thoroughly estimable in all the relations of life—insensible to ambition, but on whom, notwithstanding his retiring disposition, ecclesiastical honours were forced—who exercised such vivifying influence on those who more immediately came into contact with him that it would be a capital omission not to notice his action as a notable quickener of religious sentiment in Catholic Germany. This was John Michael Sailer, by Dr. Schmid emphatically proclaimed to have been ‘the finest and noblest phenomenon of the period.’ His was, indeed, one of those kindly natures endowed with the faculty of exercising an ineffable spell in personal intercourse, the force of which cannot be adequately gathered out of the dry bones of literary remains. If we looked to Sailer’s writings alone, we should be perplexed to account for the vivid influence he certainly exercised in his day. They seem to us not to rise above the average merit of plain manuals of devotion. The testimony

of contemporaries is, however, conclusive as to the charm and attraction in Sailer's spoken words, and to the singularly consoling effect wrought on troubled souls by the soothing influence of his eminently placid and cheerful spirit. This quality it was which invested Sailer with the position of the leader of a school. Born in the middle of the eighteenth century, in the diocese of Augsburg, of very humble parents, the incidents of early life were all calculated to instil into the lad a strong bias in favour of Jesuit doctrine, and a superstitious estimate of the value of ritual observances. If he nevertheless struck into other lines, this must have been due to spontaneous conviction. From the Jesuit College, where he spent his novitiate, Sailer proceeded, on the suppression of the Order, to occupy Chairs of Theology, first at Ingolstadt, and then in the Augsburg Diocesan High School at Dillingen till, in 1794, he was suspended on suspicion of being infected with the principles of the Society of the Illuminati, at that time the object of much attention in these parts of Germany. The Elector of Bavaria, however, named him Professor in his State University of Landshut, and here for twenty-one years Sailer taught, acquiring the reputation of one of the most renowned masters in Catholic Germany. With characteristic indifference to worldly advancement, Sailer declined flattering calls to the most distinguished universities, preferring an obscure Chair in his native district, and in 1818 he even refused to entertain the offer of the Prussian Government to present his name to the Pope for confirmation as Archbishop of Cologne. The Court of Rome had previously taken exception to his being made Bishop of Augsburg by the King of Bavaria. It was, however, deemed advisable in Rome not to insist on his exclusion from ecclesiastical preferment. Sailer was admitted by the Pope to the Coadjutorship of Ratisbon, and eventually, when already seventy-eight years of age, he was, without his seeking, elevated to that See, which he lived to preside over for several years.

In what, then, consisted the special point of Sailer's teaching—the distinguishing feature of his religious influence over contemporaries? We believe these are to be found in the circumstance of his eminently practical devotion—in a nature thoroughly imbued with the essence of faith in the positive articles of Christian belief. It is the trustful recognition of positive Christianity, stripped of all exaggeration, which invested Sailer with such vivid influence. His nature was, so to say, imbued with an evangelical fluid, and he acted

upon his generation as the conductor of a vivifying essence resembling, though with many differences between the action of the two men, the fervour which inspired Wesley to quicken the religious sentiment of England in his day. Sailer never, like Wesley, formed a congregation of his own, but he did stand in an interesting and not unsympathetic relation to a curious religious movement, partaking in some sense of a revivalist character, which was specially participated in by Roman Catholic priests in the diocese of Augsburg. The distinguishing views which possessed these men were an almost Protestant fervour of faith in Christ's grace—a more or less ascetic disposition to mystic absorption in the contemplation of the ineffable mysteries involved in the doctrine of Christ's divine intervention. These too had been the doctrines of the Quietists and of Fénelon.

The movement spread with that kind of contagion which seems peculiar to religious currents, for we hear of not fewer than sixty priests in the Augsburg diocese who were identified with it. The most conspicuous individual in the number was Martin Boos, of whom it is necessary to say a few words. He too was a native of the neighbourhood of Augsburg. He entered the Church at an early age, but with a mind distracted by doubts which he in vain sought to stifle by stringent observances. No penance, however painful, allayed his internal qualms, until, through words dropped from the lips of an aged woman whom he was attending on a sick bed, Boos was accidentally led to understand the edification to be derived from the doctrine of Free Grace. 'Christ with us and in us' became now the watchword of his soul, and the young priest began to preach this doctrine in various country localities with a fervour that is affirmed to have been electrifying. A movement set in which in several respects had some almost spasmodic symptoms about it. It spread through villages and affected whole parishes. There can be no denying that Boos and his followers in several points manifested a religious temperament, which in its ascetic insistence on the workings of Christ's grace, had a more Protestant than Catholic hue; yet it deserves attention that with two exceptions none of the priests who entered into this movement were carried away into renunciation of the Church. They sincerely professed Catholicism, and steadfastly continued to abide within the pale of its membership, notwithstanding the decidedly evangelical tinge in their religious enthusiasm and in the fervent prayer meetings which they specially indulged in. But these religious quickenings were

not confined to the individual impulse of Boos. They arose simultaneously in various parts of Southern Bavaria, and particularly prevailed amongst the intensely Catholic population of the mountain district around Kempten. Here Boos officiated and preached with extraordinary effect until his ecclesiastical superiors interfered. It is, however, characteristic of the period, of the movement, and of the man, that though the object of ecclesiastical prosecution, and obliged to give up his cure of souls, Boos continued to enjoy the countenance of highly revered ecclesiastics, and even the protection of some prelates. For a time Bishop Gall gave him an asylum in Austria, and when the persecutions were renewed in 1811, Sailer came forward with testimony to his orthodoxy. It is this relation to the most noted representative of a movement strictly theological in character, and akin to Methodism in its tendency to concentrate religious life and practice within the essence of inward edification, which makes the attitude of Sailer, as a Catholic divine and prelate, very remarkable. The two men had known each other at the University, but they had afterwards been separated; and there is nothing to warrant the belief that Sailer's influence had ought to do with Boos's religious inspiration. There seems to have been absolutely no intercourse between the two for many years. But in 1811, when Boos was exposed to ecclesiastical process from the Archbishop of Vienna, Sailer wrote a long letter in his defence to the canon entrusted with drawing up the indictment, in which occur these characteristic words:—

‘Boos is a Catholic Christian in faith. What to the mechanical Christian is a dead-letter—to the scholastic one a mere conception—that to him is spiritual life; his whole being is Catholic spiritually, for he grasps and judges all the doctrines of the Catholic Church from the standpoint of the soul, of inner life, of inwardness, of divine grace. On this account the scholastic school charges him with heresy, and the literalness of mechanical Christianity is afraid of him. . . . I would rather die than condemn, on account of some expressions which manifestly admit of an orthodox meaning, and to which he does not obstinately adhere, a man who has such distinguished powers of mind, whom God directs so wondrously, who quickens thousands to penance, to belief, to holiness, who in prayer and humbleness, in persecution and in sufferings, has proved a faithful servant of Christ, and whose shoelatchet the wisest and bettermost men of the day do not deem themselves worthy to unloose. I enter this day my sixtieth year, and I should tremble to appear before God's judgment-seat if, before death, I did not loudly affirm the great business of the devout Boos to be of God.’

Three years later Sailer offered Boos a domicile, declaring

it to be an honour 'to receive in his hut so tried a priest.' It should be remembered that this happened about the time when Sailer received an offer of being proposed for the See of Cologne, and that subsequently the Court of Rome did not venture to persist on his exclusion from the Episcopate, in order to understand the full influence of his position, as well as the testimony borne by this fact to the extent of a liberal religious current in Catholic sections which the Roman Hierarchy saw the expediency of treating tenderly, notwithstanding its vehement desire to stifle such a manifestation.

It is not necessary to follow the expiring fortunes of this curious revivalist movement, which was gradually crushed out under the pressure of Ultramontane influences in high places. But we would say a few words about another school, also of South German origin—a school more connected with the scientific than the practical forms of Christian doctrine, but which for that very reason forms a counterpart to the one we have been considering, and completes by its high intellectual element the value of the reforming forces residing in the two movements when taken together. This school was composed of Roman Catholic theologians imbued with a lively attachment to their Church, but also impregnated with the earnest love for strict scientific definitions that characterises German intellect, and who applied themselves to vindicate the dogmas of their faith by methods of close reasoning. They were actuated with a conviction that the Church could maintain its hold over minds only if its theology were brought into unison with the exigencies of science, and to this purpose they devoted themselves with remarkable earnestness of effort. It was in the Universities of Freiburg and of Tübingen that this school had its special seats, from which it strove to influence the Catholic world more particularly through the medium of a publication which survives to the present day. This was the 'Tübingen Theological Quarterly Review,' avowedly edited by the members of the Roman Catholic Faculty of Theology, whose names, in confirmation of the fact, appear on the title-page. The immediate purpose for which this publication was started was to establish an authoritative organ for Catholic views in distinction from those advocated by the Ultramontane doctrines of the De Maistre school, which were strenuously taken up by some German prelates. In Dr. Schmid's volume will be found an instructive analysis of various papers by eminent Catholic theologians in the Tübingen Periodical. In an opening number, as if to define its standpoint, there appeared an incisive criticism of De Maistre's

well-known book on the Pope, from which it will not be inappropriate to quote one passage, for it is conclusive as to the opinions then publicly professed by conspicuous Catholic divines in regard to the point constituting the cardinal article of the Old-Catholic profession of faith. 'When the author (De Maistre) affirms all Catholic writers worthy of the name to agree that the government of the Church is a monarchy,' the 'Tübingen Quarterly' declares that 'he merely records his ignorance of Catholic literature;' and proceeds then to give the definition of Catholic doctrine on that head. 'Catholic writers really worthy of that name argue in the following manner as to the highest tribunal in the Church: that highest tribunal—from which there can be no appeal—which judges and cannot be judged—can only be that one to which Jesus promised His especial aid, and which therefore is infallible. That sublime prerogative of immunity from error, by the teaching of the Catholic Church, was not promised and granted to the Pope, but to the whole body of the Church's pastors as ordained by the Holy Ghost. Consequently every Catholic has the right of appeal from every tribunal not invested with this prerogative, to that higher one on which he trusts for what is dearest to himself—his convictions.' Such was the doctrine in regard to Infallibility which the Faculty of Roman Catholic Theology at Tübingen then had no hesitation in affirming, and for which Rome at that time never ventured to censure its members.

There is, however, another essay in this periodical, from the pen of that eminent divine Dr. Hirscher,* on the relations in which the Church has stood towards the real purpose of Christianity, to which we would draw particular attention; for it is a programme of reforms, and one which, read in the light of what has since happened, is invested with prophetic interest. Dr. Hirscher did not hesitate to declare, that in various respects the Church had not so constituted herself as to fulfil the purposes of Christian doctrine; and with a distinctness that disdained equivocation, he enumerated the points on which, in his opinion, reforms were urgently needed. It is unfortunately quite impossible

* Hirscher was not merely a speculative theologian but an officiating priest, who had practical experience in active life of the working of the ecclesiastical system. Born in 1788, he had received his education at Constance and Freiburg. He officiated as parish priest until his nomination to a Chair at Tübingen. In 1840 he was made member of the Freiburg Chapter, and 1850 Dean, which dignity he continued to hold until his death at Freiburg in 1865.

to give here an adequate analysis of this most remarkable review by a thoughtful Catholic of the state of his Church; but it is essential to note the chief points in this disquisition. Dr. Hirscher's first allegation is, that the Church has had a tendency to supersede Holy Scripture by ecclesiastical formulas and symbols. Hence has arisen a disposition to attach undue value to a ritualism that strikes the imagination, and to observances which appeal to the senses. The rigid attachment to particular forms of worship is earnestly warned against as a deadening element. 'If the Church will for all futurity hold fast to specific forms of worship exactly as they were invented to suit a bygone age, without adapting them to a change wrought in æsthetic sentiment, then she will first, through such immobility offend the cultivated classes, and subsequently the taste of the multitude, which will extend to that which is holiest its dislike for the form of worship.' Amongst the points Dr. Hirscher marks out for such revision, are disciplinary ordinances; it being an essential element in the virtue of abstinence that it should be voluntary. The Church can enjoin celibacy but cannot insure chastity by its decree. The manner in which absolutions are habitually granted, is also the abuse of a practice originally introduced into the Church in a different sense. It is therefore necessary to return to a greater use of Scripture, especially of the New Testament. In regard to modifications in Ritual, the point of capital importance is, that the people should be in a position really to understand the service, and to that end it is indispensable that it should be held in the vernacular tongue. Nor can disciplinary ordinances be effective until territorial and diocesan synods, in which both clergy and laity are represented, shall be invested with the power of framing them. The Church should avoid seeking to conform tamely to the forms of the State, the two being distinct in essence, and therefore having to develop separately, although not by nature antagonistic. In the same manner it is quite possible to entertain peaceful relations between different religious communities without abandoning any fundamental articles of belief. But if the Church is to prove a living vehicle of religious edification it is absolutely indispensable that she should within herself become the effective representative of an active and a genuine spirit of Christian life. 'No authority, secular or spiritual, however exalted and however well disposed, will be capable of imparting genuine prosperity to the Church, unless the clergy be apt and willing. . . . Therefore the recovery of

‘ a really excellent parochial clergy is and remains the essential condition for the true prosperity of the Church.’

Let the reader compare this thoughtful and elaborate essay—the production of an irreproachable priest and a churchman imbued with a lively attachment to his Church—first with the ecclesiastical memorials prepared against the intended Diocesan Synod of Mayence, and then with the points of ecclesiastical organisation dwelt on by authoritative Old-Catholics, and he cannot fail to acknowledge a marked continuity of intention and of character between all these manifestations, nor fail to recognise that they are all three spontaneous growths of the same seed, with only such differences as are due to the varieties of soil through which they have sprung forth. There are differences in the sound of the voice, but the speech is substantially the same. There are differences in the tone of utterance, but they are clearly such as are due to altered conditions of time and occasion. Between the three manifestations there exists a typical similarity in the firm determination to keep within the landmarks of positive Catholic teaching, to avoid the unenclosed fields of undogmatic thought, and in the significant fact that each movement sprang up in a corporate shape, and cannot be identified with any particular and determining personal influence. It is no more possible to identify the reforming tendencies embodied in the memorials for the Mayence Diocesan Synod, or the spirit of the ‘Tübingen Quarterly’ with the inspiration of any one individual, than it would be to attribute to Dr. Dollinger’s individual action, notwithstanding his high position, the tendencies and the spirit represented by those who came together in the Cologne Congress. In the nature of these movements, in the manner in which they have sprung up successively as occasion favoured them, lies, if anywhere, the indication that there is at work some process at once spontaneous and organic.

Unduly long as we have been, this point is so important that in conclusion we must refer to a most interesting kindred movement, which was precisely marked with this peculiar absence of striking individual agencies. Silesia was the first province with a Catholic population acquired by the Prussian Crown. The Jesuits had long prevailed here and reduced the Protestants to a miserable plight; nevertheless there lurked a sentiment of higher religious zeal, and under the administration of the Prince-Bishop Hohenlohe in the first twenty years of this century, a healthy activity began to manifest itself amongst the clergy. His successor, Schimonsky, was however of a reactionary type, who did not

look favourably on the efforts his predecessor had encouraged for making the Church more efficient in the rural districts. In November 1826 a memorial signed by eleven parish priests was presented to the Prince-Bishop. It respectfully represented the unsatisfactory condition of the Church in Silesia; and pointed out certain reforms which it would be essential to introduce, particularly praying for some modifications in the ritual, and above all for the performance of services in the tongue of the country. A few weeks after this memorial had gone in—but before any reply was given—there appeared in Hanover a book entitled ‘*The Catholic Church, especially in Silesia, represented in its failings by a Catholic Priest.*’ Though published anonymously it has long been no secret that the author was Father Theiner, the same who subsequently went to Rome, prostrated himself before the Pope, became Archivist of the Vatican, and still lives within the precincts of the Pontifical residence, though he has been deprived of his post through the influence of Jesuit ascendancy. The book was written with incisive vigour; it laid bare the many shortcomings of clerical organisation in schools and cures of souls, and it even ventured to criticise disciplinary injunctions, and especially compulsory celibacy. The Archbishop now sought in a Pastoral to identify the memorialists with the author of this book. He denounced them as wanting in religion—seducers of men from the true faith. Thereupon a body of Silesian Catholic gentlemen presented a humble appeal to the Sovereign praying that he would exert his authority for removal of the abuses indicated and introduction of the demanded reform in ritual—especially the use of the vernacular tongue. But those were times when the current of Conservative reaction was strong against all signs of innovation. The Bishop represented these memorialists as men affected with a spirit of insubordination—of demagogism. The King of Prussia, notwithstanding his Protestant feelings, was perplexed what to do. The Civil Governor of the Province, President Merkel, was accordingly instructed to report on the situation, which he did in a document that for statesmanlike grasp of thought and masterly insight into great problems must rank amongst the very best state papers ever written.* It was this able public servant’s decided opinion, which he supported by arguments as ample as they were lucid, that there was no shred of truth in the imputation of irreligious and anarchical tendencies in the incriminated individuals; that

* It was published last year in the May number of the *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde.*

on the contrary they constituted the germ of a body capable of holding in check the spread of the Ultramontane element which it could not be in the interest of the Prussian Crown to foster, and that therefore they should be taken into protection against the Bishop. Of the same opinion was Bunsen, to whom all the papers were referred for additional consideration. But the step was too decisive a one for so vacillating a cabinet as that of Prussia then was. The memorialists were informed that it was outside the attributes of the Crown to interfere in questions of ecclesiastical ritual; and so, left to themselves, they tacitly bowed to the absolute ascendancy of the Romanising bishop. But although the movement thus lost itself imperceptibly, it should be observed that traces of a non-Ultramontane spirit have come to light subsequently in some notable phenomena. The very next successor to Schimonsky, named unanimously by the Chapter, was a member of an old Silesian noble family—Count Sedlnitzky—who notoriously had sympathised with the memorialists. When some years later the great controversy about mixed marriages arose, Bishop Sedlnitzky, on the strength of custom sanctioned expressly for Silesia by Pontifical rescripts, continued to permit such marriages to be solemnised, and on being censured by the Pope he resigned his See rather than conform to injunctions which he considered hurtful to the peace of his flock. The so-called German-Catholic movement, the immediate origin of which was the exhibition of the Trèves relics, strayed too rapidly into an utterly undogmatic phase to call for our attention. But it is nevertheless a noteworthy fact as regards the character of Silesian Catholicism, that it was in this province the movement took its rise—that Ronge himself was a Silesian priest, and that the adhesions amongst Silesian Catholics to his preaching were at first very considerable. Also it is symptomatic, that although he has now acquiesced in it, the Prince-Bishop Förster in Rome for a long while strenuously opposed the dogma of Infallibility, and that from Breslau comes one of the foremost champions of Old-Catholicism, Professor Reinkens. Nor is it without significance that whereas Ultramontaniam has notoriously affected all classes in the Rhenish provinces, and even been suspected to have tainted in some degree their loyalty, no province in the Prussian dominions has on critical occasions evinced a more intense Prussian sentiment than Catholic Silesia.

At the beginning of this article we defined our object to be to inquire whether there were grounds for assuming the existence in Germany, amongst the Catholic population, of indi-

genous elements not indisposed to concur in action for the restraint of the ecclesiastical system strenuously promoted from Rome. Also we sought to ascertain for what reason such elements, if in existence, have happened not to assert themselves before now. We think that it is not possible to dispute the existence of such elements, and we believe that their failure to assert themselves on previous occasions is clearly traceable to the absence of that concurrent combination of secular and of religious forces without which an effective breach of the Papal system can hardly be achieved. Such a combination does seem to be now abroad. As to how long it may last, and how far men may have the energy to turn to account such a favourable conjuncture—these are points on which we decline to hazard predictions.

ART. IX.—*Speech on Moving for leave to bring in a Bill relating to University Education in Ireland.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., First Lord of the Treasury. London: 1873.

THE speech which we have placed at the head of this article was one of the finest oratorical efforts of its illustrious author. He himself regarded it, we have heard, as one of his most perfect and satisfactory performances. Without stooping to cull a single flower of rhetoric, or pausing to break the flow of his discourse by a single episode, Mr. Gladstone delivered a perfectly lucid exposition of a complicated and ingenious proposal. It was no mean triumph of his eloquence that the faith with which he spoke of his scheme of University Education for Ireland, seemed, for a time, to permeate every section of his varied auditory, and that the first impression produced by his speech appeared to be one of universal approbation. Never was the promise of the dawn more deceitful. No sooner had the Bill been laid upon the table, than exposed as it was to the blasts and counter-blasts of every wind of faction—the ingratitude and unblushing hostility of those it was designed to conciliate—the repugnance of those who were called upon to make sacrifices for so thankless a return—the contempt of the learned and the fears of the fanatical—it became apparent that this measure had no friends in the House of Commons. The habitual English and Scotch supporters of the Government, indeed, remained faithful to their colours, with the exception of only nine votes. Several members who strongly condemned the principles of the Bill, and had spoken against

it, refused, nevertheless, to record their votes against the Government on the second reading. A few more Liberal members withdrew, without voting or pairing, from the House, but, as the number of these malingerers was at last equalled by those who withdrew on the other side, the result was unimportant to the division. Few English and Scottish members of Parliament were disposed to break their party ties, and cause embarrassment to the Minister, by opposing what he had described as a measure 'vital to the honour and existence of the Government, and, what is of more importance, vital to the prosperity and welfare of Ireland.' For the sake of supporting a policy 'vital to the prosperity of Ireland,' Englishmen and Scotchmen have more than once sacrificed convictions, if not principles, dear to themselves; they have more than once legislated on what were called 'Irish ideas'—that is, on ideas differing widely from their own; and they have done this on the very sound and rational principle that, after all, the Irish ought best to know what they want; just as the Scotch members might pass unchallenged a law of hypothec, or a law for the regulation of patronage in the Kirk of Scotland.

We, therefore, take but small account of the British opposition to Mr. Gladstone's University Bill: his chief misfortune was that the death-blow was dealt to it by the Irish themselves. For once, in that divided island, everybody was of one mind. The Protestants of Trinity College, the Secularists of Belfast, the Roman Catholic Prelates, all denounced and attacked it with equal vigour. Out of the whole of the representatives of Ireland in the House of Commons, more than two-thirds voted against the second reading. Of the members of the Irish Liberal party about forty-five changed sides, avowedly at the dictation of their clergy. Some of these unfortunate gentlemen came up in tears to the table, feeling the whole ignominy of a position they had not the courage to face. Probably, if the decision had rested with the Catholic laity of Ireland, the result might have been different. But we have no right to make that distinction. The very essence of the question is, as we shall presently see, that the Roman Catholic party hold this question of University Education to be purely one of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, therefore, they absolutely and implicitly obeyed their ecclesiastical superiors upon it.

Whatever may be the merits of the Bill brought forward by Mr. Gladstone with so much ability (and we are inclined to think that they have in some respects been underrated), it appears to us that from the moment a large majority of the representatives of Ireland rejected it, there was an end of

the matter. The Bill had been framed solely to redress an Irish grievance, and to carry to its furthest limits the principle of civil equality in Ireland. The Government was so much in earnest that it staked its own existence on the measure, though it must be confessed that this Bill had no bearing at all on the general interests of the Empire, or on the character of the Ministry, except in as far as it gratified and satisfied the Irish people. But if that was not the case—if, on the contrary, the measure was received with every mark of contumely and irritation in Ireland—it would have been an act of absurd and intolerable oppression to force a measure, which was meant to be an act of liberality and conciliation, down the throats of a reluctant and indignant people. We do not know whether it is in the power of a British Minister to give the Irish exactly what they desire: but it is certainly in his power to abstain from forcing upon them a measure they reject.

Indeed, as experience has already shown in this matter of Irish University Education, no liberality on the part of England can be of any avail or practical benefit, unless the educational establishments it is proposed to found and endow with public money are so constituted as to attract the youth of Ireland. You may build colleges, and pay professors, but you cannot get students, unless (as has sometimes been done) you propose to pay them too. Of colleges without students there are already in Ireland by far too many; and the want of that country consists rather in high schools, like the public schools of England and Scotland, to supply a larger number of young men capable of entering with advantage upon a genuine course of academic study. It is in evidence, for instance, that Greek is so imperfectly taught in some of the Irish grammar schools, that it has been sometimes necessary to teach the Greek alphabet in the Colleges. In the higher branches of education the supply does not always create or stimulate the demand. A sound and strong preparatory education is required before scholars can enter upon the true study of classical learning or the application of the higher mathematics. Two things are, therefore, indispensable: there must be some hundreds of young men sufficiently trained to enter upon the *curriculum* of a University, on equal terms with those who are matriculated at Oxford and Cambridge, Edinburgh and St. Andrews; and of these young men the greater number at least must be willing to enter the colleges you propose to establish. At present, we are afraid, neither of these conditions is fulfilled in Ireland; and, if that be so, the with-

drawal of the Bill at some stage or other of its progress became inevitable.

Yet it does not appear to us to have been made out that the condition of Ireland in this matter of University Education is as pitiable as people would have us suppose. 'Nec sum adeo 'informis' was Mr. Gladstone's own expression. Judging alike by well-known facts and by results, we entirely disbelieve that any young man in Ireland, with competent means, is debarred from obtaining a good education; and he may obtain it on far cheaper terms than if he is sent to any of the great public schools or Universities in the southern part of this island. Trinity College, Dublin, has for nearly a century opened its gates to Roman Catholic students, to whom all the endowments of the College are open, with the exception of the seven Senior fellowships, which have hitherto formed the governing body; and we are confident that we express the opinion of the great majority of the Liberal party, and possibly even of many Irish Roman Catholics, when we express the strong regret with which we should witness any change tending to weaken or destroy that great and honourable institution. We wish it only to be rendered more powerful, more comprehensive, and more national. There is no institution of which the people of Ireland have greater reason to be proud, or which has rendered them greater service; and it is to the honour of the governing body that immediately after the disestablishment of the Irish Church they expressed their readiness to consent to the total abolition of clerical and sectarian tests, for the emoluments or honours of the University, and to accept a considerable reform in throwing open the governing body. These were the two propositions embodied in Mr. Fawcett's Bill, and backed by one of the members of the University itself; and had this measure commended itself to the Government, it might have been passed with ease, almost without discussion, two years ago, as a natural corollary of the Irish Church Bill. On the former of these two points there can now be no difference of opinion at all, and we rejoice to find that the Government has agreed to adopt it. Great credit is due to Mr. Fawcett for the good temper and forbearance he has shown in circumstances sometimes delicate and difficult. When degrees are conferred by the University of Dublin, absolutely without any religious test or distinction, upon all candidates who aspire to take an academical degree from the hands of the civil power, we cannot perceive that any injustice is done. The future constitution of the governing power will naturally fall into the hands of the graduates of

the University, and will eventually be modified in accordance with their wishes.

The radical difference between the Roman Catholic prelates and ourselves lies in the fact that they conceive the entire foundation and administration of a University to rest upon ecclesiastical authority. The right of conferring degrees, and the very act which constitutes a University was, in the Middle Ages, and still is in their eyes, an emanation from the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff. When the present Roman Catholic University (if that be its name) was established in Dublin, it was sanctioned by a Papal brief; its visitors are the four Roman Catholic archbishops, whose authority over it is supreme, and extends to absolute control over all the professors, members, and students of the body. Such a University is of course a purely ecclesiastical corporation. It has no civil existence. Its students and degrees are ecclesiastical, even when the students are laymen destined for secular professions. The State has no more concern with it than with a Jesuits' seminary. To such institutions the laws of this country and of Ireland extend absolute liberty. We have no doubt that, in their way, Stoneyhurst, Oscott, Maynooth, and similar learned bodies, are useful, and we can speak, of our own knowledge, with the greatest respect of the attainments of many of those who teach in them. But are they not placed by their own acts entirely beyond the orbit of the civil power? They repudiate civil degrees. They claim for the bishops of the Church of Rome an absolute and undivided control over the studies of such schools and over the honours conferred in them. To attempt to come to terms with such institutions, and to convert them into the recipients of public endowments or grants regulated by public authority, seems to us as impossible as it would be to found a Jesuits' College at the expense of the State, and give the management of it to Mr. William Forster. If Parliament is ever induced to endow a Catholic seminary for priests or for laymen, let it at least relinquish the vain hope of governing such an institution. The authority over it must be unequivocally ecclesiastical. The civil power would be effectually cast out of it as an unclean thing. For this reason the State can have nothing to do with it.

This brings us to a matter which seems to us of far greater importance than the fate of the Irish University Bill; and the untoward fate of that measure compels us to say distinctly what we think upon it. But first we will quote from Mr. Gladstone's speech the passage in which he defined his own

principle of action towards our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. It deserves the most careful consideration.

'In approaching, Sir, the consideration of this question, it is impossible altogether to put out of view the flow of criticism with respect to the subject itself, and with respect to the intentions and conduct of the Government, which have for some time been almost incessantly brought under the public eye. We have heard much, Sir, of Ultramontane influence (*hear, hear*), and it may be well, therefore—that cheer is an additional reason why I should notice the point—to refer to it for a moment. I cannot wonder that apprehensions with respect to Ultramontane influence should enter into the minds of the British public whenever legislation affecting the position of the Roman Catholics in Ireland is projected; and we cannot, I think, be surprised that the influences which appear so forcibly to prevail within the Roman communion should be regarded by a very great portion of the people of this country with aversion, and by some portion of them even with unnecessary dread. It appears to us, however, that we have one course, and one course only to take, one decision, and one only to arrive at, with respect to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Do we intend, or do we not intend, *to extend to them the full benefit of civil equality on a footing exactly the same* as that on which it is granted to members of other religious persuasions? (*Hear, hear.*) If we do not, the conclusion is a most grave one; but if the House be of opinion, as the Government are of opinion, that *it is neither generous nor politic, whatever we may think of this ecclesiastical influence within the Roman Church, to draw distinctions in matters purely civil adverse to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen*—if we hold that opinion, let us hold it frankly and boldly; and, having determined to grant measures of equality as far as it may be in our power to do so, do not let us attempt to stint our action in that sense when we come to the execution of that which we have announced to be our design. (*Hear, hear.*)'

The answer to this question, put by Mr. Gladstone in the most clear and accurate language, will be given by every member of the Liberal party, unhesitatingly, in the affirmative. Yes: we do mean and desire to extend to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen the full benefit of civil equality; and we agree that it is neither generous nor politic to draw distinctions in matters purely civil adverse to the Roman Catholics. To say the truth, we had thought this was done already; but if there be still any latent civil disability, the remnant of former intolerance, let us hasten to redress it.

But, unfortunately, public education is not one of the subjects we are allowed to treat, at least in Ireland, as one of the benefits of civil equality. We have been trying for forty years or more to make it so in the National Schools of Ireland; and for twenty years or more to establish it in the

Queen's Colleges. The attempt has not altogether failed, and these institutions have done more good than their enemies care to acknowledge. But our contention that in this purely civil matter no distinctions should be drawn or tolerated between adverse sects, is the very principle which draws down upon us Liberals all the fury of the Ultramontane rulers of Ireland. The more cordially we agree with Mr. Gladstone's principle of civil equality between persons of different religious persuasions, the less can we submit to the Roman doctrine of ecclesiastical supremacy. We are content to lay aside the prepossessions of a Protestant community and a Protestant Parliament against the dogmas and pretensions of the Roman Church—no small concession on the part of the people of this country. We rejoice to hold out the hand of perfect civil equality to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. But no English Minister, certainly no Minister who takes his stand on the broad principles of civil and religious liberty, can make the denial of that liberty in Ireland, or elsewhere, a fundamental principle of his government.

We cannot forget, and least of all can England forget, that the opposition of civil liberty to clericalism is in all parts of Europe the great principle of the age. In Belgium, where the entire population is Catholic, and a highly Catholic Ministry is now in power, the degrees of the students in the Catholic University of Louvain are conferred by a secular body, named by the State, and uniting in its examinations the priestly education of Louvain with the secular education of Brussels. In the Swiss Cantons, half of which are Catholic, the Federal Government stands its ground against the pretensions of the Romish clergy, and quite recently the Bishop of Basle has been obliged to take refuge from his own flock in the house of the Papal Nuncio. Even in Italy, the authority of the Pope is circumscribed within the gardens of the Vatican. In Germany, the first great act of the united empire has been to oppose a strenuous resistance to the Ultramontane priesthood, and to protect the civil independence of all schools and all creeds even by measures which we should deem arbitrary and intolerant: such as the expulsion of the religious teaching Orders from the soil of their native land. The Catholic clergy of Ireland, enjoying a degree of freedom and a license of speech which we do not grudge them, but which they certainly do not possess in any other country, claim to exercise an amount of sovereign power hardly to be called their own, but directly and avowedly attributed to the injunctions of the Pope and his agents. In other words, they claim for ecclesiastical power a supreme

control over civil rights; and the other day, as if to demonstrate the extent of their ingratitude to a Government which had sought to conciliate them to the utmost extent of just and equitable concessions, they lashed a reluctant portion of the Liberal majority into open hostility against a measure framed only in the spirit of liberality and conciliation, and caused a momentary interruption in the functions of government. It is said that the fate of the measure was sealed by a telegraph message which arrived just before the division *from the Vatican!* Mr. Horsman declared in his speech that he traced in all these questions, as treated in Parliament, too eager a desire, or, as he termed it, a 'piscatorial effort,' to gain over the Irish vote. The Irish vote may be of consequence on a division, and some inconvenience may arise from the desertion of such uncertain allies in the midst of a pitched battle, which is fought for their sake. But the maintenance of the great principles of national independence against the dictation of Rome, and of State authority and civil liberty against clerical domination, is a thousand times more important than any number of votes; especially when it is remembered that such votes, though they may weaken the majority of the Government, bring no strength whatever—but rather an embarrassment—to the ranks of the Opposition.

No word of irreverence, or even of disrespect, will ever fall from our pen in speaking of the religious tenets and convictions of any class of men—least of all of any great body of Christians. We profess and we practise in India the broadest principles of toleration in the government of Hindoos, Buddhists, and Mahomedans, who are our fellow-subjects, though they hold a faith, and acknowledge a tradition of divine law, differing widely from our own. But this toleration in sacred things rests on the assumption that as subjects of one empire, we have national interests and national duties common to all alike: and that the civil rights, conceded to all and enjoyed by all in complete equality, are not to be overridden by the dictates of any Church or sect, still less by the authority of a foreign Power laying claim to a divine, infallible, and universal supremacy. What should we say if the Doctors of Mecca had given their sanction (which they refused to do) to the doctrine of the Ultramontane Wahabees, that it is not lawful to bear allegiance to a non-Mussulman government? That doctrine, which is repudiated in Mecca, is not unknown in Rome. England knows nothing of any laws in human affairs but those which are made in the name of the Crown, by the will of her own people. The very existence of equal civil rights

rests on the basis of this common national sovereignty, in which no foreign authority has any share. That was and is the fundamental principle of the Reformation, politically considered: it remains to this day the basis of the constitution of these realms: it is impossible for any British subject to repudiate it, without repudiating his national allegiance: when the Roman Catholics claimed to exercise, and, in fact, obtained, a complete equality of civil rights, they did it on the express ground that in their civil capacity they were in no way distinguishable from any other class of the nation, and that they recognised the obligations common alike to all. They ceased to be treated like a tribe of aliens in the heart of the United Kingdom: none rejoiced more cordially than ourselves at their emancipation: none laboured more strenuously to promote it: but when they entered upon the full and free exercise of all the rights of British subjects, they took upon themselves, in that capacity, the duties of that condition. The pretensions put forward of late years with increasing strength by the Ultramontane clergy and their adherents are, in truth, inconsistent with all civil allegiance. No man can serve two masters. They are avowedly the subjects of Rome, and the Pope is their sovereign. They claim for this principle the sanctity of a religious doctrine. We hold it to be simply a political usurpation, in the disguise of a religious doctrine: but, whatever it may be, it is a doctrine which no considerations will ever induce the people of this country to submit to, because it is opposed to the first principles of national independence, civil equality, and constitutional freedom. Nor are we singular in this respect. The same determination not to yield to the supremacy of Rome in matters of law and education was manifested, in their times, by sovereigns as truly Catholic as Philip II. of Spain and Louis XIV. of France. We may refer the reader to p. 538 of this very Number of our own Journal for some account of the measures of Maria Theresa to resist similar encroachments. The same spirit prevails at this moment in Austria, in Bavaria, and in Italy, not less than in Prussia and Holland. It must prevail wherever there is a true autonomy in the State. To the '*non-possumus*' of Rome, which, after all, is not the mistress of the world, we oppose the unbending '*non-possumus*' of our national rights and of civil liberty. If the two systems are irreconcilable, ours at least is not the weakest of the two, in the Queen's dominions; and although nothing will induce us to depart from the principle of the equality of civil rights, even for the purpose of disarming an implacable adversary who uses those rights against ourselves, yet to the opposite principle

of clerical supremacy over matters vitally affecting the welfare of the people, no concession can be made by the State without a violation of the first law of its existence. Take, by way of illustration, the policy of most of the Catholic, as well as Protestant, States of Europe on the law of marriage. In France, Belgium, and Italy marriage is a civil contract, and all its legal effects are derived from its civil character. The Church of Rome declares it to be a sacrament, and that its legal effects are determined by the Canon Law. That is an opinion every Catholic is perfectly entitled to hold and practise *in foro domestico*: but it cannot have the slightest external authority. The case of education is not dissimilar in principle. A declaration of the Roman Catholic Prelates in all these countries that they refuse to be bound by the marriage laws of the State would be equally valid with a declaration that they refuse to accept University degrees bestowed by a civil authority on secular principles. There is in truth no grievance in the matter, except that which arises from mixing up clerical authority with a civil right. By an extension of similar pretensions (not wholly unknown in the history of the Church of Rome) every act of human life might be rendered subject to clerical authority.

In presenting the Irish University Bill of this Session, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues appear to us to have fully redeemed the pledge they had given to the Irish Catholic party to deal with this question. The Bill was framed with great care, and it was regarded by the Government, and by not a few Catholics, as a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. The Pope and the Irish Prelates decided otherwise, and insisted on the rejection of the Bill. Some time may elapse before another proposal of equal liberality will be made to them. Meanwhile, however, we must protest against the exaggerated pretensions on behalf of three or four hundred Irish under-graduates to interrupt the whole course of public affairs. However Mr. Gladstone may have desired to redress their grievance, there are other matters at stake of more urgent importance; and, as we have before remarked, we cannot admit that the gates of the Temple of Knowledge are closed against any party in Ireland. Trinity College is already frequented by large numbers of Catholic students, and Mr. Fawcett's Bill will at once put them in possession of the rights of full membership. The Queen's Colleges are admirable institutions. There is a Catholic body granting Papal honours for those who prefer them, though, if we are correctly informed, this institution has not been very warmly supported by the Catholic laity of Ire-

land, though it was launched under the high authority of Dr. Newman. The number of lay students is said to have fallen as low as twenty, and even to seven: but we have no positive information on the subject. However this may be, the Irish compete successfully with the Scotch and English in every walk of life, and we doubt whether a single Irishman fails in any profession because he cannot obtain the means of education. Never did a grave political crisis, involving the temporary resignation of Ministers, arise from a more inconsiderable dispute.

The results of that occurrence are of more importance than the causes of it. They led to the distinct avowal of the Tory party that they could not take office with the present House of Commons, and that they could not at this time dissolve it: and Mr. Gladstone was recalled to power, not only because it was absolutely necessary that he should carry on the Government, but also because it is clear that at no very distant period the issue will be raised in a more formal shape, to be decided in the ballot-boxes of the country.

Mr. Disraeli took advantage of the explanation he was called upon to give in Parliament of his motives for declining office at the present time to launch a manifesto or programme of the policy of the Tory party; but we confess we learnt but little from it. He has sometimes been accused of wanting a policy; but eager to rebut that insinuation, he has since exhibited three or four policies to the world, all embellished by some high-sounding name, though carrying very little substance. He has as many voices as Caliban. At Manchester it was the Imperial policy. At the Crystal Palace it was the National. We are reminded of the bubble Life Assurance Companies, born only to be amalgamated and lost in the Albert or the European. Last came the avowal, that, after all, until the First Lord of the Treasury is established in Downing Street, and has opened the red boxes which contain the secrets of mankind, it is quite impossible for him to know in what manner he proposes to deal with these multifarious interests. In all this we look in vain for the smallest indication of constructive power. We doubt the ability or the resolution of any Government of which Mr. Disraeli is the head to deal in a masterly way with legislative problems and administrative difficulties. Government by epigrams is amusing, but it leads to no results. Twenty years have elapsed since the late Lord Derby astonished the world by converting the Henleys and Pakingtons into Cabinet Ministers, though time has slowly raised those estimable gentlemen to the rank which was so suddenly

thrust upon them. But even in that band of novices, time has made great inroads. Lord Derby himself and Mr. Corry are now no more. General Peel, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Henley, Sir John Pakington, Lord Malmesbury, and the Duke of Buckingham will hardly reappear on the Treasury Benches. Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gathorne Hardy in one house, Lord Derby and Lord Cairns in the other, are literally the only statesmen of the first rank who are pledged to enter such a Cabinet. The leadership of the Duke of Richmond is nominal. The allegiance of Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon to Mr. Disraeli is doubtful. Nor can we as yet discover in the younger generation of Tory lords or Tory commoners one single specimen of a rising statesman, capable of serving and leading the party as of old; for the obvious reason that the authority of Mr. Disraeli, however skilfully exercised, is not sympathetic to his adherents, and that the vast majority of the intelligent youth of England decline either to follow in the track of obsolete traditions, or to adopt the war-cry of a mock heroism. Mr. Disraeli boasts, indeed, of his power and determination to defend and uphold the Throne, the Aristocracy, the Church, the property of endowments, and the property of individuals, though for the mere purposes of defence a strong Opposition is more effective than a weak Administration—indeed the most dangerous condition of government is that of a Minister whose necessities compel him to part with the very treasures he has sworn to protect. But, in truth, these great institutions of the country are not threatened or assailed. Sir Charles Dilke's crusade against the Monarchy, Mr. Odger and Mr. Bradlaugh in Hyde Park, Mr. Miall's blazing enthusiasm to destroy the Church, Mr. Mill's somewhat frigid appeals to what he calls the passions of the people to dispute and alter the tenure of land, are not so successful or so formidable as to call forth the chivalry of the kingdom in defence of the Constitution, though these nonsensical exhibitions may have the effect of throwing a few timid votes over to the Conservative side.

As was well said by Mr. Vernon Harcourt at Oxford not long ago, the true champions and defenders of the Constitution are to be found among those who for the last forty years have been engaged in giving fresh life and sap to these institutions, venerable indeed, but still capable of centuries of endurance, provided they are adapted to the wants of modern society and to the progress of the world. That is the task in which the Whig party has been constantly engaged and which the Tory party has as constantly opposed and resisted. Had their resistance been successful we might well tremble for the conse-

quences. Without Catholic Emancipation, without the Reform Bill of 1832 and its subsequent development, without commercial freedom, and a hundred other reforms, what would England be at this moment? The supposition is impossible: yet any one of these measures, including even those actually passed by the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Disraeli himself, were all triumphs of Whig principles over Tory prejudices. Indeed, an eminent Tory contemporary does not scruple to say that the concessions made by the Tory leaders in those great emergencies broke for ever the traditions and consistency of the party. In spite of Mr. Disraeli's brave language, there are not a few of his followers, who reflect with alarm and even terror, on the sacrifices which may well be wrung from him during his next lease of office; because the inevitable effect of a period of Tory Government is to render the assault upon existing institutions much more violent, and the defence of them much more feeble. As has recently been said by a writer, whose 'Political Portraits' we have read with interest, 'The Conservative party, though the fact is concealed from them by the inheritance of party phrases and the impulses of opposition, really share these liberal, or what Lord Salisbury calls, revolutionary ideas: they make only a mock resistance to them out of office, or if the resistance is strenuous, then it is merely to prepare the way for an absolute capitulation when they are in what they are pleased to call power, and when responsibility for the actual administration of affairs strips off their illusions.' (P. 82.) True Conservatism—the *via media* of improvement without destruction, and progress without revolution—is to be found in Whig principles. The safety and duration of the constitutional settlement of 1688—a period of nearly two centuries, during which every other country on the face of the earth has undergone prodigious and often violent revolutions—is mainly due to the fact that it was erected by the Whigs and on a Whig basis, and that the spirit of those days is not even now extinct amongst us.

The duration of Ministries must no doubt be measured by the strength and age of the statesmen who compose them; and in the fierce struggle for existence in modern Parliamentary life, no one can rely on an indefinite extension of political power. The present administration has, in less than five years, lost several very eminent members; but if it were to end to-morrow, it would fill no mean place in the history of the country.

At its head stands a man gifted, even in the opinion of his

adversaries, with powers the most extraordinary and an exceeding eloquence; who has striven through life after a lofty standard of ideal excellence, and who has governed this kingdom with a noble disdain of all paltry arts or personal advantage. We doubt whether a leader of men, at once so earnest and enthusiastic, ever retained and exercised power for so long a period. A more practical man of the world might have made fewer mistakes; but no mere man of the world would have risen to the height at which Mr. Gladstone has trod, or would have attempted the great measures which he has triumphantly achieved. In after times his career will shine forth conspicuously illuminated with the light of genius, as it now does in the eyes of foreign nations, even more than in our own. In generous sentiment and noble impulse, Canning can alone be compared to him; but, with an eloquence equal to that of Canning, Mr. Gladstone is far more steadfast in his purposes and sure in his relations with other men, and he surpasses him by the breadth of a generation in warmth of feeling for the true welfare of the people. These have been the incentives to the unceasing labours of a Government which has introduced and carried more measures of practical improvement than any that preceded it.

In fact one of the charges now pressed against the Government is that its work is done, and that it deserves to be buried under its own performances. The work of Government is never done. Good administration is its first duty, of which the public hears nothing, except in the exceptional cases when it happens to fail. Good legislation is its second duty, and how vast a field of social amelioration, irrespective of the mere distribution of political power, lies before it!

The great Whig historian has told posterity, in a passage of immortal eloquence, which terminates the first section of his 'History of England,' that the chief glory of the Revolution of 1688 lies in the fact that by so small a change in the laws and the succession to the crown, results of imperishable magnitude were secured. The change was small: but it was enough. It was our *last* revolution, because, from that time to this, there is in all honest and reflecting minds a conviction, daily strengthened by experience, that the means of effecting every improvement which the Constitution requires may be found within the Constitution itself.* That is the true principle of our political life. We do not aim at those huge and desperate transformations, which have in our own days

* Macnulay's 'History of England,' vol. ii. p. 662.

more than once consigned France to anarchy and Spain to civil war. We have upheld the Monarchy, and we still uphold it, with loyal enthusiasm, because it has long relinquished all claims to divine right and arbitrary power. We uphold the National Church, because we believe it to be a powerful instrument of education, religion, and morality; but we have stripped it of intolerance. We uphold an aristocracy, to which merit of every kind can effect an entrance, but we know nothing of privilege. We have enfranchised the democracy, but we see no signs that its power is to be thrown exclusively on one side in politics, or directed against the other institutions of the realm. We maintain our Universities, rich in the endowments of past ages, but we are seeking to extend and adapt their schools to the whole nation, without sectarian distinctions. We support a vast debt, incurred in former times; but the low rate of interest dependent on public credit, and the increasing wealth of the community, added to the decreasing value of the precious metals, renders the annual burden less onerous to ourselves than the charges borne by other nations, which have been frightfully aggravated to them by the curse of civil or foreign war. Our laws perpetuate a vast settlement of real and personal property, which gives an incomparable stability to many of our institutions, to educational and charitable endowments, to the traditions of families, and to the provisions of domestic life: the property of all classes, rich and poor, is held together by indissoluble ties; the capital of one class is (so to speak) the field tilled by other classes, and capital itself is but the accumulated result of past industry and economy. These are the great pillars of the edifice; and, in spite of a good deal of loose talking and writing, common enough in a free country, we deny that there is any considerable party in the nation which has either the desire or the strength to pull them down, especially when it is seen that each succeeding year of intelligent government renders them more beneficial to the common interests of the English people.

No doubt a government and a Parliament in the fifth year of their existence must look forward ere long to a fresh appeal to the source of their power. They look forward to it without fear, for, if the people of England are not ungrateful they may anticipate not a closing of the account, but a renewal of their strength. A Parliament nearly five years old is incapable of passing any great measure, such, for example, as the readjustment of local taxation, which may be discussed now, but will doubtless not be carried until a new House of Commons

arrives full of energy and popular spirit. It is vain to expect from a Parliament pre-occupied with an impending dissolution the vigour and independence of an assembly fresh from the hustings and eager for distinction. Hence it is that the very principle of popular election is the periodical renovation of the forces of government. If the people, enjoying an extended franchise, protected by absolute freedom of election and the ballot, cannot or will not return a majority pledged to the support of Liberal principles, they deserve to forfeit for a time the ascendancy won by so many glorious conflicts, for they would stop the work of reform by the very power which reform has placed in their hands.

We are told by the organs of the Tory party that the personal popularity of the leaders of the Liberal cause is exhausted, and that we have 'no cry,' as it is called, to go with to the country. But there is little in this objection. We care not to stake the result of a general election on personal popularity, though, if past services are to be taken into account, we should have no reason to dread comparison with any rivals. But still less do we care for the Tadpole and Taper policy of 'a cry,' as if the fate of the Empire and the duties of a great party in the State rested exclusively on some single issue, and on the removal of some single grievance. The more grievances are removed, the more good measures are passed, the less cause is there for these cries, which are commonly an appeal to ignorance and passion, or which give an exaggerated importance to some question of the moment, which being solved, the cry dies away. The permanent tendency and fixed principles of a Government are of more importance than the personal popularity of its members or the immediate solution of any particular difficulty. For every single question which happens at the moment to excite public interest or to stimulate party divisions, there are a hundred others of at least equal importance, which claim the continual attention of the executive power. The one may be solved on the hustings; the others depend on the capacity, wisdom, and energy of the men who are entrusted by the nation with the conduct of all its affairs.

The whole earth, in these our times, is in a state of inconceivable fermentation. The railroad and the telegraph have opened fissures in the habitable globe. All countries touch one another: all peoples obey a simultaneous impulse. It is, as President Grant said the other day, as if all the nations of the world were pressing forward to take rank in one great community of mankind. But over and throughout this vast field

of action, it would seem to be the destiny of this small island to cast forth, as from some crater, an eruption of intelligent power. The elaboration of thought by free discussion, the inventions and applications of science, the energy of enterprise, the distribution of capital, are simultaneously carried on, at this time, in England with greater activity than in any other country, for they extend to every tract of the globe, from Japan to the interior of Africa, from India and Australia to the Polar Seas. In the centre of this prodigious turmoil sits England and the British Government, not impelling or controlling, indeed, a movement which seems governed by the will of some far higher power, but responsible for the stability of the point from which these complicated operations are directed, and influencing by its policy the direction of the whole of them. The task of guiding and protecting interests so vast and complicated demands the most incessant attention and activity: the highest faculties of man are stretched to their utmost limit: and a philosopher might contemplate with a smile the contrast between the minute controversies which excite the passions or turn a majority in the House of Commons, and the duties involved in the government of an Empire.

There is in truth but one great and general issue before the country, whenever the time for a dissolution of Parliament shall arrive, be it this year or the next. And that issue, which includes everything else, is 'Do you choose to be governed by a Whig or a Tory government?' Do you desire to live for the next few years under the authority of men, more known by their defeats than by their triumphs, and more remarkable for the surrender of their principles than for the successful application of them? Modern Toryism is, as we have seen under the ablest leaders of the party, such as the late Sir Robert Peel, an inconsistent and disingenuous attempt to adapt the traditions of the past to the exigencies of the present and the future. It is the ebbing, not the flowing, tide. Our faith and our hopes for the future rest not on this or that individual, however eminent, nor on this or that controversy, however important, but on the Liberal principles, which one party cannot abandon without disgrace, and the other party cannot embrace without hypocrisy.

Above all, we trust that the constituencies will remember that they are called upon to elect not merely their own representatives, but the future rulers of England. The Ministers of the Crown, be they who they may, must be taken in great part from the House of Commons. It is only by sending to

that assembly men really capable of taking an active part in the higher duties of public life that the dignity of the House can be maintained, and that statesmen can be trained and qualified to fill the great offices of the Empire. The materials of government are to be found there, and there only. It is the recruiting ground not only of our political army, but of our generals. One of the least satisfactory symptoms of the present day is the singular want of young men of promise and ability in Parliament to carry on the work of government. Yet the day is not distant when their services will be urgently required. The choice of good representatives in the next House of Commons may have the most important results on the interests of the next generation of our countrymen. In this, as well as in all other respects, the constituencies have the future welfare of the country in their hands, and we trust they will not fail us.

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